Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean

PAPERS IN HONOUR OF BRIAN SHEFTON

EDITED BY

KATHRYN LOMAS

BRILL MNEMOSYNE · SUPPLEMENTA

GREEK IDENTITY IN THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

Professor Brian B. Shefton

MNEMOSYNE

BIBLIOTHECA CLASSICA BATAVA

COLLEGERUNT

H. PINKSTER • H. S. VERSNEL

D.M. SCHENKEVELD • P. H. SCHRIJVERS

S.R. SLINGS

BIBLIOTHECAE FASCICULOS EDENDOS CURAVIT

H. PINKSTER, KLASSIEK SEMINARIUM, OUDE TURFMARKT 129, AMSTERDAM

SUPPLEMENTUM DUCENTESIMUM QUADRAGESIMUM SEXTUM

KATHRYN LOMAS

GREEK IDENTITY IN THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

TUTA SUB AEGIDE PALLAS · 1683 ·

GREEK IDENTITY IN THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

PAPERS IN HONOUR OF BRIAN SHEFTON

EDITED BY

KATHRYN LOMAS

BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON
2004

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Greek identity in the western Mediterranean : papers in honour of Brian Shefton / edited by Kathryn Lomas.
p. cm. — (Mnemosyne, bibliotheca classica Batava. Supplementum ; 246)
Includes bibliographical references.
List of Brian Shefton's works (p. xviii-xix).
ISBN 90-04-13300-3 (alk. paper)
1. Greeks—Western Mediterranean—Ethnic identity—History—To 1500. 2. Pottery, Greek—Western Mediterranean. I. Title: Papers in honour of Brian Shefton. II. Shefton, Brian B. III. Lomas, Kathryn, 1960—IV. Series.

DF135.G74 2003
938—dc22

2003057885

ISSN 0169-8958
ISBN 90 04 13300 3

© Copyright 2004 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910 Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations ix
Preface xv
Brian B. Shefton xvii

Introduction 1
KATHRYN LOMAS, *University College London*

EARLY WESTERN COLONISATION

Euboeans and others along the Tyrrhenian Seaboard in the 8th century B.C. 15
DAVID RIDGWAY, *University of Edinburgh*
How 'Greek' were the early western Greeks? 35
JONATHAN HALL, *University of Chicago*

REPRESENTATIONS OF IDENTITY

Siculo-geometric and the Sikels: Ceramics and identity in eastern Sicily 55
CARLA ANTONACCIO, *Wesleyan University*
The identity of early Greek pottery in Italy and Spain: an archaeometric perspective 83
RICHARD JONES, *University of Glasgow* and JAUME BUXEDA I GARRIGÓS, *University of Barcelona*
Phokäische Thalassokratie Oder Phantom-Phokäer? Die Frühgriechischen Keramikfunde Im Süden Der Iberischen Halbinsel Aus Der Ägäischen Perspektive 115
MICHAEL KERSCHNER, *Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienna*
Copies of pottery: By and for whom? 149
JOHN BOARDMAN, *University of Oxford*
A short history of pygmies in Greece and Italy 163
MAURIZIO HARARI, *University of Pavia*

Purloined Letters: the Aristonothos inscription and krater 191
VEDIA IZZET, *Christ's College, Cambridge*
Un dono per gli dei: *kantharoi* e gigantomachie. A proposito di un *kantharos* a figure nere da Gravisca 211
MARIO TORELLI, *University of Perugia*
Neben- und Miteinander in archaischer Zeit: Die Beziehungen von Italikern und Etruskern zum griechischen Poseidonia 229
MARIO RAUSCH, *University of Vienna*
Go West, Go Native 259
JOHN BARRON, *St Peter's College, Oxford*
Some Greek inscriptions on native vases from South East Italy 267
ALASTAIR SMALL, *University of Edinburgh*
Hecataeus' knowledge of the Western Mediterranean 287
THOMAS BRAUN, *Merton College, Oxford*

REGIONAL STUDIES OF COLONIAL IDENTITY

The Greeks on the Venetian Lagoon 349
LORENZO BRACCESI, *University of Padua*
The Greek Identity at Metaponto 363
JOSEPH C. CARTER, *University of Texas*
Euesperides: Cyrenaica and its contacts with the Greek world 391
DAVID W.J. GILL, *University of Swansea*
The Greek man in the Iberian Street: non-colonial Greek identity in Spain and southern France 411
JAVIER DE HOZ, *Universidad Complutense de Madrid*
Greek identity in the Phocaean colonies 429
ADOLFO J. DOMÍNGUEZ, *Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*

GREEK IDENTITY IN THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN WEST

'Κατὰ δὲ Σικελίαν ἦσαν τύραννοι': Notes on tyrannies in Sicily between the death of Agathocles and the coming of Pyrrhus (289–279 B.C.) 457
Efrem Zambon, *University of Padua*
Hellenism, Romanization and cultural identity in Massalia ... 475
Kathryn Lomas, *University College London*

Index 499

This page intentionally left blank

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Antonaccio

Fig. 1: Attic red figure volute krater attributed to Euthymides (inv. no. 58–2382): photo C. Williams
Fig. 2: detail of fig. 1: repair to handle: photo C. Williams
Fig. 3: Attic SOS transport amphora from the archaic acropolis: photo C. Williams
Fig. 4: Carinated cup with high swung handle from the archaic acropolis: photo C. Williams
Fig. 5: Castulo Cup from the archaic settlement (inv. 80–576): photo and drawing J. Boscarino

Jones and Buxeda i Garrigós

Fig. 1: Map of Italy and the Iberian peninsula, showing the locations of some of the sites mentioned in the text.
Fig. 2a: A representation of the optimal discrimination between the composition groups for Ischia (1), Cumae (2), Veii (3), Chalkis (4) and Corinth (5). Each circle encompasses 80% or more of each group. OES data; discriminant analysis. From *GCP* Fig. 8.18.
Fig. 2b: Results of Mössbauer spectroscopy of groups of pottery Euboea, Pithekoussai and Corinth. Left Magnetic ratio R; right Paramagnetic ratio P. The three groups are better discriminated according to the magnetic ratio. Note that a small group (7 samples) of grey coloured fabric from Euboea was also analysed but is not shown in this figure. Because this fabric was fired differently from the main group (which had a reddish fabric) its Mössbauer spectrum characteristics differed significantly. Adapted from Deriu *et al.* 1986, Fig. d/e.
Fig. 3: a/b Chevron skyphos and decorated skyphos from Veii analysed by OES (*GCP* Table 8.12: 34 and 32) and by MS (Ridgway *et al.* 1985: chevron skyphos sample 2) scale 1:3; c Castulo type 1B cup from Cancho Roano (Buxeda i

Garrigos *et al.* 1999: sample CR-17), reproduced with permission from F. Gracia; d Kotyle from Ischia analysed by OES (*GCP* Table 8.10: 2) scale 1:2.8.
Fig. 4: Results of PIXE-PIGME analysis of Apulian and Lucanian RF, represented on a principal components plot. The sample numbers indicate the appropriate position of each sample on the PC plot. See text for explanation. Reproduced with permission from Grave *et al.* 1996/97 Fig. 4.

Kerschner

Abb. 1: Diskriminanzanalyse von 92 gruppierten Neutronenaktivierungsproben von Keramik der mykenischen, geometrischen und archaischen Epoche aus 7 verschiedenen Fundorten in Westkleinasien (Milet, Ephesos, Erythrai, Klazomenai, Smyrna, Phokaia und Daskyleion). Die Buchstaben A-H bezeichnen die erfaßten Herkunftsgruppen archaischer ostgriechischer Keramik (A und D = Milet; B/C, E, F = nordionisches Festland; G = Äolis; H = Ephesos, I = Südionien; J = südliches oder mittleres Ionien).
Abb. 2: Die frühgriechischen Keramikfunde aus Huelva (Phase II = 590/80–560 v. Chr.). Klassifikation nach Herkunftsregionen gemäß Cabrera 1989.
Abb. 3: Die frühgriechischen Keramikfunde aus Huelva (Phase II = 590/80–560 v. Chr.). Vorschlag einer Neuklassifikation nach Herkunftsregionen.

Boardman

Fig. 1: Euboean Sub-protogeometric plate (Eretria Museum; Lefkandi, Toumba grave 42)
Fig. 2: Euboeo-Levantine cups from Al Mina (London, Institute of Archaeology 55.1793; Oxford 1954.371, 514 and 1937.409, the last two from levels 8 and 9)
Fig. 3: Rhodian (?) flask from Ischia (Ischia Museum, grave 159, 5)
Fig. 4: Cups from Toscanos
Fig. 5: Kotyle from Toscanos
Fig. 6: Cups from Toscanos

Harari

Pl. 1. Florence 4209, from Chiusi, Attic black-figure volute-krater signed by Klitias and Ergotimos: detail, geranomachy [from Adolf Furtwängler & Karl Reichhold, Griechische Vasenmalerei 1 (München, 1904) pl. 3]

Pl. 2: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, IV 3221, Attic red-figure pelike: Pygmy between two cranes [courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum: II 10.465]

Pl. 3: Paestum 31773, from Capaccio Scalo, painted slab: Pygmy [photograph by Harari]

Pl. 4: Paestum 31773, from Capaccio Scalo, painted slab: crane [photograph by Harari]

Pl. 5: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, IV 2944, from Volterra, Etruscan red-figure stamnos: Pygmy and crane [courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum: I 10.407]

Pl. 6: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, IV 2944, from Volterra, Etruscan red-figure stamnos: dog (or possibly a pet griffin), Pygmy, and crane [courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum: I 10.408]

Pl. 7: Bologna 410, Etruscan red-figure column-krater: head with Phrygian cap between two cuirasses; small-sized armed dancer [courtesy Museo Civico Archeologico: F 353/3537]

Pl. 8: Agrigento C 299, from Agrigento, clay relief plaquette: Pygmy [from Pietro Griffo & Giovanni Zirretta, Il Museo Civico di Agrigento (Palermo, 1964) 72]

Torelli

Fig. 1: Three fragments of Attic Black-figure vase, from Gravisca: gigantomachy.

Fig. 2: Fragments of Attic Black-figure vase, from Gravisca: Hephaistos.

Fig. 3a: Fragments of an Attic Black-figure kantharos. Athens, Acropolis 2134.

Fig. 3b: Fragments of an Attic Black-figure kantharos. Athens, Acropolis 2134.

Fig. 3c: Fragments of an Attic Black-figure kantharos. Athens, Acropolis 2134.

Small

Fig. 1: Map of South-East Italy
Fig. 2: Santo Mola, Tomb 3, 1952. Negative 42792. inv. 61285, 61292, 61799, 61805 (Courtesy of Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Gioia del Colle)
Fig. 3: The stamnos-krater from Santo Mola, tomb 3, 1952, obverse. Negative 42793, inv. 61285 (Courtesy of Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Gioia del Colle).
Fig. 4: The stamnos-krater from Santo Mola, tomb 3, 1952, reverse. Negative 42794, inv. 61285 (Courtesy of Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Gioia del Colle).

Braun

Fig. 1: Greek colonies in the Western Mediterranean
Fig. 2: Hecataeus: Spain
Fig. 3: Hecataeus: France and Northern Italy
Fig. 4: Hecataeus: Sicily
Fig. 5: Hecataeus: Southern Italy
Fig. 6: Hecataeus: North Africa

Carter

Fig. 1: The area of the marine terrace on the south side of the Basento River, with Incoronata indigena, Incoronata 'greca' and San Teodoro.
Fig. 2: The plateau known as Incoronata 'greca', showing exacavations of the Universities of Milan and Texas
Fig. 3: Detailed plan of the excavations of the University of Texas at Incoronata 'greca' (1977–78)
Fig. 4: Pit B, before excavation (1977)
Fig. 5: 'Colonial style' locally-produced stamnos from Pit B (1977)
Fig. 6: Conical oinochoe, local imitation of a Corinthian shape, from Pit B

Fig. 7: Plan of the rectangular structure on the south eastern spur of Incoronata 'greca'.
Fig. 8: Reconstruction of the revetments and antefixes from the early 6th century shrine at Incoronata 'greca'.
Fig. 9: Typical figurines from the votive deposit, early to mid 6th century B.C., Incoronata 'greca'.

Gill

Fig. 1: Aerial view of Euesperides with the lagoon and Benghazi in the background. The walled Muslim cemetery lies on top of the archaic town of the Sidi Abeid. The grid in the southern extension can be seen next to the lagoon. © Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
Fig. 2: Ground plan of the Greek settlement at Euesperides. © Air Photo Services, based on original plan by G.R.H. Wright.
Fig. 3: Ground plan of the archaic building on the eastern side of the Sidi Abeid, Euesperides. Adaptation © Patricia Flecks, based on original plan by G.R.H. Wright.

De Hoz

Fig. 1: Distribution of Greek inscriptions in Iberia

Domínguez

Fig. 1: Grave goods of tombs no. 23, 38, 43, 44, 48 and 55 of the necropolis Bonjoan, at Emporion. 525–475 B.C.
Fig. 2: Grave goods of tombs nos. 1, 2, 9, 11 and 17 of the necropolis by the North-east wall, at Emporion. Last quarter of the 6th century B.C.

Lomas

Fig. 1: Roman Massalia: Principal sites

This page intentionally left blank

PREFACE

The majority of papers in this volume were delivered at a conference on 'Greek identity in the Western Mediterranean' in honour of the 80th birthday of Professor Brian Shefon, and held at the University of Newcastle Upon Tyne in July 1999. These papers, together with some additional contributions, are dedicated to Professor Shefton who, as Professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Newcastle (Professor Emeritus from 1984) and founder of the eponymous Shefton Museum of Greek Art and Archaeology, has been (and still is) one of the most influential scholars working in this field. The theme of the conference was selected to reflect Professor Shefton's long-standing interest in Greek contacts with the Western Mediterranean, and in the art and material culture of Western Mediterranean peoples such as the Etruscans, but it was also chosen with a view to examining a theme—that of Greek identity—which has become a key strand in modern scholarship in Hellenic studies. The aim was to bring together scholars from a number of backgrounds, including ancient history, epigraphy and numismatics as well as Professor Shefton's own discipline of classical archaeology in order to create a broad examination of Greek identity in a colonial context.

As editor, and organiser of the conference, I would like to thank Lord Rothschild, the Leventis Foundation, the Hellenic Foundation, and the University of Newcastle Archaeological Museums for their generous financial support for the conference. I would also like to thank the British Academy for permission to combine the presentation of the Kenyon medal (awarded June 1999) to Professor Shefton with the conference reception, and extend my thanks to all the staff and student volunteers at the University of Newcastle who helped make the event such a memorable occasion. Finally, I would like to thank the editorial staff at Brill, Job Lisman, Marcella Mulder and Michiel Klein Sworminck, for their patience during the preparation of this volume.

This page intentionally left blank

BRIAN B. SHEFTON

Brian Shefton was born on 11th August 1919 in Cologne as Bruno Benjamin Scheftelowitz, the younger son of Dr. I. Scheftelowitz, Professor of Indo-Iranian Philology at the University of Cologne and Frieda (née Kohn), descending on both sides from rabbinical families. He was pupil at the Apostelgymnasium in Cologne, a strongly catholic school with an established humanistic tradition, until the summer of 1933, when the family left Germany for Britain because of National Socialist political and racial measures. In Britain he attended St. Lawrence College, Ramsgate for one year and then Magdalen College School, Oxford, from where he went up in 1938 as Open Scholar in Ancient History to Oriel College, Oxford, to read "Mods and Greats" with the interruption of military service between 1940 and 1945 (during which he changed his name). Whilst at Oxford he came under the strong influence of Beazley and Jacobsthal, influences which contributed to shaping his later interests.

From Oxford he went at the end of 1947 for about three years to Greek lands as member of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, first as 'School Student', subsequently as Derby Scholar of Oxford University and Bishop Fraser Scholar of Oriel College. There he became particularly involved with work on Attic pottery from the American School of Classical Studies' excavations at the Athenian Agora. During the spring of 1949 he was member of the joint British and Turkish excavation team at Old Smyrna (J.M. Cook and E. Akurgal). At the time he was also preparing the publication of material from Perachora, the sanctuary of Hera in the Corinthia, which had been excavated before the War by the British School under Humfry Payne.

Appointed in 1950 to a lectureship in Classics at the then University College of the South West at Exeter (now the University of Exeter) he began to develop the study of Greek Art and Archaeology there. Whilst in Exeter he made the startling discovery of the fragments of the Jena Painter's pelike from Cyrenaica with the very important representation, influenced by Sophocles' 'Electra', of Orestes at the grave of Agamemnon, which had in the past been left as gift to the University College by the Radford family. He also uncovered at

the Royal Albert Memorial Museum in Exeter the important but entirely forgotten holdings of part of Biliotti's excavation yield made in the years after the mid-19th century from archaic and classical period graves on the island of Rhodes.

In 1955 he moved to the then King's College, Newcastle upon Tyne (within the then University of Durham) as Lecturer of Greek Archaeology and Ancient History with the special mission to start and develop there the study of Greek (as against the already flourishing Romano-British) Art and Archaeology. He remained in Newcastle for the rest of his academic career to build up the very considerable resources in Greek and Classical Archaeology, which exist there now. A particular feature during this time was that for many years the prestigious Sir James Knott Research Fellowships of the University were in large measure awarded to high flying young doctoral and post-doctoral researchers in Greek and Classical Archaeology, in general coming from other Universities (and countries), who were beginning to make a name for themselves and who in due course proceeded to leading appointments in the Universities and the National Museums in this country and abroad. These researchers were able to make use of the exceptional library resources in the field which were being built up over those years. It was pleasing to see that a good number of these scholars returned to Newcastle to participate in the 1999 celebratory conference published in this volume.

Another feature of these years was the creation and growth of the Shefton Museum of Greek Art and Archaeology, as it is now called. It started with a few pieces acquired in 1955 with a grant of £25 at the prompting of the then Rector Dr. C.I.C. Bosanquet, whose father had been Director of the British School of Archaeology at Athens in the early years of the 20th century. Its initial purpose was to encourage the teaching of the then newly introduced subject. In fact for a variety of reasons it developed well beyond that to become over the years one of the most important medium-sized University collections of Greek Archaeology of post World War II creation anywhere, an achievement all the more remarkable as the resources available have always been modest. In its early days known as the "Greek Museum", it acquired its present name in 1994.

Outside his own University Brian Shefton lectured very extensively both in this country and even more abroad, in the continent of Europe and beyond, on occasions sponsored by public bodies such as the British Council. He held a Visiting Research Fellowship at

Merton College Oxford, the Webster Memorial Lectureship at Stanford University, California and the Visiting Chair of Classical Archaeology at Vienna in the Winter Semester of 1981-82. He spent funded Research periods at Marburg, Cologne and Tübingen Universities as well as in the then Soviet Union.

The range of his interests and active work was initially focussed on the study of Greek, especially Attic vases and their iconography, but in later decades he began increasingly to embrace the study of the distribution and diaspora of Greek and Etruscan elite goods and artefacts, including bronze vessels to regions at the extremities of the Mediterranean and beyond into their hinterland in order to draw out the historical and artistic implications flowing from these phenomena. Such interests extended from the Iberian peninsula, the Celtic lands of present day France and Southern Germany into the interior of the Balkans and the hinterland of the Black Sea. Latterly the areas of Phoenicia, Israel and the Palestinian lands have also come to engage his attention. The application of the strict canons derived from expertise in the classical Greek and Etruscan material to the areas of their dispersion far away from their homeland has yielded much that is surprising, new and important.

An enterprising, even adventurous traveller in his younger days he was perhaps the first foreigner to make the treck on foot from Olympia to Andritsaina and the temple of Bassae in the rough and turbulent years of violent internal discord in Greece following the end of the War. He was amongst the first scholars to enter Albania as archaeologist during the dictatorship in the early seventies, having narrowly missed a fatal plane crash en route. Once arrived in the country he was an appreciative guest of the Albanian Academy. Later on though in the same journey he experienced the inside of a 'Black Maria' after a fracas with Marshal Tito's police in Skopje. As against this he had relished the generosity of the Royal Hellenic Navy and Air Force which allowed themselves to be persuaded to take him by plane and on board a Destroyer to the monasteries of the Holy Mountain of Athos at Eastertime 1948, not long after his first arrival in Greece.

In 1960 he married Jutta (née Ebel) from Alingsås, Sweden. They have one daughter. In 1979 his Readership was elevated to the Chair of Greek Art and Archaeology, a position he held until his retirement in 1984, when he became Emeritus Professor of the University.

In 1985 he was elected Fellow of the British Academy, which

awarded its Kenyon Medal for Classical Studies to him in 1999. In 1989 Cologne University made him Dr. Phil. *hon. causa* during its 600 years Jubilee. He has also since his retirement held several prestigious Fellowships, including a Leverhulme Emeritus Fellowship, a Getty Visiting Fellowship at Malibu, California, the Balsdon Fellowship at the British School at Rome as well as the British Academy Exchange Fellowship with the Israel Academy, held in Jerusalem. His active research and lecturing work is continuing with very recent lecturing engagement both at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles and the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

A Select Bibliography

Books (or contributions to books)

1962: Arias, P.E., Hirmer, M., Shefton, B.B., *A history of Greek vase painting*. London
1962: Contribution on non-Attic imports in T. Dunbabin (ed.) *Perachora II*. Oxford
1979: *Die 'Rhodischen' Bronzekannen*. Mainz
1982: 'Greeks and Greek imports in the south of the Iberian peninsula: the archaeological evidence, in H.G. Niemeyer (ed.) *Die Phönizier im Westen*. Mainz
1982: 'The krater from Baksy', in D. Kurtz and B. Sparkes, ed. *The Eye of Greece. Studies in honour of Martin Robertson*. Cambridge

Articles and conference papers

'The dedication of Callimachus (*IG* I^2 609)' *Annual of the British School at Athens* 45, 1950
'Three Laconian vase painters' *Annual of the British School at Athens* 49, 1954
'Odysseus and Bellerophon reliefs' *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 82, 1958
'Some iconographic remarks on the Tyrannicides' *American Journal of Archaeology* 64, 1960
'Herakles and Theseus on a red-figured louterion' *Hesperia* 31, 1962
'Attische Meisterwerk und Etruskische Kopie' in *Die Griechishe Vase*. Wissenschaftl. Zeitschrift Univ. Rostock, 1967
'The Greek Museum, The University of Newcastle upon Tyne' *Archaeological Reports* 16, 1969–70, 62
'Persian gold and Attic black-glaze. Achaemenid influences on Attic pottery of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.' *Annales Archéologiques Arabiennes et Syriennes*, 1970
'Agamemnon or Ajax?' *Revue Archéologique* 1973
'Das Augenschalenmotiv in der etruskischen Toreutik' in W. Schiering (ed.) *Die Aufnahme Fremder Kultureinflusse in Etrurien und das Problem des Retardieren in der etruskischen Kunst*. Mannheim, 1981
'Magna Grecia, Macedonia or neither? Some problems in 4th century B.C. metalwork' in *Magna Grecia, Epiro e Macedonia: atti del 24º convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto, 5–10 ottobre 1984*, 399–409. Naples 1985
'A Greek Lionhead in New Castle and Zurich', *Antiquity* 59, 1985, 42–45, pll. 9–11a

‘Le strutture del commercio’, in *Il Commercio Etrusci arcaico. Atti dell’incontro di studio, Rome 1985*. Rome: Consiglio Nationale della Ricerca, 1985, 285–88
‘Der Stamnos’ in W. Kimmig, *Das Kleinaspergle*. Stuttgart, 1988, 104–152
‘Zum Import und Einfluss mediterraner Güter in Alteuropa’ *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, 22, 1989, 207–220
‘Zum Import und Einfluß mediterraner Güter in Alteuropa’, *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 22 (1989) 207–220
‘East Greek influences in sixth-century Attic vase-painting and some Laconian trails’ in *Greek vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*. Vol. 4 (= *Occasional papers on antiquities*, 5) J. Paul Getty Museum, 1991, 41–72
‘Comentarios a los “Apuntes Ibéricos”’ *Trabajos de prehistoria* 48, 1991, 309–312
‘The Baksy Krater once more and some observations on the East Pediment of the Partheneon’ in *Kotinos: Festschrift für Erika Simon*, 241–251. Berlin, 1992
‘The Recanati group: a study of some archaic bronze vessels in central Italy and their Greek antecedents’ *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung* 99, 1992, 139–162
‘The White Lotus, Rogozen and Colchis: the fate of a motif’ in *Cultural transformations and interactions in Eastern Europe*. Aldershot 1993, 178–209
‘The Waldalgesheim Situla: where was it made?’ in *Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, 16 (*Festschrift für Otto-Herman Frey zum 65. Geburtstag*). 1994, 583–594
‘Massalia and colonization in the north-western Mediterranean’ in *The archaeology of Greek colonization: essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman*. Oxford 1994, 61–86
‘Greek imports at the extremities of the Mediterranean, West and East: reflections on the case of Iberia in the fifth century B.C.’ in *Social complexity and the development of towns in Iberia from the Copper Age to the Second Century A.D.* (Proceedings of the British Academy 86), 1995, 127–155
‘Leaven in the dough. Greek and Etruscan imports north of the Alps—the classical period’ in J. Swaddling, S. Walker and P. Roberts (ed.) *Italy in Europe: economic relations 700 B.C.–A.D. 50* (British Museum Occasional Paper 97) 1995, 9–44
‘The Castulo cup: an Attic shape in black glaze of special significance in Sicily (with philological addenda by J.H.W. Penney)’ in *I vasi Attici ed altre ceramiche coeve in Sicilia*. Catania 1996, 85–98
‘Castulo cups in the Aegean, the Black Sea area and the Near East with the respective hinterland’ in *Sur les traces des Argonautes: Actes du 6e symposium de Vani (Colchide)*. Besançon and Paris 1996, 164–186
‘Metal and clay: prototype and re-creation’ *Revue des Études Anciennes* 100, 1998, 619–662
‘A brief commentary on the catalogue’ in *Un quartier du port Phénicien de Beyrouth au Fer III/Perse. Les objets*. (*Transeuphraténe* supp. 6). Paris, 1998
‘The Lancut Group, Silhouette Technique and Coral Red: some Attic 5th century export material in pan-Mediterranean sight’ in *Céramique et peinture grecques: mode d’emploi. Actes du colloque internationale*. Paris, 1999
‘Reflections on the presence of Attic pottery at the eastern end of the Mediterranean during the Persian period’ *Transeuphraténe* 19 (2000)
‘On the material in its northern setting’, in W. Kimmig, ed., *Importe und mediterrane Einflüsse auf der Heuneberg*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000
‘Bronzi Greco ed etruschi del Piceno’ in *Eroi e Regine: Piceni, Popolo d’Europa*. Rome, De Luca, 2001
‘Adriatic links between Aegean Greece and Iron Age Europe during the Archaic and Early Classical periods: Facts and some hypotheses’ in L. Braccesi, L. Malnati and F. Raviola, ed., *L’Adriatico, i greci e l’Europa*. Padua, 2001
‘Some special features of Attic imports on Phoenician sites in Israel’, in *Actas del IV Congreso Internacional de Estudios Fenicos y Punicos*. Madrid, 2001
‘Contacts between Picenum and the Greek world to the end of the 5th century B.C.:

Imports, influences and perceptions' in *I Piceni e l'Italia medio-adriatica. Atti del XII° Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici*. Madrid: forthcoming

'The Graechwil Hydria: The object and its milieu beyond Graechwil' in M. Guggisberg, ed., *Die Hydria von Graechwil. Zur Funktion und Rezeption mediterraner Importe im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr.* Bern: forthcoming

INTRODUCTION

Kathryn Lomas
University College London

The questions of Greek identity, how it was defined by the Greeks themselves, and others, and how it changed and evolved, have preoccupied scholars to a considerable extent in recent years. Historically, Greek identity was assumed to be reasonably static and homogenous, and to have been defined by the well-known 5th century B.C. tendency to divide the world in to Greeks and barbarians, defining Greekness in opposition to a general sense of otherness. However, the recent focus on the identity of the Greeks, as perceived by both themselves and others, and increasing scholarly interest in the Greeks on the margins of the Greek world, has led to a radical reappraisal of the topic. This is accompanied by more widespread changes in anthropological approaches to ethnicity in general, moving away from the primordialist approach, which emphasises the apparent immutability of ethnicity and the importance of race and descent-groups in defining it, towards a more diverse series of approaches and a view of ethnicity as a flexible and evolving concept which is culturally constructed.[1] It is no accident that this upsurge of interest in definitions of ethnic and cultural identity amongst the Greeks and other ancient peoples has coincided with contemporary concerns surrounding the fragmentation of many areas of the Balkans and eastern Europe, and the intense debates about the nature of cultural identity currently taking place in the Islamic world. Ethnicity and identity are therefore topics of intense contemporary relevance and concern, and changing approaches to ancient identities must inevitably be considered in the context of these wider debates.

This awareness of the diversity of ethnic identity can be seen in

---

[1] F. Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The social organisation of cultural difference* (Boston, 1969); B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York, 1983); E. Hobsbawm, 'Inventing Traditions' in E. Hobsbawm and R. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983); I. Malkin, 'Introduction' in I. Malkin, ed., *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethncity* (Washington, 2001), 15–19.

the move away from considering Greek identity as a monolithic whole—an overarching sense of common Greekness—towards regarding Hellenism and Greek ethnicity as multi-layered, constantly changing, and culturally-constructed, concepts.[2] The recent adoption of the term 'Hellenicity'[3] to describe the mixture of ethnic and cultural elements which together make up ancient Greek identity is perhaps a logical conclusion of the tension between descent-based elements and cultural constructs in the ways in which both Greeks and other ancient peoples tried to define what it was to be a Greek.

The Greeks' sense of their own ethnicity seems to show some major changes over time. A broadly aggregative identity, defined by a shared history, shared mythology or genealogy, common language, common ethnic name and shared social structures and religious cults, was the dominant form of identity in the archaic period.[4] Herodotos' famous definition of the Greeks as having 'community of blood and language, temples and ritual—our common way of life' is mirrored almost exactly by the definitions of aggregative identity used by modern scholars, which places considerable emphasis on the role of shared genealogies, mythologies, cults to create an internally-generated sense of identity based on kinship.[5] By the 5th century B.C., however, there is a perceptible shift towards an oppositional identity, defining Greek ethnicity in opposition to non-Greeks, and to a growing emphasis on state-based *polis* identity as the primary form of identity of most Greeks. Ultimately, by the period after the Roman conquest of Greece, this evolved again, to the re-definition of Greek identity in terms of Hellenism—a mutable and transferable cultural identity.[6]

One of the major questions which this conference set out to address is whether there are any significant differences between the heartland of the Greek world and the peripheral areas of Greek colonisation in the ways in which a sense of Greek identity and ethnicity

---

[2] For an excellent overview of changing approaches to Greek ethnicity, see Malkin, 'Introduction' in Malkin, ed., *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* 1–19.

[3] J.M. Hall, *Hellenicity* (Chicago, 2002).

[4] A.D. Smith, *The Ethnic origins of nations* (Oxford, 1986); C. Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language* (London, 1987), 214–8; J.M. Hall, *Ethnic identity in Greek antiquity* (Cambridge, 1997).

[5] Smith 1986: *Ethnic origins of nations*; Hdt. 8.144.2.

[6] Hall, *Ethnic identity*; D. Konstan '*To Hellenikon ethnos*. Ethnicity and the construction of ancient Greek identity' in Malkin, ed., *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, 29–50.

develops, and in particular, whether regional Greek identities can be discerned. The various ways in which Greek identity in the West evolved over time are explored in this volume by Hall, who identifies the 5th century B.C. as the point when identities shift away from the aggregative, internally-defined, concept of identity of the archaic period to the oppositional model, as concepts of Hellenism and barbarism crystallise throughout the Greek world. He concludes, however, that regional identities were always a weak concept compared to the state identities of individual *poleis*, descent-based identities as Dorians or Ionians, and to an over-arching sense of common Hellenism. However, the existence or otherwise of some level of nascent regional identity is a complex topic and the issue is far from clear-cut. What constituted an Italiote is indeed very nebulous, and local Greek identity in Spain and southern France is closely related to the identity of one particular state, Phocaea, but there is some evidence that a more general Sikeliote identity may have developed, at least to some extent,[7] and one of the themes which emerged strongly from the conference on which this volume is based is that Greek identity was not only multi-layered and constantly changing in response to the needs and priorities of particular communities, but also varied throughout the western Mediterranean.

One of the difficulties inherent in examining Greek identity in the western Mediterranean is that the vast majority of our written sources are generated from outside the communities concerned, and the extent to which the earliest Greek historians had access to reliable information about the western Mediterranean is difficult to assess. Excavation and a systematic programme of publication of inscriptions has greatly increased the epigraphic resources at our disposal for the study of Greek colonies in the west and most of these represent a local viewpoint, but most literary evidence represents an external, and frequently a later, perspective. This inevitably sets up a tension between the emic, internally-defined, identity revealed by archaeological and epigraphic evidence, and the largely etic, or externally-defined, identities represented in ancient literature. Braun's contribution

[7] G. Maddoli, 'Il concetto di Magna Grecia: Gennesi di un realta storico-politiche', in *Megale Hellas: Nome e immagine. Atti di 21º Convegno sulla studi di Magna Grecia* (Taranto, 1972), 9–30; K. Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks. Conquest and acculturation in southern Italy* (London, 1993), 8–13; C. Antonaccio, 'Ethnicity and colonization' in Malkin, *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethncity*, 113–58.

tackles one aspect of this problem, providing a comprehensive survey of the western peoples and places mentioned in the surviving fragments of Hecataeus which unravels the ambiguities in identification of many of the smaller Greek settlements and assesses the value of ancient geographical sources as evidence for the Greek colonies and non-Greek inhabitants, while Barron's paper shows how the emic and the etic aspects, represented by literary and epigraphic evidence, can be integrated to illuminate the history of ancient Samos and its connections with the West.

The interpretation of non-literary sources as evidence for ethnicity or cultural identity carries its own methodological problems. The easy equivalence between material cultures and ethnic groups is now discredited, but the reasons for changes in style and the adoption or abandonment of particular artefacts is still far from clear. In particular, the interpretation of archaeological artefacts is fraught with difficulties in cases where potentially represent cultural contact on in which they have crossed a cultural or ethnic boundary.[8] Similarly, iconography—as demonstrated in this volume—can be a powerful tool for examining cultural identity, but it is not always easy to determine the meaning of a particular visual theme or the level of intentionality behind its usage. The meaning and significance of particular motifs or representations may not have been static even within the Greek community, and the difficulties of interpretation multiply when Greek artefacts are found in non-Greek contexts. Interpretation becomes even more difficult when Greek myths and visual motifs are used in the material culture of non-Greeks, as it is not at all clear in most cases whether this reflects some degree of Hellenization or whether the meaning and significance of the borrowing has been entirely transformed by its non-Greek context. Perhaps the most stark warning against making superficial assumptions about material culture is contained in the paper by Jones and Buxeda, which demonstrates that entire classes of pottery which would be identified on stylistic criteria as Greek imports or as products of a Greek colony were in fact manufactured in indigenous communities.

The interface between colonisation and the development of ethnic/cultural identity is a peculiarly complex one, because it encapsulates many areas of tension. The position of the colonisers, on the mar-

[8] S. Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity* (London, 1997).

gins of the Greek world and in a context where they may be relatively isolated from other Greek communities, is one which forced communities to evaluate their cultural and ethnic identity in a very immediate sense. The fact that much of the colonising activity in the Western Mediterranean took place in the 8th century B.C., and therefore at an early stage in the development of the Greek *polis*, raises interesting questions about the processes by which ethnic and cultural identity are formed in a new community and the role of the colonial context in crystallising these. A new state, whether founded as a deliberate act or emerging as a result of socio-political change, has a need to develop an identity which sets it apart from other states and which acts as a force for social cohesion.[9] The problem is complicated by the fact that much of our understanding of the processes of colonial foundation and the ways in which these shaped identity of communities have undergone considerable change in recent years. The ancient sources, mostly written in the 5th century B.C. or later, place great emphasis on colonisation as a structured act, initiated by the state, and with well-defined stages to be gone through and actions to be performed. An oracle—preferably that of Delphi—must be consulted, an oikist must be nominated, the correct rituals must be carried out and the boundaries and cult-places of the new settlement must be determined.[10] There is, however, increasing evidence that in the world of the 8th century B.C., colonisation was more a gradual process of migration and settlement over time rather than a single, considered and state-driven act.[11] Traditionally, Greek contacts with the West which pre-dated the foundation of *polis*-type communities were identified as part of a system of pre-colonial contact and therefore assumed to be fundamentally different in their motivations and the nature of their contacts with indigenous populations. Recent excavation, however, has indicated that the early habitation phases of Greek colonies were inhabited by

[9] For an overview of this from a non-Greek perspective, see E. Herring and K. Lomas, 'Introduction' in Herring and Lomas, ed., *The Emergence of State identity in Italy in the 1st Millennium B.C.* (London, 2000).

[10] A.J. Graham, *Colony and mother city in ancient Greece* (Manchester, 1964).

[11] R. Osborne, 'Early Greek colonisation? The nature of Greek settlement in the West' in N. Fisher and H. van Wees, *Archaic Greece: New approaches and new evidence* (Cardiff, 1998), 251–69. For a contrary view, see A. Snodgrass. 'The growth and standing of the early western colonies' in F. de Angelis and G. Tsetskhladze, ed., *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation* (Oxford, 1994), 7–9.

a mixture of Greeks and non-Greeks, and may have pre-dated the organisation of the community into a *polis*.[12] Ridgway's paper reviews the evidence for early contact between Greece and the West in the light of revised chronologies for the Italian Iron Age, and concludes that the concept of 'pre-colonisation' as something distinct from early colonial contact is no longer valid. These recent reappraisals of early contacts between east and west, and the ethnically mixed nature of the earliest phases of many colonies, raise important questions about the chronology and formation of a coherent Greek identity in the earliest phases of the 8th century B.C. colonies. It is clear, for instance, that the Greek colonies in the West developed the foundation myths and concepts of shared ancestry and kinship within the community which are a characteristic of an aggregative ethnic identity, and which also served as tools for validating Greek claims to the territories they occupied. What is less clear is the stage of development at which a fully Greek identity emerged, and there is increasing archaeological evidence for the possibility that a fully-defined Greek identity may not have developed until after the initial phases of settlement.[13] It is also possible that in a colonial context, the boundaries between aggregative, internally-generated, identities and oppositional identities, defined in contrast to others, may differ from those of mainland Greece and the Aegean.

The processes of settlement and colonisation, and the impact of these on the later development of identity in a colony, are the focus of papers by Braccesi, Gill and Carter. Gill and Braccesi view the process of colonisation as one which is strongly linked with trade and migration, connecting the foundation of Euhesperides in Cyrenaica with the development of trade routes and communication with the West, and linking the increasing amount of evidence for Greek contact with the northern Adriatic to trade routes between the Aegean and northern Italy. Carter, in contrast, focuses less on the motivation for colonisation than on the evidence for the earliest phases of

---

[12] Osborne, in Fisher and van Wees, *Archaic Greece: New approaches*, 251–69; I. Malkin, 'Inside and outside: Colonization and the formation of the mother city' in *ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑ. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner* (Naples, 1990), 1–10

[13] Osborne, in Fisher and van Wees, *Archaic Greece: New approaches*, 251–69; F. De Angelis 'The foundation of Selinous' in De Angelis and Tsetskhladze, ed., *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation*, 87–110; G.J.L.M. Burgers, *Constructing Messapian landscapes* (Amsterdam, 1998), 212–24.

Greek settlement at Metaponto, and what we can glean from it about the development of the settlement and its identity in its earliest phases. His analysis of evidence for the cohabitation of Greeks and Italians on some of the earliest sites in the *chora* of Metaponto, raises important questions about the development of Greek identity in the early phases of colonisation. It also grapples with the contentious questions raised by analysis of skeletal remains, and the interface between physical evidence for different ethnic groups and the socially-constructed identities implied by other forms of evidence.

The early date of many of the western colonies also raises some interesting questions about the relationship between ethnic identity and *polis* identity. It has been cogently argued by some scholars that the concept of ethnic identity is largely a modern preoccupation, deriving from the modern phenomenon of nationalism and national identity, and that it should therefore be regarded as a relatively weak or unhelpful concept in the context of the ancient world.[14] However, this is to beg a series of important questions. It is clear that most ancient Greeks had a strong sense of ethnic/cultural identity as well as a strongly-developed *polis* identity. In the western Mediterranean, it is complicated by the fact that many Greek communities started to develop at a time when the concept of the *polis* itself was still emerging, a fact which forces us to consider whether the interface between ethnic and state identity may have developed differently in the western colonies, and if so, what factors influenced this. There are differences, for instance, between the identity of the early Achaean colonies of southern Italy, and the strong sense of Phocaean—i.e. *polis*-specific—identity of the later foundations of Elea, Massilia and Emporion.

It is clear, however, that there were many sub-divisions and competing identities within this common Hellenism. The mother-city came to be an important element in how some colonies defined their identities by the 5th century B.C., but this seems to have been more central to some communities than others. Kerschner and Dominguez (and, to a lesser extent, Lomas) explore the role of the mother-city from a number of different perspectives using the Phocaean colonies, in which it was particularly prominent, as a case-study. Dominguez argues, on the basis of cultural similarities between Phocaean colonies

[14] Malkin, 'Introduction' in Malkin, ed., *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, 16–17; E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1993).

in disparate areas of the Western Mediterranean—Velia, Massilia, and Emporion—that there was an over-arching Phocaean identity which was central to the culture of these cities. Kerschner approaches the same problem from the standpoint of material culture, tracing the contacts between Phocaeans and the West through pottery exports, while Lomas considers the role of the Phocaean background in shaping the later, Roman, identity of Massilia.

One of the key themes which runs though many of the papers in this volume is that of interaction between Greeks and non-Greeks, and in particular the need to replace one-sided concepts such as Hellenization with a more multi-layered understanding of the dynamics of Greek-non-Greek contact. The sense of 'the Other' and the need to respond to it is a key element in the development of oppositional ethnic identity. This can clearly be seen in the growing importance of an oppositional identity in Greece in the aftermath of the Persian Wars, defining Greekness in direct opposition to non-Greeks, and in the consequent development of the idea of the barbarian.[15] In a colonial context, however, where the nearest neighbouring communities are more likely to be 'the Other' than another Greek state, the emphasis may have been different. It is clear from a wide variety of evidence that the Greeks of the western Mediterranean shared trading contacts, political alliances, social relations and even intermarriage with their non-Greek neighbours. In some contexts, this seems to have had the effect of crystallising cultural identities sharply, but in other contexts, flexibility and cultural exchange seems to have been the norm. In south-east Italy, for instance, there is archeometric evidence for ready transmission of stylistic and technical changes in pottery manufacture between Greeks and non-Greeks, as well as material evidence that many sanctuary sites may have had an important function as *loci* of inter-ethnic trade and exchange, and historical evidence for periodic alliances between Greek and non-Greeks as well as periods of hostility.[16] There is a significant difference between the rhetoric of Greeks and barbarians found in the literary sources—mostly generated from outside the colonial environment—

[15] Hall, *Ethnic identity*; E.M. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian* (Oxford, 1989).

[16] Jones and Buxeda i Garrigós, this volume; J.B. Wilkins and R. Whitehouse, 'Greeks and Natives in South-East Italy: Approaches to the Archaeological Evidence' in T. Champion, *Centre and Periphery* (London, 1989), 102–27; K. Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks*, 34–37, 40–44.

and the ample evidence provided by archaeology, epigraphy and coinage for political, social and cultural contact.

Culture-contact has in itself been a hugely problematic area for scholars. The conceptualisation of Greek and indigenous contact as Hellenization—implying a top-down transmission of a higher culture to a less sophisticated one, as well as a one-way process—is clearly no longer tenable. Throughout the western Mediterranean, there is overwhelming evidence that the contacts between Greeks and non-Greeks were not a static, one-way, flow of influences but a dynamic process of cultural dialogue, which was enormously varied according to the context and type of contact, and social level at which it took place. A number of papers in this volume provide case-studies of cultural exchange in action, in a variety of contexts. Jones and Buxeda i Garrigós apply a range of modern scientific techniques to the frequently-debated question of the provenance of Greek-style pottery found in Italy, and their conclusion that a considerable quantity was in fact produced locally in non-Greek contexts rather than imported, provides a strong indication that Greek techniques and styles were being adopted by the indigenous populations and adapted for their own uses at an early date. Material from Sicily shows a similar pattern of development. Antonaccio's examination of Siculo-geometric ware confirms that this level of cultural exchange, and quite possibly cultural hybridisation, is not a purely Italic phenomenon but is common to other areas of colonial settlement. The social context of such exchanges, and what they might tell us about non-Greek societies and their interaction with Greek colonies is explored in Small's analysis of pottery from south-east Italy which, when examined in the light of contemporary Greek literary sources, indicates a high degree of exchange of cultural and social customs as well as material objects. Boardman considers a similar question from the standpoint of variations in shapes of exported Greek pottery and assesses the preference for particular types and styles as evidence not just for cultural differences in usage but also for the social customs and rituals attached to them. In extreme cases, we must also examine the identity of communities which eventually became entirely culturally mixed. Following the expansion of the Oscan-speaking peoples of the Apennines throughout a large area of southern Italy in the late 5th century B.C.,[17] and the demographic changes engineered

[17] Diod. 12.31.1, 12.76.4, 16.15.1, Livy 4.37.1–2, 4.44.12, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 15.3–6, Strabo *Geog.* 5.4.7.

in Sicily by the rulers of Syracuse in the 4th century,[18] some communities came to have a very mixed ethnic and cultural identity. A case-study of relations between Greeks and non-Greeks in a community of particularly complex ethnicity—Poseidonia—is provided by Rausch, who examines the role of the extra-urban sanctuaries of the city and the connections of Poseidonia with neighbouring Italic communities, as an example of Greek interaction with Italians, and in particular as an example of non-hostile contact.[19]

The two-way process of cultural exchange and the difficulties inherent in interpreting the cultural messages of material goods is equally apparent in the study of Greek iconography in the western Mediterranean. The concept of otherness and its representation in art and iconography is explored by Harari, who examines the representation of the pygmy in Greek and Italian art as a representation of—and metaphor for—cultural otherness, and traces its development from the 6th century B.C. to the Roman empire. Examination of Greek pottery imported into Etruria also raises questions about cultural exchange and in particular on the role and cultural impact of the Greeks in a region which was not colonised by them but which was an area of intense inter-cultural contact. Both Izzet and Torelli, examining the iconography and cultural context of key prestige pieces of Greek pottery found at the Etruscan sanctuary at Gravisca and in burials at Caere, conclude that the import of Greek prestige goods into Etruria was an important conduit for culture-contact. Izzet's examination of the iconography and inscriptions of the Aristonothos krater further concludes that such items may also represent the ambiguity of attitudes towards otherness, as well as being an indicator of close cultural contact.

It is all too easy to restrict consideration of Greek identity to those cities which were Greek colonies, but the ancient Greeks were a highly mobile population and there were many Greeks spread throughout the Mediterranean who did not fit into the neat categories of kleruch or colonist. These included vast numbers of traders, mercenaries and other itinerant groups who lived primarily in non-Greek

[18] Diod. 11.72. 3–73.3, 11.76. 4–6, 14.14. 4–15. 4, 14.77. 5–78. 6.

[19] On the co-existence of Greek and Lucanian identities at Paestum after 410 B.C., see G.W. Bowersock, 'Les Grecs barbarisés' *Ktema* 17 (1990) 249–57; J.G. Pedley, *Paestum* (London, 1990), 97–112.

communities. De Hoz's paper provides a valuable study of Greeks outside the colonial context, examining the experience and cultural identity of Greeks living in Iberian communities rather than Greek colonies. The evidence represents a range of experiences and forms of contact, ranging from individual traders and craftsmen, and political exiles from Greek communities, to small groups of Greeks who lived within indigenous Iberian communities. The experience of Greek traders, their role in transmitting Greek artefacts and cultural influences, and the reception of these in non-Greek areas, is also examined by Torelli and Izzet (see above, p. 10), who explore modes of cultural interaction with the Etruscans via the import of Greek painted pottery.

Many of the papers in this volume focus on the history of the Greek West in the archaic and classical periods, but the Hellenistic era was no less turbulent and the Hellenistic history of the western Greeks poses some different but no less fascinating questions about their identity. The changing nature of the indigenous population in Italy and Sicily from the late 5th century B.C. posed new challenges for the Greeks, as did the increasing military and political involvement of mainland Greeks. There were also wider changes in conceptualisations of Greek identity, triggered by the need to accommodate the rise of Macedonian power in the 4th century B.C., and that of Rome in the 3rd–2nd centuries. Zambon's study of Hellenistic Sicily adopts a historical approach, assessing the impact of the tyrants of Syracuse in the late 3rd century B.C. on Greek identity on the island, and in so doing, highlights an interesting paradox. He identifies the two principal distinguishing features of Syracusan tyranny at this date as the need to defend Greek Sicily against the Carthaginians and the impulse to expand Syracusan power—factors which worked against each other to undermine the identity and autonomy of Greek *poleis* even while seeking to defend Greek interests against outsiders.

The later history of the Greeks in the Western Mediterranean is one of the less explored aspects of the subject, and until relatively recently, one could be forgiven for thinking that the Roman conquest had eradicated Greek identity. Research on the Greeks in Italy and Sicily focused on the idea, present in some of the ancient sources,[20] that these regions went into a period of deep economic

[20] Cic. *Amic.* 13, Dio Chrys. 33.25, Strabo *Geog.* 6.1.2, Aristox. ap. Athen. *Deip.* 14.632a–b.

decline, depopulation and barbarisation.[21] Over the past 20 years, however, the increasing amount of archaeological evidence available has rendered this viewpoint untenable. It is clear that although deep-seated changes were taking place in the economy and society of these regions, the Greek communities were by no means abandoned or derelict[22] and that the process of Romanization in the late Republic and early empire was very much a dynamic cultural dialogue rather than a straightforward process of assimilation.[23] Lomas's paper extends this analysis of interaction between Greek and Roman cultures to Hellenistic and Roman Massilia, and examines the ways in which the identity of the city was constructed from a mixture of Greek and Roman elements, and a variety of viewpoints which ranged from Roman fascination with the city's traditional austerity to the Gallic nobility's focus on the city as an intellectual centre, and the attempts by the indigenous elite to balance Roman customs against Greek traditions.

Although it is doubtful that there is such a thing as a 'western Greek' identity, it is also clear that Greek identity in the western Mediterranean does have aspects to its development which differ from those of the mainland and Aegean Greeks. The Greek experience in the western Mediterranean is also very disparate; Greek communities are found in many different areas of the region, and represent a huge range in the chronology and circumstances of their foundation, their development, and the range of indigenous populations they interacted with. This group of colonies allow us to examine strategies for determining cultural identity in a significantly non-Greek context, and in the context of differing settlement processes and backgrounds. As one would expect, the development and identity of colonies founded as part of the first wave of colonisation differ somewhat from that of those founded later. Contact with a wide variety of non-Greek populations is also a central factor in shaping

[21] U. Kahrstedt *Der Wirtschaftsliche Lage Grossgriechenlands unter der Kaiserzeit* (Stuttgart, 1960); A.J. Toynbee *Hannibal's Legacy* (Oxford, 1965).

[22] F. Costabile, *Municipium Locrensium* (Naples, 1978); P. Desy *Recherches sur l'économie apulienne au II^e^ et au I^er^ siècle avant notre ère* (Brussels, 1993); S. Accardo, *Villae Romanae nell'ager bruttius. Il paesaggio rurale calabrese durante il dominio* romano (Rome, 2000); R.J.A. Wilson, *Sicily under the Roman Empire* (London, 1994).

[23] G.W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford, 1965); *ibid.* 'Les Grecs barbarisés', 249–57; Lomas, *Rome and the Western* Greeks; Wilson, *Sicily under the Roman Empire.*

the identity of the western colonies, and it is becoming increasingly clear that it is impossible to study the Greek colonies in isolation from their local (non-Greek) environment. This disparateness of experience is, however, not a weakness or an indication of the marginality of the western colonies, but the factor which makes the Greek colonies of the western Mediterranean such a valuable field of study for anyone interested in Greek ethnicity and cultural identity.

Bibliography

Accardo, S. *Villae Romanae nell'ager bruttius. Il paesaggio rurale calabrese durante il dominio romano*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2000

Anderson, B. *Imagined Communities*. New York: Verso, 1983

Barth, F. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The social organisation of cultural difference*. Boston: Little Brown, 1969

Bowersock, G.W. *Augustus and the Greek World*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965

——. 'Les Grecs barbarisés', *Ktema* 17 (1992) 249–57

Burgers, G.-J.L.M. *Constructing Messapian Landscapes. Settlement dynamics, social organisation and culture contact in the margins of Graeco-Roman Italy*. Amsterdam: Gieben, 1998

Costabile, F. *Municipium Locrensium*. Naples: Fratelli Conte, 1978

De Angelis, F., 'The foundation of Selinous', in F. De Angelis, G. Tsetskhladze, ed., *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation*, 87–110.

——, G. Tsetskhladze, ed., *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation. Essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1994

Desy, P. *Recherches sur l'économie apulienne au II^e^ et au I^er^ siècle avant notre ère*. Brussels: Latomus, 1993

Dunbabin, T.J. *The Western Greeks*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939

Graham, A.J. *Colony and mother city in ancient Greece*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1964

——. 'Pre-Colonial Contacts: Questions and Problems' in J.P. Descoeudres, ed., *Greek Colonists and Native Populations*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, 45–60

Hall, E.M. *Inventing the Barbarian*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989

Hall, J.M. *Ethnic identity in Greek antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997

——. *Hellenicity: between ethnicity and culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002

Herring, E., Lomas, K. 'Introduction' in E. Herring, K. Lomas. ed., *The Emergence of State identity in Italy in the 1st Millennium B.C.* London, Accordia Research Institute, 2000

Hobsbawm, E. 'Inventing Traditions' in E. Hobsbawm, R. Ranger, ed., *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, 1–10

Jones, S. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*. London: Routledge, 1997

Kahrstedt, U. *Der Wirtschaftsliche Lage Grossgriechenlands unter der Kaiserzeit*. (*Historia einzelschriften* 4). Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1960

Lomas, K. *Rome and the Western Greeks: Conqest and acculturation in southern Italy, 350 B.C.–A.D. 200*. London: Routledge, 1993

Maddoli, G. 'Il concetto di Magna Grecia: Gennesi di un realta storico-politiche.' *Megale Hellas: Nome e immagine. Atti di 21° Convegno sulla studi di Magna Grecia*. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1982, 9–30

Malkin, I. 'Inside and outside: Colonization and the formation of the mother city'

in *ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑ. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner*, Naples: *Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico. Istituto Universitario Orientale Napoli: Sezione di Archeologia e Storia Antica*, 1994, 1–10

Malkin, I., ed., *Ancient perceptions of Greek ethnicity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001

Osborne, R. 'Early Greek colonisation? The nature of Greek settlement in the West' in N. Fisher, H. van Wees, ed., *Archaic Greece: New approaches and new evidence*, London: Duckworth/The Classical Press of Wales, 1998, 251–69

Pedley, J.G. *Paestum*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1990

Saïd, S., ed., *ΗΕΛΛΕΝΙΣΜΟΣ—quelques jalons pour une histoire de l'identité grecque*. Brill: Leiden, 1991

Snodgrass. A. 'The growth and standing of the early western colonies' in F. de Angelis, G. Tsetskhladze, ed., *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation*, 1–10

Toynbee, A.J. *Hannibal's Legacy*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965

Whitehouse, R.D. and Wilkins, J.B. 'Greeks and Natives in South-East Italy: Approaches to the Archaeological Evidence', in T.C. Champion, ed., *Centre and Periphery: Comparative Studies in Archaeology*: 102–27. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989

Wilson, R.J.A. *Sicily under the Roman Empire*. Warminster: Aris and Philips, 1994

EUBOEANS AND OTHERS ALONG THE TYRRHENIAN SEABOARD IN THE 8TH CENTURY B.C.

David Ridgway
University of Edinburgh

> . . . I was going to compliment you on not mentioning the Euboeans since I think you have presented this whole exchange in a much more appropriate way . . .*

*Euboeos furca expellas, tamen usque recurrunt***

This modest paper is a thank-offering and a salute to Emeritus Professor Brian Benjamin Shefton FBA from one who has a good deal to thank him for. My first employment in a University gave me an office on the same corridor as his, and I know that I am far from being the only former Sir James Knott Research Fellow in the Newcastle Classics Department who is still sustained in the present Dark Age by happy memories of far-off days (in my case 1965–67) spent in a kind of North-Eastern Arcadia. Then, and there, 'RAE' and 'QAA' would have sounded like nothing more sinister than newly identified words in Linear B (ra-e; qa-a); benchmarks were the proper business of professional surveyors, and could safely be ignored by everyone else;[1] and Brian's example showed us that foreign travel, research in museums, libraries, and bookshops abroad, and of course the linguistic abilities that those activities require, were entirely normal

* Contribution (by Morris) to the discussion following J.P. Crielaard, 'Surfing on the Mediterranean Web', in *Proceedings of the International Symposium 'Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete, 16th–6th cent. B.C.*, Rethymnon 1997 (Athens, 1998), 205.

** J. Boardman, 'Ischia and Euboica', *Annali di Archaeologia e Storia Antica* (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli) n.s. 4 (1997 [2000]), 205: 'Here on Ischia, surely, one can afford to be a little enthusiastic about the Euboean achievement, and perhaps even adapt our favourite poet [Horace, *Epistles* 1.10.24]'.

[1] Readers domiciled outside the United Kingdom may care to know that I refer here to two aspects of the surveillance procedures applied at the time of writing by central government to research and teaching in British universities: the Research Assessment Exercise ('RAE'); and the activities of a company limited by guarantee, the Quality Assurance Agency ('QAA') for Higher Education, which are based to a significant extent on the 'benchmark statements' that it has devised for individual subject-areas.

in a holder of a British university post in Classical Archaeology. I remember, too, that the first paper I ever gave on the first Western Greeks was read, at his insistence, to an audience of distinguished specialists in Roman frontier studies and Mithraic religion. Brian's many admirers will not be surprised to learn that on that occasion, as on so many others in Newcastle and elsewhere, he nobly overcame his natural reticence and asked all the questions at the end.[2] I could not answer many of them then, and I am not sure that I can now.

Setting the scene[3]

That so many challenging questions could already be asked about the subject—then barely defined—of my research greatly encouraged me in the conviction that the first Western Greeks were worth pursuing for much longer than the tenure of my Knott Fellowship. And so it is that the present essay follows hard on the heels of three others in the same area, all gratefully written for volumes dedicated in 1999 to Hans Georg Niemeyer and in 2000 to John Boardman and to Ellen Macnamara (see *Bibliography*, below). In these circumstances, my first task must be to summarize the (new) story so far with particular regard to two aspects of what has, I believe rightly, been defined as the 'first really busy period of traffic, to the farthest West and throughout the Aegean':[4] (i) the impetus that caused the 'busyness' (or business) in question; and (ii) the role, surely not wholly passive, of the indigenous Western communities encountered by the various Greek (especially Euboean and Corinthian) and Levantine

[2] A revised version of this early paper was later read elsewhere, and eventually published as: D. Ridgway, 'Greece, Campania and Etruria in the 8th century B.C.', in *Actes du VII^e Congrès International des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques, Prague 1966* (Prague, 1970), II, 769–772; followed by id., 'Metalworking at Pithekoussai, Ischia (NA), Italy', *Archeologické rozhledy* 25 (1973) 456.

[3] For the sake of convenience, this first section is based on a short paper ('The 'first really busy period': a Western perspective') that I read at a seminar held in the Danish Institute at Athens in 1998: see *Greeks and others in the early first millennium B.C.*, ed. H.W. Horsnaes = *Classical Archaeological Notes. Occasional Papers 1* (Copenhagen University, School of Classical Archaeology, 1998), 28–31.

[4] J. Boardman, 'Al Mina and history', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 9 (1990) 179. So too, though less succinctly, R. Osborne, 'Early Greek colonization? The nature of Greek settlement in the West', in N. Fisher, H. van Wees, ed., *Archaic Greece: new approaches and new evidence* (London-Swansea, 1998), 258: the passage concerned is quoted at length in the last section of the present paper.

(especially North Syrian and Phoenician) operators whose activities can be detected at Pithekoussai in the second half of the 8th century B.C.

Under the first heading, impetus, the traditional explanation based on the primary attractions of Western mineral resources gains much from Claudio Giardino's well-founded modern account of the rise of specialists in mining and metalworking, able and willing to travel all over the Western Mediterranean between the 14th and the 8th centuries B.C.[5] In this connection, I welcome the growing conviction (at least outside Italy) that the dangerously abstract and misleadingly teleological concept of 'precolonization' no longer affords an appropriate framework within which to assess the ever-increasing volume of archaeological evidence for direct or indirect Aegean and Levantine contact with reliably excavated archaeological contexts in the West.[6] The Tyrrhenian seaboard is no longer the only area later devoid of 'real' Greek colonies that has yielded the familiar 'precolonial' range of Greek Geometric skyphos types (pendent semicircles, chevrons, one-bird). Instructive recent additions to the map of their distribution include a handful of similar pieces associated with seemingly Phoenician metallurgical operations based in the nuragic village of Sant'Imbenia near Alghero in northern Sardinia;[7] others have been found at early Carthage—where for good measure the sequence continues with Pithekoussan products (notably versions of Corinthian drinking-cups) of types represented in some of the earliest graves known at Pithekoussai itself.[8]

There is a strong possibility that the material hitherto regarded

---

[5] C. Giardino, *Il Mediterraneo Occidentale fra XIV ed VIII secolo a.C.: cerchie minerarie e metallurgiche* (Oxford, 1995).

[6] E.g. R. Leighton, *Sicily before history: an archaeological survey from the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age* (London, 1999), 223–225; and cf. I. Malkin, *The returns of Odysseus: colonization and ethnicity* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1998), 10–14.

[7] S. Bafico, I. Oggiano, D. Ridgway and G. Garbini, 'Fenici e indigeni a Sant'Imbenia (Alghero)', in *Phoinikes b shrdn/I Fenici in Sardegna: nuove acquisizioni*, ed. P. Bernardini, R. D'Oriano and P.G. Spanu (Cagliari, 1997), 45–53 with 229–234, cat. nos. 10–36.

[8] R.F. Docter and H.G. Niemeyer, 'Pithekoussai: the Carthaginian connection. On the archaeological evidence of Euboeo-Phoenician partnership in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.', in B. d'Agostino, D. Ridgway, ed., *Apoikia. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner*, 101–115. More evidence has recently been identified in a rich pottery deposit in an Archaic house at Carthage: M. Vegas, 'Eine archaische Keramikfüllung aus einem Haus am Kardo XIII in Karthago', *Römische Mitteilungen* 106 (1999) 395–438; see especially 398, nos. 1–7 with 399, Abb. 5 (Attic SOS amphoras) and 401, Abb. 6 (Euboean skyphoi and a Pithekoussan oinochoe).

as 'precolonial' was despatched to Etruria, Sardinia and North Africa from Pithekoussai itself at an earlier stage in its history than any yet retrieved by archaeology. This hypothesis provides a much-needed possible explanation for the fact that the earliest Pithekoussai that we know is also the largest: the cemetery in the Valle di San Montano, the Scarico Gosetti on the east slope of the acropolis of Monte di Vico, and the suburban Mazzola metalworking quarter, all fully operational by c. 750 B.C. at the latest (on the traditional chronology), are situated along an axis that is no less than 1 km in length. And if Pithekoussai really is older than we think, there are interesting implications under my second heading, which concerns the relations between the incomers and the indigenous peoples up and down the central Tyrrhenian seaboard: Giorgio Buchner's classic 'native wives' hypothesis[9] can legitimately be moved back a generation or so, to provide 'native (grand)mothers' (and 'uncles'?) as well—perhaps from Sardinia and North Africa as well as from mainland Campania, Latium vetus and southern Etruria—for some of the many *infanti* and *bambini* interred in the earliest (Late Geometric I) *enchytrismoi* and *fossa* graves so far encountered in the San Montano cemetery.

Unlike at least two vociferous modern commentators (see below), the later written sources (Strabo 5.4.9; Livy 8.22.5–6) regarded Pithekoussai as an unequivocally Euboean establishment. For Greeks, this is surely what it was. Phoenicians and other non-Greeks may have seen the matter differently at the time, or later: but, on the evidence at present available, it looks as though the Euboeans were 'in charge' at Pithekoussai in a way that clearly does not apply at, say, Sant'Imbenia or Carthage. And the presence of a substantial and well-integrated native element in the Pithekoussan population by the middle of the 8th century B.C. could well have facilitated the Etruscans' adoption of the Euboean alphabet by the beginning of the 7th.[10] More generally, if a (relatively) modern parallel for early Western Greek 'colonization' is still required, we would probably be better advised to look at the early history of America rather than at

[9] On a wider front, see G. Shepherd, 'Fibulae and females: intermarriage in the Western Greek colonies and the evidence from the cemeteries', in G.R. Tsetskhladze, ed., *Ancient Greeks West and East* (Leiden, 1999), 267–300.

[10] See G. Bagnasco Gianni, 'L'acquisizione della scrittura in Etruria: materiali a confronto per la ricostruzione del quadro storico e culturale', in G. Bagnasco Gianni, F. Cordano, ed., *Scritture mediterranee tra il IX e il VII secolo a.C.* (Milan, 1999), 85–106.

that of the Antipodes. Many of those interred in the pages of *Pithekoussai* I (*Bibliography* no. 1) will surely have had an effectively dual ethnic identity not unlike that enjoyed by those who are seen today as Italians in America and as *americani* in Italy.

Summoned to speak again in Newcastle in 1999, I felt bound to address two questions that would have seemed simple-minded a generation earlier: what do I mean by 'the 8th century B.C.'? and what do I mean by 'the Euboeans'? At first sight, these questions might be thought to derive from nothing more than the conscientious application of a principle recently and authoritatively enunciated with reference to the relationship between the Homeric epics and the surviving portrayals of legendary scenes in early Greek art: 'the concerted authority with which scholarship has, until recently, presented the opposing case would justify a statement of the counter-arguments'.[11] This clarion call doubtless has its attractions for those who are now working hard to exclude the Euboeans from 'the first really busy period' of East-West traffic, but it does not account on its own either for the full force of their attack, or (in an unrelated sphere) for the new science-based trends in absolute chronology, or—still less—for the alarming extent to which mere ideology[12] is currently being employed to influence the interpretation of archaeological contexts old and new.

The 8th century B.C.

All I wish to do under this heading is to offer a *memento mori*: a reminder that, although important new books are appearing that make no mention of it,[13] the traditional chronology of the Italian Iron Age is currently in a state of flux and likely to remain so for some time. As a consequence, the momentous events along the Tyrrhenian seaboard commonly associated with the middle and second half of the 8th century B.C. are set fair to become associated with the earlier

---

11 A.M. Snodgrass, *Homer and the Artists: text and picture in early Greek art* (Cambridge, 1998).

12 Boardman, 'Ischia and *Euboica*', *AION* n.s. 4 (1997 [2000]), 205.

13 E.g.: *Le necropoli arcaiche di Veio. Giornata di studio in memoria di Massimo Pallottino*, ed. G. Bartoloni (Rome, 1997); M. Bonghi Jovino and C. Chiaramonte Treré, *Tarquinia: testimonianze archeologiche e ricostruzione storica. Scavi sistematici nell'abitato: campagne 1982–1988* (Milan, 1997). See too note 21.

part of the same century, or indeed with the later part of the previous one.

That this should be so is not the result either of any improvement there may have been in our understanding of the nature and of the more or less remote causes of the events in question, or of the application of fashionable ideology at the expense of the evidence. It rather depends on the findings of certain dendrochronological investigations in the Swiss lake-dwellings, far to the north of the area treated here.[14] Given the long-standing methods and principles of typology and correlation in European protohistory, it is only too clear that independent new dates in Switzerland have serious implications for the absolute chronology not only of their own sequence but also for those south of the Alps. The discrepancies involved are far from negligible, and make it even more unthinkable than it should have been before to ignore the fact that estimates of absolute chronology tend to be based on tree-rings north of the Alps and on historical tradition to the south. Revision of the former, upwards, is now inevitable. If the consequences for the latter are simply ignored, we shall sooner or later be faced with a startling re-alignment—in which the carefully constructed and now familiar network of intersequential synchronisms will suggest that the Italian Early Iron Age is no more than a 'late emanation of the more advanced Urnfields of central Europe'.[15]

Some comfort can be derived, perhaps, from a recent proposal, based on the incidence of certain Italian bronze types in key contexts north of the Alps, that the relevant part of the native sequence in Latium can in fact be taken back by a century or so.[16] If this is confirmed on a wider front by similar assessments of the situations in, say, southern Etruria and Campania, we would probably be justified in concluding that the *dinamica storica* is effectively unchanged. But the dates will be different (and it will be interesting to see what happens when historians of early Rome realize this). Precisely how

---

[14] U. Ruoff and V. Rychner, 'Die Bronzezeit im schweizerischen Mittelland', in C. Osterwalder, P.-A. Schwarz, ed., *Chronologie: archäologische Daten der Schweiz* (Basle, 1986), 73–79, 143–153, 194, 226–231; L. Sperber, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Urnenfelderkultur im nördlichen Alpenvorland von der Schweiz bis Oberösterreich* (Bonn, 1987).

[15] R. Peroni, Introduzione, in M. Bettelli, *Roma: la città prima della città* (Rome, 1997), 15: 'tardiva emanazione dei Campi di Urne centroeuropei più evoluti'.

[16] Bettelli, *Roma*, 191–198.

different the dates will be remains to be seen, and is a matter that must be worked out over a vast area: as was observed long ago, 'it is an intricate business, and it needs collaboration between classical archaeologists and people who know . . . about the Bronze and Iron Ages of Europe, particularly of Central and Northern Europe'.[17] We must wait and see what transpires.[18] For the moment, I can do no better than reproduce below an authoritative but provisional comparison, published as long ago as 1994, of the 'old' (historical) with the 'new' (dendrochronological) dates for the phases, established by typology and seriation, of the Italian Early Iron Age ('I Ferro'):[19]

'old' dates		'new' dates
c. 900–c. 850	1A	c. 1020–c. 950
c. 850–c. 800	1B	c. 950–c. 880
c. 800–c. 750	2A	c. 880–c. 820
c. 750–c. 700	2B	c. 820–c. 750
c. 700–c. 625	3	c. 750–c. 625
c. 625–c. 525	4	c. 625–c. 525

On this showing, those concerned with 'the 8th century B.C.' in the Italian sequence (phases 2A and 2B) will probably envy the optimism displayed in the conviction of 'most classical archaeologists . . . that the chronology they currently use [in Greece and the Near East c. 1000–500 B.C.] is not very far out'.[20] For Italy, however, I cannot at the time of writing either suggest or relay any improvement on the position recently taken by the author of the above table: 'I am deliberately avoiding absolute dates, because, having told fibs about them all my life without wanting to, I have at last got tired'.[21]

[17] T.J. Dunbabin and C.F.C. Hawkes, reviewing Å. Åkerström, *Der Geometrische Stil in Italien* (Lund-Leipzig, 1943), *JRS* 39 (1949) 142.

[18] Meanwhile, new readers could suitably start with: K. Randsborg, 'Historical implications: chronological studies in European archaeology, c. 2000–500 B.C.', *Acta Archaeologica* 62 (1991) 89–108; and id. (ed.), *Absolute chronology: archaeological Europe 2500–500 B.C. = Acta Archaeologica* 67 (1996) Suppl. 1 (see in particular L. Hannestad, 'Absolute chronology: Greece and the Near East, c. 1000–500 B.C.', 39–49).

[19] R. Peroni, *Introduzione alla protostoria italiana* (Rome-Bari, 1994), 215 fig. 80.

[20] Hannestad, 'Absolute chronology', 48.

[21] R. Peroni, 'Considerazioni', in M. Bonghi Jovino, ed., *Archeologia della città: quindici anni di scavo a Tarquinia* (Milan, 1998) 24, discussing Bonghi Jovino and Chiaramonte Treré, *op. cit.* in note 13: 'evito di proposito le date assolute perché, dopo aver involontariamente raccontato bugie per tutta la vita, alla fine mi sono stancato'. See, however, the useful remarks by M. Pacciarelli, *Torre Galli. La necro-*

Whatever else happens as a result of the developments briefly outlined above, it is clear enough that absolute dates will have to be raised in the early part of the southern sequence. This result is (I repeat) unavoidable, for it is based wholly on the objective application of standard and properly validated scientific procedures to archaeological evidence. The same cannot be said of a contemporary campaign to lower dates in the later part of the same sequence. English readers in particular will realize at once that I am alluding to the chronological proposals made over a number of years by Michael Vickers and various like-minded colleagues.[22] The latest manifestation of their familiar approach is of direct relevance to the subject of my previous work in the area of this paper, and I have already attempted to reply to it elsewhere.[23] If I am mistaken in my conclusion that the case for lowering dates is less than good on the evidence presently available, it seems likely that the combined forces of early *retrodatazione* and late *ribassismo* will eventually turn the 8th century B.C. south of the Alps into a kind of chronological black hole. Some, perhaps, would regard this as an appropriate last resting-place for what John Papadopoulos has defined as 'Phantom Euboians'.[24] To them I now turn.

The Euboeans

It is probably fair to say that no-one is wholly content today with the classic diagnosis of the first Western Greeks made in 1966 by Giorgio Buchner, the excavator of Pithekoussai: 'There can be little doubt that with the possession of the base of Al Mina in the East and that of Pithekoussai in the West, the Euboeans were, from about 775 to about 700 B.C., the masters of trade between the Eastern

poli della prima età del ferro (scavi Paolo Orsi 1922–23) (Catanzaro, 1999), 62–65, especially 63, fig. 15 ('Tabella di correlazione').

[22] W.R. Biers, *Art, artefacts, and chronology in Classical Archaeology* (London, 1992), 82–85 with 99–101, notes 7–9.

[23] D. Gill and M. Vickers, 'Bocchoris the Wise and absolute chronology', *Römische Mitteilungen* 103 (1996), 1–9; D. Ridgway, 'The rehabilitation of Bocchoris: notes and queries from Italy', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 85 (1999) 143–152.

[24] J.K. Papadopoulos, 'Phantom Euboians', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 10 (1997) 191–219.

Mediterranean and Central Italy'.[25] At the time he was writing, and for long afterwards, this statement made perfectly good sense as a historical deduction based to a large extent on archaeological evidence: as such, too, it was a particularly pleasing culmination of the process initiated in the 1930s with the publication of Alan Blakeway's pioneering accounts of Greek 'trade before the flag' and the 'Hellenization of the barbarians'.

Since the 1960s, however, it has become clear that the Euboeans were anything but the sole protagonists in these processes (to say nothing of the radical changes in our perception of the processes themselves). North Syrian and Phoenician interests have long been recognized in the Pithekoussan operation, and so have those of other Greeks. Prominent among the latter are the Corinthians, of whom it was observed some time ago that 'immigrant potters were needed to supplement [imported] supplies'.[26] Buchner's 1966 statement now needs to be modified in the light of new evidence from Pithekoussai and elsewhere and of the correspondingly better exegesis to which it has given rise: but there is no good reason to eliminate the Euboeans from the story altogether, or indeed to deny them a significant role in it, albeit one that is turning out to be rather more complex than that with which they were credited a generation ago. But in some quarters, alas, the Euboeans are now apparently seen not only as 'phantoms', but also as symbols of all that was evil in what Martin Bernal called 'the fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785–1985' in the subtitle of *Black Athena I* (London, 1987). Not long after the appearance of that remarkable work, Sarah Morris commented that 'Bernal has far more [archaeological] evidence at his disposal than he recognizes or employs' in support of his thesis that Greece was substantially 'Oriental' from the second millennium onwards;[27] and we

---

[25] G. Buchner, 'Pithekoussai: oldest Greek colony in the West', *Expedition* 8:4 (1966), 12. Cf. Papadopoulos, *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 10 (1997) 192–193.

[26] D. Williams, 'Greek potters and their descendants in Campania and Southern Etruria, c. 720–630 B.C.', in J. Swaddling, ed., *Italian Iron Age artefacts in the British Museum* (London, 1986), 296. For some products of the workshops established by expatriate Corinthian potters at Pithekoussai, see C.W. Neeft, *Protocorinthian Subgeometric aryballoi* (Amsterdam, 1987), 59–65, 309 with 306, fig. 180 and 312, fig. 181. On the '[imported] supplies', see also note 31.

[27] S.P. Morris, 'Daidalos and Kadmos: Classicism and 'Orientalism'', in *The challenge of* Black Athena = *Arethusa* (special issue, Fall, 1989), 39; see too ead., 'Greece and the Levant', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 3 (1990) 57–66.

are all indebted to the same distinguished scholar's *Daidalos*,[28] her subsequent interdisciplinary and revisionary exposition of the deep and all-pervading influence of the Near East on the artistic and literary origins of early Greek culture. I for my part would be deeply gratified if my view of certain early Sardinian versions of Cypriot bronze tripods not only as analogues but also as historical precedents for the 8th-century Pithekoussan products of expatriate Euboean and Corinthian potters could be accepted as a modest reflection of an early phase of Morris's transformation on a wider stage of Daidalos from prehistoric metallurgist to Classical Athenian sculptor. And I very much hope that in the fullness of time a good deal of the thesis contained in *Daidalos* will find genuine favour for reasons other than the mere political expediency (or correctness) that has been elicited by Bernal's first two volumes.

That said, I am frankly bewildered by the anti-Euboean 'campaign' (the word is not too strong, I fear) that is currently being waged by Morris and Papadopoulos. I have already commented elsewhere on this aspect of their recent work,[29] and I take no particular pleasure in doing so again: but one new line of reasoning cannot be allowed to go unchallenged. It is expressed in a form that is rapidly attaining the status of a mantra: 'finding Euboean pottery does not guarantee the presence of Euboeans'.[30] Of course it does

[28] S.P. Morris, *Daidalos and the origins of Greek art* (Princeton, 1992), admirably defined by one reviewer, S. Sherratt, *Antiquity* 67 (1993) 918, as 'a marvellous, thought-provoking book' which also provokes 'recurring uneasiness'. I have paid my own tribute to Daidalos elsewhere: 'Daidalos and Pithekoussai', in *Apoikia. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner*, 69–76.

[29] Bibliography No. 5, 183–185.

[30] S.P. Morris, 'Bearing Greek gifts: Euboean pottery on Sardinia', in M.S. Balmuth, R.H. Tykot, ed., *Sardinia and Aegean chronology: towards the resolution of relative and absolute dating in the Mediterranean.* (Oxford, 1998), 362 (where it is also stated that 'In my opinion, the presence of Mycenaean sherds in places like Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain does not make the Mycenaeans active in the west'). So too Papadopoulos, *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 10 (1997) 194 ('. . . Euboian pottery does not equal Euboian presence, nor does that pottery have to be carried by an Euboian'); id., 'Archaeology, myth-history and the tyranny of the text: Chalkidike, Torone and Thucydides', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 18 (1999) 388, note 3 ('. . . the incidence of such [Euboean and other] pottery does not mean that it was carried by people from those cities or regions where it was made'); and again, reviewing M. Bats, B. d'Agostino, ed., *Euboica: l'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente* (Naples, 1998), in *AJA* 104 (2000) 135 ('. . . it is ironic how little Euboian pottery there is in south Italy, Sicily, and Chalkidike. . . . Perhaps more surprisingly,

not, and, whatever they thought in the past, I do not think that anyone today would seriously argue that it did—least of all in the period and area with which we are concerned here. To make precisely this point, I have been pointing out to first-year classes for at least thirty years that modern Edinburgh residents who possess Neapolitan coffee machines cannot safely be assumed to be Neapolitans themselves, or to have purchased the product in question from a Neapolitan, or to know that it is Neapolitan, or even to know exactly where Naples is (although any of these assumptions might turn out to be true on closer investigation). It is good to recall in this connection that our honorand long ago credited Phoenician merchants with obtaining Attic SOS amphoras, and quite possibly Early and Middle Protocorinthian thin-walled kotylai too, in 'the area between Pithecusae and Sicily' and taking them to southern Spain: '[t]hese Greek articles . . . should then be regarded as witness to Phoenician rather than Greek activity in the Far West'.[31]

On the other hand, it does not follow that the presence of Euboean pottery on a site guarantees the absence there of actual Euboeans. In fact, one ceramic category must surely be a strong pointer to some sort of physical Euboean presence outside Euboea, even in circumstances as complex as those of the Tyrrhenian seaboard in the 8th century B.C.: locally made versions of Euboean types. I think, for example, of two chevron skyphoi from the Quattro Fontanili Villanovan cemetery at Veii in southern Etruria. Found in adjacent graves, they were authoritatively defined on stylistic grounds as Eretrian, and

there is little penetrating discussion as to why a Euboian pot or sherd necessarily equals a Euboian trader or colonist . . .').

[31] B.B. Shefton, 'Greeks and Greek imports in the south of the Iberian peninsula. The archaeological evidence', in H.G. Niemeyer, ed., *Phönizier im Westen. Die Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums über 'Die phönizische Expansion im westlichen Mittelmeerraum'* (Mainz, 1982), 342; and cf. *Bibliography* No. 2, pp. 64–65 and 99. More recently, it has been suggested (with specific reference to Pithekoussai) that '. . . the movement of pots produced in Corinth could indeed have been the work, at least in part, of Phoenicians or other Pithekoussans': C. Morgan, 'Problems and prospects in the study of Corinthian pottery production', in *Corinto e l'Occidente. Atti XXXIV Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia* (Taranto, 1995), 340. Predictably, perhaps, this suggestion has been enthusiastically received by Morris and Papadopoulos, 'Phoenicians and the Corinthian pottery industry', in R. Rolle, K. Schmidt, R.F. Docter, ed., *Archäologische Studien in Kontaktzonen der antiken Welt* (Göttingen, 1999), 251–263 (252: '. . . the Corinthian pottery industry—both the production and distribution of the pottery itself and of the commodities that it contained—were, to a large extent, determined and defined by Phoenicians').

almost certainly by the same hand; Mössbauer investigation of their physical composition later suggested strongly that the potter was using Veientine clay—and hence that, if he was Eretrian, he was capable of plying his trade in Etruria after the long journey from Euboea.[32] An indication that he was not the last of his kind comes from Pithekoussai, where Papodopoulos has failed to grasp the most plausible explanation of the fact that—on my calculations—local pottery outnumbers Euboean by 81% to 'a paltry 3%' in the acropolis assemblage (or rather in a sample of around 10,000 pieces in it).[33] True: but a substantial proportion of the local (i.e. locally-made) pottery in question is of Euboean type; and I had hoped that others would find food for thought, as I did, in the demonstration (again by Mössbauer analysis) that '[imported] Euboean, [locally-made] Euboeanizing, [locally-made] Corinthianizing and other local wares at Pithekoussai share a firing temperature that is higher by 50° Celsius than that estimated for the [imported] Corinthian samples analyzed'.[34]

Technical details of craft-practice are surely no less indicative of ethnic identity than the standard characteristics of language, armour and dress cited in a variety of circumstances by ancient authors:[35] and I therefore (still) feel that resident Euboean potters, presumably with locally-recruited pupils, can reasonably be postulated at both Veii and Pithekoussai. This accords well with the commanding Euboean presence at the latter centre attested by Strabo (5.4.9) and Livy (8.22.5–6). But should we necessarily believe them? Papadopoulos

[32] D. Ridgway, 'Western Geometric pottery: new light on interactions in Italy', in *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on ancient Greek and related pottery, Copenhagen 1987* (Copenhagen, 1988), 498, List 2 (and 501, Table A), nos. DK 6* (Veii, Quattro Fontanili, grave EE 14–15) and 7* (grave FF 14–15) with 491, figs. 1.2 and 1.3. Style: J.-P. Descœudres and R. Kearsley, 'Greek pottery at Veii: another look', *ABSA* 78 (1983) 9–53. Analyses: A. Deriu, F. Boitani and D. Ridgway, 'Provenance and firing techniques of Geometric pottery from Veii: a Mössbauer investigation', *ABSA* 80 (1985) 139–150 (147: '. . . another Eretrian working at Veii').

[33] Papadopoulos, 'Archaeology, myth-history and the tyranny of the text: Chalkidike, Torone and Thucydides' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 18 (1999) 388, note 3. For the first publication of the figures quoted, see *Bibliography* No. 2, p. 89; the remaining 16% is defined as Corinthian, with only 'relatively minute quantities' of other imported fabrics (of the 8th and 7th centuries).

[34] A. Deriu, G. Buchner and D. Ridgway, 'Provenance and firing techniques of Geometric pottery from Pithekoussai: a Mössbauer investigation', *AION* 8 (1986) 113. All the Pithekoussan samples in this analysis came from the acropolis.

[35] E.g.: Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.722–3 (the various conquered peoples at Augustus' triple triumph of 29 B.C.); Strabo 6.1.2 (the differences between the individual Samnite tribes); Polybius 2.17.5 (the differences between the Veneti and the Celts).

(again) sternly warns us that, in this respect too, all may not be as it seems:[36]

> By insisting on the primacy of the testimony of later authors in order to determine the ethnic origins of, or influences on, a colonial setting several centuries earlier, social, political, and economic realities of the historic era are allowed to infiltrate and thus define the prehistoric past. . . . Much of the blame rests with archaeologists, as they all too often accept at face value the historical text, sometimes tailoring archaeological material to accord with the literary evidence. The question, however, is not whether historical documents should be used by students of the Early Iron Age Mediterranean, but rather *how* these sources should be employed most effectively in archaeological research.

In general terms, there is not a great deal to quarrel with here: but in the specific case with which we are dealing, I fail to see why Strabo and Livy should mention Chalcis and Eretria in connection with the establishment of Pithekoussai unless they thought that it corresponded to what really happened, probably on the basis of earlier sources that they trusted. I know of no group in their time (or in the time of any conceivable source) whose interests could have been served, or thwarted, by a false declaration of this kind—rather in the way that Herodotus is now thought to have relayed a bogus account of Etruscan origins because he had been duped by a political fabrication concocted in the early sixth century at the court of Sardis, or that the story of early Rome's reception and elevation of a person of mixed race—Lucius Tarquinius, the half-Corinthian, half-Etruscan son of Demaratus—was astutely embroidered to become an important political *exemplum* in later times, for later reasons.[37] In the matter of the ancient written sources for Euboeans at Pithekoussai, I freely admit defeat: I accept their testimony 'at face value'; but I do not believe that I can reasonably be accused of 'tailoring archaeological material to accord with the literary evidence', and I

[36] Papadopoulos, *AJA* 104 (2000) 135.

[37] Etruscan origins: D. Briquel, *L'origine lydienne des Étrusques. Histoire de la doctrine dans l'Antiquité* (Rome, 1991). Lucius Tarquinius: D. Ridgway and F.R. Ridgway, 'Demaratus and the archaeologists', in R.D. De Puma and J.P. Small, ed., *Murlo and the Etruscans: art and society in ancient Etruria* (Madison WI, 1994), 6–15 (13: '. . . the Demaratus story does not fit the archaeological facts as well as it did fifty years ago').

shall be interested to see if Papadopoulos can explain the latter away to my satisfaction—and not only to his own.[38]

The others

Under this heading, I am bound to begin by agreeing with Papadopoulos that '[at Pithekoussai] the role of the local populations, and others native to the Italian peninsula, tends to be overlooked'—although, here too, I trust that this accusation is not levelled at myself. That it can justifiably be levelled at many others speaks volumes for the lack of general recognition accorded, notably in the English-speaking world, to a generation and more of ground-breaking work by the Italian school of protohistorians, and especially by those associated with the *Prähistorische Bronzefunde* series. It is very much to be hoped that Claudio Giardino's recent (and substantially bilingual) account of the crucial role played in our story by mobile specialists in the extraction and working of metal ores[39] will make it difficult for heads to remain in the sand for very much longer.

Many of the characters in Giardino's well-documented story will have been not only active in the Central and Western Mediterranean, but also indigenous to those areas. Being mobile, however, they were not always indigenous to the parts of those areas in which they were active: which surely helps to explain why some native communities in Italy had established independent and ongoing contacts long before they were subjected to stimuli, demands and influences from the Aegean and from farther East. Bologna, for example, was remarkably successful in the (surely 'industrial') production and long-range transmission of bronze types, notably fibulas, all over Italy well before the 8th century B.C.[40] This is the situation encountered by the Aegean

[38] Papadopoulos, 'Phantom Euboians', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 10 (1997) 201–203 and the references there cited.

[39] Giardino, *Il Mediterraneo Occidentale*.

[40] C. Belardelli, C. Giardino, A. Malizia, *L'Europa a sud e a nord delle Alpi alle soglie della svolta protourbana* (Zero Branco [Treviso], 1990), 19–73; cf. D. Ridgway, 'A southern view of HaB2', *Antiquity* 66 (1992) 546–550. On fibula production and distribution in Italy generally, see most recently J. Toms, 'The arch fibula in Early Iron Age Italy', in D. Ridgway, F.R. Serra Ridgway, M. Pearce, E. Herring, R.D. Whitehouse, J.B. Wilkins, ed., *Ancient Italy in its Mediterranean setting: Studies in honour of Ellen Macnamara* (London, 2000), 91–116 (91: 'There must be at least 10–15,000 known Italian Early Iron Age fibulae').

and Levantine entrepreneurs whom Robin Osborne clearly had in mind when he wrote that:[41]

> The rapidity with which Pithekoussai grows is inconceivable unless it grows out of a world where large numbers of individuals are already moving around in search of profit before their journeys become turned to any single location. Pithekoussai must build on the back of a large mobile population already sailing widely across the Mediterranean in the first half of the 8th century.

But, *pace* Osborne, there is actually no reason why the existence of a fixed point (a 'single location') should be regarded as in any way incompatible with the (highly convincing) phenomenon of 'large numbers of individuals . . . moving around'. On the eminently practical definition once applied to Pithekoussai by Sally Humphreys, it might well have been useful to find 'a friendly base for wintering, mending ship, or loading cargoes assembled in advance for them by agents'.[42]

In other words, the principal result of the encounter between Osborne's and Giardino's mobile groups was the Pithekoussai that has become known to us from its Late Geometric I and II phases (conventionally dated c. 750–725 B.C. and c. 725–700 B.C.). If, as I now believe, Pithekoussai already existed in an earlier and as yet virtually undocumented pre-Late Geometric I period, we have a satisfactory explanation for something more than the considerable surface area that it needed by c. 750 B.C.: an alibi, and perhaps even an explanation, for our difficulty in identifying patterns, regularly recurring and hence perhaps ethnically significant, in the contents of the *corredi* at the earliest Pithekoussai we have.[43] This could be the result of a generation or more of integration within the growing Pithekoussan community[44] before the middle of the 8th century

[41] Osborne, in *Archaic Greece: new approaches and new evidence*, 258.

[42] S.C. Humphreys, 'Il commercio in quanto motivo della colonizzazione greca dell'Italia e della Sicilia', *Rivista Storica Italiana* 77 (1965) 425: '. . . una base amica in cui poter svernare, riparare le navi, o ricevere carichi già raccolti per loro da mediatori'.

[43] *Bibliography* No. 3, 311–313; *Bibliography* No. 4, 236.

[44] For 'dinamiche di coesione' of this kind, see L. Cerchiai, 'I vivi e i morti: i casi di Pitecusa e di Poseidonia', in *Confini e frontiera nella Grecità d'Occidente. Atti XXXVII Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia* (Taranto, 1999), 657–683, especially 658–670 with 680–683 (N. Lubtchansky) on Pithekoussai.

B.C. On this reasoning, the earliest *corredi* we know belong to the second or later generation of families whose original individual members came from Campania, Etruria, Latium vetus, North Africa, Sardinia, and doubtless more besides as well as from Euboea, Corinth, North Syria and Phoenicia. It would be fascinating to subject such associated human material as there is in the earliest extant Pithekoussan graves[45] to the procedures that have provided the excavator of a later and very different cemetery with reliable readings of sex, age, and blood groups (and pathologies) leading to the reconstruction of family groups and tentative family trees.[46]

For the moment, however, and on the basis of present evidence, we may conclude that by the time we get to know it in the middle of the 8th century B.C., the modern island of Ischia in the Bay of Naples was already inhabited mainly by Pithekoussans. This accords well with a promising recent definition of Pithekoussai itself as a 'cultural clearing-house', not unlike Rhodes far to the East: and, like Rhodes, its existence will have resulted in a web of autonomous secondary routes.[47] That the classical sources of a later time attributed the establishment of this centre to the Euboeans remains a valuable pointer to the identity of the group that time and chance enabled to oversee the initial transmission of a remarkable, and by no means exclusively Greek, cultural cargo to those in the Central Mediterranean who were able to make good use of it for their own purposes.

Bibliography

Readers are referred to the following five items for 'the story so far' (at least as seen by the present writer), for various aspects of it that are not mentioned above, and for the earlier literature: references to the latter have been repeated here only

---

[45] F.R. Munz, 'Die Zahnfunde aus der griechischen Nekropole von Pithekoussai auf Ischia', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1970, 452–475.

[46] M. Henneberg and R.J. Henneberg, 'Biological characteristics of the population based on analysis of skeletal remains', in J.C. Carter, *The Chora of Metaponto: the necropoleis* (Austin TX, 1998), 503–562; see too M. Cipollaro, 'Il DNA antico', *BioTec* 2 (1998) 14–21.

[47] This helpful model was first proposed by A. Peserico, 'L'interazione culturale greco-fenicia: dall'Egeo al Tirreno centro-meridionale', in E. Acquaro, ed., *Alle soglie della classicità: il Mediterraneo tra tradizione e innovazione. Studi in onore di Sabatino Moscati*, (Pisa-Rome, 1996), 899–916.

when it has been necessary to identify other people's good ideas, specific archaeological material and the sources of direct quotations.

1. Buchner, G., Ridgway, D. *Pithekoussai I. La necropoli: tombe 1–723 scavate dal 1952 al 1961* (Monumenti Antichi 4). Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1993
2. Ridgway, D. *The first Western Greeks*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992 (originally published as *L'alba della Magna Grecia*. Milan, 1984)
3. Ridgway, D. 'The Carthaginian connection: a view from San Montano', in R. Rolle, K. Schmidt, R.F. Docter, ed., *Archäologische Studien in Kontaktzonen der antiken Welt*. Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1999, 301–308
4. Ridgway, D. 'Seals, scarabs and people in *Pithekoussai* I', in G.R. Tsetskhladze, A.J.N.W. Prag, A.M. Snodgrass, ed., *Periplous: Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology presented to Sir John Boardman*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2000, 235–43
5. Ridgway, D. 'The first Western Greeks revisited', in D. Ridgway, F.R. Serra Ridgway, M. Pearce, E. Herring, R.D. Whitehouse, J.B. Wilkins, ed., *Ancient Italy in its Mediterranean setting: Studies in honour of Ellen Macnamara*. London: Accordia Research Institute, 2000, 179–91

Bafico, S., Oggiano, I., Ridgway D., Garbini, G. 'Fenici e indigeni a Sant'Imbenia (Alghero)', in P. Bernardini, R. D'Oriano, P.G. Spanu, ed., *Phoinikes b shrdn/I Fenici in Sardegna: nuove acquisizioni*. Cagliari: La Memoria Storica, 1997

Bagnasco Gianni, G. 'L'acquisizione della scrittura in Etruria: materiali a confronto per la ricostruzione del quadro storico e culturale', in G. Bagnasco Gianni, F. Cordano, ed., *Scritture mediterranee tra il IX e il VII secolo a.C.* Milan: Edizioni ET, 1999, 85–106

Bartoloni, G., ed., *Le necropoli arcaiche di Veio. Giornata di studio in memoria di Massimo Pallottino*. Rome: Università degli studi di Roma, La Sapienza, 1997

Belardelli, C., Giardino, C., Malizia, A., *L'Europa a sud e a nord delle Alpi alle soglie della svolta protourbana*. Treviso: Edizioni Unigrafica, 1990

Bettelli, M. *Roma: la città prima della città*. Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 1997

Biers, W.R. *Art, artefacts, and chronology in Classical Archaeology*. London: Routledge, 1992

Boardman, J., 'Al Mina and history', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 9 (1990) 169–90

——, 'Ischia and Euboica', *Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica* (*Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli*) n.s. 4 (1997 [2000]) 203–5

Bonghi Jovino, M., Chiaramonte Treré, C. *Tarquinia: testimonianze archeologiche e ricostruzione storica. Scavi sistematici nell'abitato: campagne 1982–1988*. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1997

Briquel, D. *L'origine lydienne des Étrusques. Histoire de la doctrine dans l'Antiquité*. Rome: École Française de Rome, 1991

Buchner, G. 'Pithekoussai: oldest Greek colony in the West', *Expedition* 8:4 (1966) 4–12

Cerchiai, L. 'I vivi e i morti: i casi di Pitecusa e di Poseidonia', in *Confini e frontiera nella Grecità d'Occidente. Atti XXXVII Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia*. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1999, 657–683

Cipollaro, M. 'Il DNA antico', *BioTec* 2 (1998) 14–21

Deriu, A., Boitani, F., Ridgway, D. 'Provenance and firing techniques of Geometric pottery from Veii: a Mössbauer investigation', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 80 (1985) 139–150

Deriu, A., Buchner, G., Ridgway, D. 'Provenance and firing techniques of Geometric pottery from Pithekoussai: a Mössbauer investigation', *Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli)* 8 (1986) 9–116

Descœudres, J.-P., Kearsley, R. 'Greek pottery at Veii: another look', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 78 (1983) 9–53

Docter, R.F., Niemeyer, H.G., 'Pithekoussai: the Carthaginian connection. On the archaeological evidence of Euboeo-Phoenician partnership in the 8th and 7th

centuries B.C.', in B. d'Agostino, D. Ridgway, ed., *Apoikia. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner = Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli)* n.s. 1 (1994) 101–115

Giardino, C. *Il Mediterraneo Occidentale fra XIV ed VIII secolo a.C.: cerchie minerarie e metallurgiche*. Oxford: Tempus, 1995

Gill, D., Vickers, M. 'Bocchoris the Wise and absolute chronology', *Römische Mitteilungen* 103 (1996) 1–9

Hannestad, L. 'Absolute chronology: Greece and the Near East, *c.* 1000–500 B.C.', in K. Randsborg, ed., *Absolute chronology: archaeological Europe 2500–500 B.C.* (*Acta Archaeologica* 67, Suppl. 1). Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1996, 39–49

Henneberg, M., Henneberg, R.J. 'Biological characteristics of the population based on analysis of skeletal remains', in J.C. Carter, *The Chora of Metaponto: the necropoleis*. Austin: Texas University Press, 1998, 503–562

Humphreys, S.C. 'Il commercio in quanto motivo della colonizzazione greca dell'Italia e della Sicilia', *Rivista Storica Italiana* 77 (1965), 421–433

Leighton, R. *Sicily before history: an archaeological survey from the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age*. London: Duckworth, 1999

Malkin, I. *The returns of Odysseus: colonization and ethnicity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998

Morgan, C. 'Problems and prospects in the study of Corinthian pottery production', in *Corinto e l'Occidente. Atti XXXIV Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia*. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1995, 313–44

Morris, S.P. 'Daidalos and Kadmos: Classicism and 'Orientalism'', in *The challenge of* Black Athena (*Arethusa* special issue). Buffalo NY: Department of Classics, SWNY, 1989

——. 'Greece and the Levant', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 3 (1990) 57–66

——. *Daidalos and the origins of Greek art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992

——. 'Bearing Greek gifts: Euboean pottery on Sardinia', in M.S. Balmuth, R.H. Tykot, ed., *Sardinia and Aegean chronology: towards the resolution of relative and absolute dating in the Mediterranean. Proceedings of the International Colloquium . . . [at] Tufts University*. Oxford: Oxbow, 1998, 361–2

Morris S.P., Papadopoulos, J.K., 'Phoenicians and the Corinthian pottery industry', in R. Rolle, K. Schmidt, R.F. Docter, ed., *Archäologische Studien in Kontaktzonen der antiken Welt*. Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1999, 251–263

Munz, F.R. 'Die Zahnfunde aus der griechischen Nekropole von Pithekoussai auf Ischia', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1970) 452–475

Neeft, C.W. *Protocorinthian Subgeometric aryballoi*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum, 1987

Osborne, R. 'Early Greek colonization? The nature of Greek settlement in the West', in N. Fisher, H. van Wees, ed., *Archaic Greece: new approaches and new evidence*. London—Swansea: University of Wales Classical Press, 1998, 251–70

Pacciarelli, M. *Torre Galli. La necropoli della prima età del ferro (scavi Paolo Orsi 1922–23)*. Catanzaro: Rubettino, 1999

Papadopoulos, J.K. 'Phantom Euboians', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 10 (1997) 191–219

——. 'Archaeology, myth-history and the tyranny of the text: Chalkidike, Torone and Thucydides', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 18 (1999) 337–94

Peroni, R. *Introduzione alla protostoria italiana*. Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1994

——. 'Considerazioni', in M. Bonghi Jovino, ed., *Archeologia della città: quindici anni di scavo a Tarquinia*. Milan: Università degli studi di Milano, 1998

Peserico, A. 'L'interazione culturale greco-fenicia: dall'Egeo al Tirreno centro-meridionale', in E. Acquaro, ed., *Alle soglie della classicità: il Mediterraneo tra tradizione e innovazione. Studi in onore di Sabatino Moscati*. Pisa-Rome: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 1996, 899–916

Randsborg, K. 'Historical implications: chronological studies in European archaeology, c. 2000–500 B.C.', *Acta Archaeologica* 62 (1991) 89–108
——, ed., *Absolute chronology: archaeological Europe 2500–500 B.C.* (*Acta Archaeologica* 67, Supp. 1). Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1996
Ridgway, D., 'Greece, Campania and Etruria in the eighth century B.C.', in *Actes du VII^e Congrès International des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques*. Prague: Academia, 1970, II, 769–772
——. 'Metalworking at Pithekoussai, Ischia (NA), Italy', *Archeologické rozhledy* 25 (1973) 456
——. 'Western Geometric pottery: new light on interactions in Italy', in *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on ancient Greek and related pottery*, Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1988, 489–505
——. 'A southern view of HaB2', *Antiquity* 66 (1992) 546–550
——. 'Daidalos and Pithekoussai', in B. d'Agostino and D. Ridgway, ed., *Apoikia. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner = Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli)* n.s. 1 (1994) 69–76
——. and Ridgway, F.R. 'Demaratus and the archaeologists', in R.D. De Puma, J.P. Small, ed., *Murlo and the Etruscans: art and society in ancient Etruria*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994, 6–15
——. 'The 'first really busy period': a Western perspective', in H.W. Horsnaes, ed., *Greeks and others in the early first millennium B.C. = Classical Archaeological Notes. Occasional Papers* 1. Copenhagen University: School of Classical Archaeology, 1998, 28–31
——. 'The rehabilitation of Bocchoris: notes and queries from Italy', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 85 (1999) 143–152
Ruoff, U., Rychner, V. 'Die Bronzezeit im schweizerischen Mittelland', in C. Osterwalder, P.-A. Schwarz, ed., *Chronologie: archäologische Daten, der Schweiz*. Basle, 1986, 73–231
Shefton, B.B. 'Greeks and Greek imports in the south of the Iberian peninsula. The archaeological evidence', in H.G. Niemeyer, ed., *Phönizier im Westen. Die Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums über 'Die phönizische Expansion im westlichen Mittelmeerraum'*. Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1982, 337–70
Shepherd, G. 'Fibulae and females: intermarriage in the Western Greek colonies and the evidence from the cemeteries', in G.R. Tsetskhladze, ed., *Ancient Greeks West and East*. Leiden: Brill, 1999, 267–300
Snodgrass, A.M. *Homer and the Artists: text and picture in early Greek art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998
Sperber, L. *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Urnenfelderkultur im nördlichen Alpenvorland von der Schweiz bis Oberösterreich*. Bonn: R. Habelt, 1987
Toms, J. 'The arch fibula in Early Iron Age Italy', in D. Ridgway, F.R. Serra Ridgway, M. Pearce, E. Herring, R.D. Whitehouse, J.B. Wilkins. ed., *Ancient Italy in its Mediterranean setting: Studies in honour of Ellen Macnamara*. London: Accordia Research Institute, 2000, 91–116
Vegas, M. 'Eine archaische Keramikfüllung aus einem Haus am Kardo XIII in Karthago', *Römische Mitteilungen* 106 (1999) 395–438
Williams, D. 'Greek potters and their descendants in Campania and Southern Etruria, c. 720–630 B.C.', in J. Swaddling, ed., *Italian Iron Age artefacts in the British Museum*, London: British Museum, 1986, 295–304

This page intentionally left blank

HOW 'GREEK' WERE THE EARLY WESTERN GREEKS?

Jonathan Hall
University of Chicago

Lest my title mislead, I should state at the outset that my intention here is not to reopen the controversy as to whether we should attribute primacy in early eighth-century ventures in the west to Greeks or to Levantines. I take it that most today would acknowledge that Pithekoussai on the island of Ischia was a mixed settlement, albeit one in which a Euboean presence was dominant.[1] Rather than focusing on what Max Weber would have termed the 'objective' ethnicity of the early settlers of the west—a concept whose heuristic value is now in any case doubtful from the anthropological point of view—I want instead to consider how the actors themselves may have conceived of their own identities.[2] In other words, I am interested in whether those early settlers who set out from the Greek mainland for the shores of southern Italy and Sicily actually thought of themselves as Hellenes, confronted by indigenous *barbaroi*, or whether other levels of identification were more salient—be they civic

[1] For the controversy: D. Ridgway, *The First Western Greeks* (Cambridge, 1992); id., 'Phoenicians and Greeks in the West: A View from Pithekoussai', in G.R. Tsetskhladze, F. de Angelis, ed., *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation. Essays Dedicated to Sir John Boardman* (Oxford, 1994), 35–46; id., 'Seals, Scarabs and People in Pithekoussai, I', in G.R. Tsetskhladze, A.J.N.W. Prag and A.M. Snodgrass, ed., *Periplous: Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology Presented to Sir John Boardman* (London, 2000), 236; G.E. Markoe, 'In Pursuit of Metal: Phoenicians and Greeks in Italy', in G. Kopcke and I. Tokumaru, ed., *Greece Between East and West: 10th–8th Centuries B.C.* (Mainz, 1992), 61–84; G. Buchner and D. Ridgway, *Pithekoussai* I: *La Necropoli, Tombe 1–723 scavate dal 1952 al 1961* (Rome, 1993); J. Boardman, 'Orientalia and Orientals on Ischia', in B. d'Agostino and D. Ridgway, ed., *APOIKIA: I piú antichi insediamenti greci in occidente: funzioni e modi dell'organizzazione politica e sociale. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner* (Naples, 1994), 95–100; J.N. Coldstream, 'Prospectors and Pioneers: Pithekoussai, Kyme and Central Italy', in *The Archaeology of Greek Colonization*, 47–59; J.K. Papadopoulos, 'Euboeans in Macedonia? A Closer Look', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 15 (1996) 151–81; idem, 'Phantom Euboeans', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 10 (1997) 191–219.

[2] M. Weber, *Economy and Society*, Vol. 1 (New York, 1968), 389. For objections: J.M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1997), 17–33.

identities (e.g. an inhabitant of Syracuse or Megara), regional identities (e.g. Achaean or Cretan), or 'subhellenic' ethnic identities (e.g. Dorian, Ionian, or Achaean). To avoid confusion between internally- and externally-applied categories, I shall use the term 'Greek' as a conventional designation for those settlers who originated from the Aegean area, and the term 'Hellenic' to denote the self-consciousness that Greeks may (or may not) have entertained of participating in a wider community that transcended political and regional boundaries.

Among the six characteristics that the sociologist Anthony Smith believes define an ethnic group, the existence of a collective name represents an important and necessary, if not sufficient, criterion.[3] It is, then, all the more striking that the names Ἑλλάς and Ἕλληνες are attested relatively late in the literary testimonia. It is well known that despite single references to both the Ionians and the Dorians (Homer *Il.* 13.685; *Od.* 19.177), the Homeric epics do not employ the terms Ἑλλάς and Ἕλληνες to designate Greece and its populations, but Ἀχαιοί, Ἀργεῖοι and Δαναοί to denote the Greeks and Ἄργος and Ἀχαία to signify Greece. Many scholars are reluctant to infer from this that a sense of Hellenic identity was still weak in Homer's day (whenever we place that) and assume therefore that the poet is engaging in conscious archaizing.[4] Yet quite apart from the fact that a growing number of Homerists now agree that the world portrayed in the epics cannot have been so far removed from the experience of audiences in the late eighth or even seventh centuries,[5] there are indications that the inference may well be valid.

In the *Catalogue of Ships*—a section of the *Iliad* that, regardless of its date of composition, intentionally looks back to an earlier era[6]—Ἑλλάς designates a narrowly defined area of Southern Thessaly

[3] A.D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, 1986), 22–23.

[4] E.g. H. Schwabl, 'Das Bild der fremden Welt bei den frühen Griechen', in O. Reverdin, ed., *Grecs et barbares*, (Geneva, 1962), 1–23; P. Wathelet, 'L'origine du nom des Hellènes et son développement dans la tradition homérique', *Etudes Classiques* 43 (1975) 119–28; E. Lévy, 'Apparition des notions de Grèce et de grecs', in S. Said, ed., *ἙΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ: Quelques jalons pour une histoire de l'identité grecque*, (Leiden, 1991), 46–69.

[5] E.g. I. Morris, 'The Use and Abuse of Homer', *Classical Antiquity* 5 (1986) 81–138; R. Osborne, *Greece in the Making, 1200–479 B.C.* (London, 1996), 147–60; K. Raaflaub, 'A Historian's Headache. How to Read 'Homeric Society', in N. Fisher and H. van Wees, ed., *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence* (London, 1998), 169–93.

[6] See G.S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary*. Vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1985), 239.

(2.683). This restricted usage is also found once in the *Odyssey* (11.495–96), but elsewhere in that poem Ἑλλάς is juxtaposed with μέσον Ἄργος (‘the Argive heartland’). Penelope, for example, boasts that Odysseus’ fame is ‘wide throughout Hellas and the Argive heartland’ (1.344; 4.816) and Menelaus notes that Telemachus is intent ‘to journey throughout Hellas and the Argive heartland’ (15.80). The pity that Menelaus has just expressed for the traveler who is forced to traverse the ‘boundless earth’ (ἀπείρονα γαῖαν) is rather insincere if Telemachus is only planning to travel to the city of Argos and a part of Thessaly, just as Penelope’s boast, if taken in this literal sense, is hardly a compliment to her husband. Instead, it is clear that the formula is employed to signify Greece generally, with Ἑλλάς denoting the mainland north of the Corinthian isthmus and μέσον Ἄργος the Peloponnese—a usage still attested much later in Demosthenes (19.303) and the elder Pliny (*NH* 4.7).[7] Clearly, the poet (or poets) of the Homeric epics had reason to believe—erroneously or otherwise—that the toponym Ἑλλάς had originally designated a specific region of central Greece before extending its scope to denote the whole of the region north of the isthmus.[8]

That proposition is strengthened by the fact that this limited usage of the terms Ἑλλάς and Ἕλληνες continues well into the 7th century: in fact, the first unambiguous attestation of Ἑλλάς to indicate the whole of Greece does not predate the late-seventh-century poet Alcman (fr. 77 Page). The case of the term Ἕλληνες is even more illuminating. The fact that the accent falls on the first syllable (Ἕλληνες) rather than the second (Ἑλλῆνες) reveals that the name was originally preceded by a prefix,[9] and indeed in Archaic poetry down to the time of Simonides it is not Ἕλληνες that is attested but Πανέλληνες (e.g. Hesiod *Op.* 526–8; *fr.* 130 Merkelbach-West; Archil. fr. 54 Diehl).[10] Πανέλληνες did not originally signify a singular, organic

---

[7] P. Vannicelli, ‘Il nome ἙΛΛΗΝΕΣ in Omero’, *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 117 (1989) 34–48; M. Vasilescu ‘Hellènes et barbares dans les épopées homériques’, *Klio* 71 (1989) 70–77; Lévy, ‘Apparition’, 58–63.

[8] This issue, together with the complexities that arise from it, is explored in more detail in J.M. Hall, *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago, 2003), 125–54. There I link the extension of the toponym to the development of the Anthelan-Delphic Amphiktyony.

[9] H.E. Stier, *Die geschichtliche Bedeutung des Hellenennamens* (Cologne and Opladen, 1970), 22–23.

[10] I offer a tentative explanation for the attestation of the term in Homer *Il.* 2.530 (often dismissed as an interpolation) in *Hellenicity*, 153–4.

Hellenic group, but rather a pluralistic aggregate. The first attestation of the term Ἕλληνες to signal a single, inclusive group comes in the Arcadian Echembrotus' dedication of an inscribed bronze tripod at the first reorganized Pythian Games of 586 B.C.—*if* Pausanias (10.7.5–6) has cited it correctly.

This extension in the meaning of the terms Ἑλλάς and Ἕλληνες is, of course, precisely what Thucydides (1.3.2–3) had inferred from early poetic works, but it is also paralleled by a pervasive genealogical tradition that is first attested in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (*frs*. 9, 10a Merkelbach-West)—a work consigned to writing in the mid- to later-6th century. Here we are told that the eponymous hero Hellen bore three sons—Dorus, Xuthus and Aeolus—and that Xuthus sired Achaeus and Ion while Dorus' son Aegimius fathered Dymas and Pamphylus (eponyms for two of the three Dorian tribes).

While purporting to represent the principal ethnic subdivisions of the Hellenes (i.e. the Dorians, Achaeans, Ionians, Aeolians) in terms of a progressive lineage fission, there are two features that reveal this genealogy to be instead the end-product of an aggregative process of fusion whereby eponyms have been grafted onto the lineage of Hellen at different historical stages. Firstly, the intrusion of the non-eponymous Xuthus indicates an earlier period during which Ionians and Achaeans felt a sufficient affinity with one another to link their eponymous heroes genealogically but did not yet feel that they had as much in common with Dorians or Aeolians. Secondly, the eponyms of important Greek groups such as the Arcadians and the Aetolians are omitted from the genealogy—a natural consequence of an aggregative process of enrolment where external boundaries are not predefined in any concrete sense.[11]

For these reasons it seems inherently unlikely that when the first generations of Greek settlers set out for the west in the 8th century they carried with them a preconstituted consciousness of belonging to a wider Hellenic community. Some historians have suspected, however, that it was the colonizing experience itself which forged Hellenic identity through a centripetal process in which settlers defined themselves against the indigenous populations they encountered in the west. So, for instance, Gustave Glotz argued that 'colonization

---

[11] Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, 42–51.

made more clearly perceptible to the children of Hellen those mysterious bonds—race, language and religion—which had unconsciously united them. Living on the far-off margins in contact with populations that neither spoke nor thought like them, they more proudly sensed themselves as Greek'.[12] In view of the centrifugal and aggregative formation of Hellenic identity that the literary and genealogical traditions display this centripetal hypothesis has little to recommend it, but it is worth refocusing attention on the periphery in order to investigate the assumptions on which it is based.

Establishing a settlement overseas was, no doubt, a violent business and the pacific foundation of Megara Hyblaea at the invitation of the local dynast (Thuc. 6.4.1) was probably the exception rather than the rule.[13] In some localities—for instance Francavilla Marittima and Amendolara in the territory of Sybaris—indigenous sites appear to be abandoned at approximately the same time as Greek settlements were planted.[14] Elsewhere abandonment occurs slightly later when Greek colonies began to expand their territory as seems to be the case with Epizephyrian Locri and possibly Incoronata near Metapontum.[15] That said, it would be wrong to assume incessant hostility between Greeks and indigenes in the west. Once Greek settlers had satisfied their territorial needs a new equilibrium might be established: Amendolara, for instance, seems to have been immediately replaced by a new indigenous settlement on the hill of S. Nicola about two kilometres to the east.[16] This new equilibrium need not have entailed equality: the case of the enslaved Killyrioi at Syracuse comes to mind.[17] On the other hand, in light of Pierre Ducrey's

---

[12] G. Glotz, *Histoire Grecque*, Vol. 1, 4th edn. (Paris, 1948), 216. For similar statements: J.V.A. Fine, *The Ancient Greeks. A Critical History* (Cambridge MA and London, 1983), 92; E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition Through Tragedy* (Oxford, 1989), 8; Vasilescu, 'Hellènes et barbares', 77; J.M. Davison, 'Myth and the periphery', in D.C. Pozzi and J.M. Wickersham, ed., *Myth and the Polis* (Ithaca NY and London, 1991), 63.

[13] G. Nenci and S. Cataldi, 'Strumenti e procedure nei rapporti tra Greci e indigeni', in *Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche* (Pisa and Rome, 1983), 581–605; C. Dougherty, 'It's murder to found a colony', in C. Dougherty and L. Kurke, ed., *Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece* (Cambridge, 1993), 178–98.

[14] J. de la Geniére, 'C'è un 'modello' Amendolara?', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 8 (1978) 335–54; M. Osanna, *Chorai coloniali da Taranto a Locri. Documentazione archeologica e ricostruzione storica* (Rome, 1992), 2, 118–20.

[15] Osanna, *Chorai Coloniali*, 40–44, 201–206; E. Greco, *Archeologia della Magna Grecia*, 2nd edn. (Rome and Bari, 1993), 58–59.

[16] Osanna, *Chorai coloniali*, 126–28; Greco, *Archeologia*, 28.

[17] T.J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (Oxford, 1948), 111.

observation that early fortification walls are generally only attested for those Greek settlements situated in peripheral areas where the Greeks could not expect their neighbors to conform to the 'honor code' of hoplite combat,[18] the lack of any clear evidence for early fortifications in the western Greek colonies ought to imply that these cities had no more to fear from indigenous populations than they did from rival colonial foundations.[19]

One of the obvious mechanisms of integration between Greeks and non-Greeks in the west would have been intermarriage—pacific or violent—though the issue is one that has triggered considerable controversy.[20] It is true that the reticence of ancient authors concerning the presence of women in initial colonial ventures is hardly an argument for their absence. On the other hand, the two counterexamples normally cited are somewhat anomalous. Herodotus' description (1.164.3) of Phocaean women and children accompanying their menfolk to Corsica ca. 540 B.C. represents an evacuation of the city in the face of Persian conquests and is thus clearly distinguished from the earlier settlement of Massalia where tradition held that the Phocaean leader Gyptis had married a local princess (Just. *Epit.* 43.3.4–13). On the other hand, Polybius' notice (12.5.8) that the noblest families of Epizephyrian Locri were descended from the first female settlers of the site is often suspected to be a fifth-century aetiology coined to explain a principle of matrilineal succession which has itself been doubted.[21]

Intermarriage was certainly practiced on Sicily during the 5th cen-

[18] P. Ducrey, 'La muraille est-elle un élément constitutif d'une cité?', in M.H. Hansen, ed., *Sources for the Ancient Greek City* (Copenhagen, 1995), 245–56.

[19] T. Fischer-Hansen, 'The Earliest Town-Planning in the Western Greek Colonies with Special Regard to Sicily', in M.H. Hansen, ed., *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis* (Copenhagen, 1996), 317–73; R. Leighton, *Sicily Before History. An Archaeological Survey from the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age* (London, 1999), 240.

[20] For a cautious summary of the debate: N. Cusumano, *Una terra splendida e facile da possedere: i Greci e la Sicilia* (Rome, 1994), 96–104. For interpretations of the archaeological evidence: G. Buchner, 'Early Orientalizing Aspects of the Euboean Connection', in D. Ridgway and F. Ridgway, ed., *Italy Before the Romans* (London, 1979), 129–43; J.N. Coldstream, 'Mixed Marriages at the Frontiers of the Early Greek World', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 12 (1993) 89–107; T. Hodos, 'Intermarriage in the Western Greek Colonies', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 18 (1999) 61–78.

[21] E.g. S. Pembroke, 'Locres et Tarente: le rôle des femmes dans la fondation de deux colonies grecques', *Annales (Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations)* 25 (1970) 1240–70. The tradition is, however, defended in J.M. Redfield, *The Locrian Maidens. Love and Death in Greek Italy* (Princeton, forthcoming).

tury: Thucydides (6.6.2) tells us that a dispute over contested land and rights of intermarriage (γαμικῶν τινῶν) between the Elymian city of Egesta and the Greek city of Selinus was one of the pretexts for Athenian intervention in 415 B.C. The evidence of onomastics, however, suggests an earlier history for the practice. The names Rutile Hipukrates and Larth Telikles, attested on seventh-century vessels from Etruria, are most plausibly explained as designating the issue of mixed Greek-Etruscan marriages and call to mind the tradition concerning the Corinthian aristocrat Demaratus who fled to Etruscan Tarquinii and married a local élite woman by whom he is supposed to have fathered Tarquinius Priscus (Dion. Hal. 3.46; Strabo *Geog.* 5.2.2; Cic. *Rep.* 2.19; Livy 1.34).[22] On Sicily, a Siculo-Geometric globular amphora, probably dating to the end of the 6th century and discovered at Montagna di Marzo near Piazza Armerina, carries a non-Greek inscription which includes the names Tamura and Eurumakes, while a contemporary curse-tablet of uncertain provenance bears the name Pratomekes.[23] All three names are evidently Greek in origin (Θαμύρας . . . Εὐρύμαχος . . . Πρατόμαχος) but they have been written according to the phonological traits of a Sicel language whose lack of aspirated plosives is not only commented upon by later grammarians (Greg. Cor. *De dialecto dorica* 151) but is also documented by the absence of the signs for *theta, phi* and *chi* in the corpus of the non-Greek inscriptions of eastern Sicily.[24] It is at least thinkable that the Sicilianized use of Greek onomastics is a consequence of mixed unions between Greeks and Sicels.

Ethnographically one of the natural consequences of intermarriage is bilingualism and a bilingual environment would certainly have been a facilitating mechanism for the transmission of the Greek alphabet to the indigenous populations of South Italy and Sicily.[25] Unlike Barry Powell's model for the one-time adoption of the Greek

---

[22] J.-P. Morel, 'Greek Colonization in Italy and in the West (Problems of Evidence and Interpretation)', in T. Hackens, N.D. Holloway and R.R. Holloway, ed., *Crossroads of the Mediterranean* (Louvain and Providence RI, 1984), 147.

[23] E. Manni et al., 'Una nuova iscrizione anellenica da Montagna di Marzo', *Kokalos* 24 (1978) 3–62; G. Manganaro, 'Tavolette di piombo inscritte della Sicilia greca', *ASNP* 7 (1977) 1329–49.

[24] L. Agostiniani, 'I modi del contatto linguistico tra Greci e indigeni nella Sicilia antica', *Kokalos* 34–35 (1988–89) 182, 195–96.

[25] M. Lejeune, 'Rencontre de l'alphabet grec avec les langues barbares au cours du Ier millénaire av. J.-C.', in *Forme di contatto*, 731–51.

alphabet from West Semitic,[26] transmission in the west was multifocal: the alphabet of Mendolito and Centuripe was a modification of the Chalcidian script; that of Montagna di Marzo was based on the pseudo-Rhodian script of Gela; and the letter-forms in Elymian inscriptions from Egesta and Eryx were derived from the script of Selinus.[27] Even more significant is the apparent attestation of morphological-syntactic borrowings. The element *-emi* which is frequently attested in Elymian inscriptions of the late sixth and fifth centuries and now on a sherd of a Laconian krater from Morgantina may well be a direct loan from Greek εἰμὶ.[28] Conversely, three late sixth- or early fifth-century graffiti from the acropolis of Greek Gela employ the dative case to indicate possession[29]—a solecism in Greek but a feature attested in Elymian inscriptions.[30] Such a degree of linguistic interference requires more than casual contacts and argues in favor of a bilingual environment. Indeed, despite the lateness of his testimony, it is interesting that Iamblichus (*Vit. Pyth.* 34.241) records an order Pythagoras gave to his Greek followers to speak in the Greek language, implying that Greeks in South Italy may have often employed indigenous linguistic idioms.[31]

The possible existence of bilingualism is important because it complicates the commonly-stated view that the linguistic factor was primary in the consolidation of Hellenic identity.[32] According to this view, Greeks from varying regions and backgrounds began to assume a collective Hellenic consciousness upon being confronted with pop-

[26] B.B. Powell, *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet* (Cambridge, 1991), 5–67.

[27] L. Agostiniani, 'L'emergere della lingua scritta', in S. Tusa, ed., *Prima Sicilia alle origini della società siciliana* (Palermo, 1997), 579–81.

[28] L. Agostiniani, *Iscrizioni anelleniche di Sicilia. Le iscrizioni elime* (Florence, 1977), 153. Morgantina: C.M. Antonaccio and J. Neils, 'A New Graffito from Archaic Morgantina', *ZPE* 105 (1995) 261–77.

[29] M.T. Piraino Manni, 'Nuove iscrizioni dall'Acropoli di Gela', in *Φιλίας χάριν Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni* (Rome, 1980), 1767–1832 nos. 28, 37, 40.

[30] L. Agostiniani, 'Epigrafia e linguistica anelleniche di Sicilia: prospettive, problemi, acquisizioni', *Kokalos* 26–27 (1980–81) 503–30; idem, 'I modi del contatto linguistico', 196–98.

[31] J. Werner, 'Nichtgriechische Sprachen im Bewußtsein der antiken Griechen', in P. Handel and W. Meid, ed., *Festschrift für Robert Muth* (Innsbruck, 1983), 585.

[32] E.g. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian*, 4; J.E. Coleman, 'Ancient Greek Ethnocentrism', in J.E. Coleman and C.A. Walz, ed., *Greeks and Barbarians. Essays on the Interactions between Greeks and Non-Greeks in Antiquity and the Consequences for Eurocentrism* (Bethesda MD, 1997), 178.

ulations whose speech was unintelligible and who were therefore labeled *barbaroi*, or 'bar-bar'-speakers. Now the assumption that the term *barbaros* is onomatopoeic goes back to Strabo (*Geog.* 14.2.28) and seems on the surface eminently commonsensical (though in strictly linguistic terms the proposition is unfalsifiable).[33] The term is, however, relatively uncommon before the 5th century. Its first and isolated occurrence is in the compound adjective βαρβαροφώνων applied to the Carians in the *Iliad* (2.867), but even if we accept that the attestation is genuine,[34] the fact that βαρβαρο- is used to qualify -φωνος may argue against, rather than for, a linguistic connotation. After that there are only three attestations of the word in literature of the Archaic period and in only one of these cases (Anacr. fr. 423 Page) is the term used in an unambiguously linguistic sense.

Furthermore, it has to be remembered that what we term the Greek language was in reality a collection of numerous epichoric dialects. It is commonly assumed that a sense of a shared Hellenic language could have emerged as Greek-speakers came to recognize that they could communicate with one another more easily than with speakers of other languages,[35] but the evidence for the mutual intelligibility of the Greek dialects is not so patent.[36] It is true that there are relatively few references to communicational difficulties between Greek dialect speakers, though ancient authors are similarly reticent about how Greek-speakers communicated with alloglots.[37]

The fact is that intelligibility is often not so much a function of structural linguistic relationships as it is of the intensity of contact: even today dialect-speakers in Italy or Germany are not always able to understand one another.[38] In the case of the western Greeks, it is not at all impossible that a citizen of Syracuse could communicate with a Sicel-speaker with whom he came into daily contact just

---

[33] E. Weidner, 'Βάρβαρος', *Glotta* 4 (1913) 303–304.

[34] It is treated as a later interpolation by Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian*, 9–10 and P. Georges, *Barbarian Asia and the Greek Experience from the Archaic Period to the Age of Xenophon* (Baltimore, 1994), 15.

[35] E.g. M.I. Finley, *The Use and Abuse of History* (London, 1986), 122.

[36] J.M. Hall, 'The Role of Language in Greek Ethnicities', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 41 (1995) 83–100; idem, *Ethnic Identity*, 170–77.

[37] D.J. Mosley, 'Greeks, Barbarians, Language and Contact', *Ancient Society* 2 (1971) 1–6; V. Rotolo, 'La comunicazione linguistica fra alloglotti nell' antichità classica', in *Studi classici in onore di Quintino Cataudella*, Vol. 1 (Catania, 1972), 395–414.

[38] A. Morpurgo Davies, 'The Greek Notion of Dialect', *Verbum* 10 (1987) 8–9; S. Romaine, *Language in Society. An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (Oxford, 1993), 12–14.

as easily as with a visiting shepherd from Arcadia. Furthermore, since it is generally recognized that it was not until the late Hellenistic period that the Greeks began to develop a properly linguistic approach to the Greek language,[39] it should be clear that prior to this time the notion of a shared Hellenic language was a reification predicated not on linguistic cues but on the idea of what Benedict Anderson terms an 'imagined community'.[40] But even this is hard to document before the Classical period when terms such as 'the Greek tongue' (τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν) or 'to speak Greek' (ἑλληνίζειν) make their first appearance.[41]

Similar considerations hold in the case of material culture. In terms of formal stylistic analysis, Hellenization of indigenous cultural traditions on Sicily is readily apparent both in the importation of artifacts originating in the Aegean and in the adoption and imitation of Greek ceramic shapes, decorative motifs and technological expertise. This is particularly true of the late eighth-century 'Finocchito' culture and its successor, the 'Licodia-Eubea' culture, which appear in the east of the island.[42] In South Italy, the so-called 'Iapygian' culture of Puglia begins to adopt motifs from Corinthian Late Geometric pottery in the late 8th century and Greek architectural forms in the course of the 7th century, while a late sixth-century tomb-painting from Ugento near the southeastern tip of the peninsula depicts the typically Greek institution of the *palaistra*.[43]

Yet, 'culture' conceived in such monolithic and bounded terms is itself a reification. Ideologies, social strategies and behavioral practices—in which individuals participate differentially in any case—do not in and of themselves create 'culture'. They need instead to be selectively chosen and symbolically figured as the unique and exclu-

---

[39] J.B. Hainsworth, 'Greek Views of Greek Dialectology', *Transactions of the Philological Society* 65 (1967) 73–74; A.C. Cassio, 'Il 'carattere' dei dialetti greci e l'opposizione Ioni-Dori: testimonianze antiche e teorie di età romantica', *Annali, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo, Sezione Linguistica* 6 (1984) 118.

[40] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd edn. (London, 1991).

[41] M. Casevitz, 'Hellenismos. Formation et fonction des verbes en -ίζω et de leurs dérivés', in *ἙΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ*, 9–16.

[42] L. Bernabò Brea, *Sicily Before the Greeks* (London, 1957), 147–85; V. La Rosa, 'L'incontro dei coloni greci con le genti anelleniche della Sicilia', in *I Greci in Occidente*, ed. G. Pugliese Carratelli (Milan, 1996), 523–33.

[43] E. de Juliis, 'L'incontro dei Greci con le genti anelleniche della Puglia', in *I Greci in Occidente*, 549–54.

sive (albeit fictive) heritage of an 'imagined community'. The receptivity of indigenous élites to Greek prestige items and status markers such as bronze hoplite armor, the accoutrements associated with the symposium, or even Homeric-style burial is well documented,[44] but the adoption of these elements has less to do with cultural assimilation than with the appropriation of symbols whose efficacy in legitimating leadership and authority was guaranteed by the difficulty of their acquisition.

We simply do not know the extent to which early Greek settlers, confronted with indigenous cultural traditions, may have speculated upon—and consequently objectified—their own ideational and behavioral practices as being specifically Hellenic, but I have argued elsewhere that the important watershed in defining Hellenic identity does not occur until the 5th century. This is the period during which the Greeks first began to construct their identity through opposition with barbarian outsiders rather than aggregatively with one another, and this is the period in which cultural criteria such as language, religion and behavioral practices came to be promoted over the more properly ethnic ties of kinship that had operated in the Archaic period.[45]

It is not that western Greeks perceived no *differences* between themselves and indigenous populations. Nevertheless, the intensity, nature and perception of encounters between Greeks and non-Greeks almost certainly varied from area to area throughout the western Greek world,[46] and that is even without taking into consideration Greek settlement in the eastern Mediterranean where interaction with the Carians was certainly very different from interaction with the Phrygians or Lydians.[47] There is no compelling evidence that in the Archaic

---

[44] Greco, *Archeologia*, 105, 108; A. Bottini, 'L'incontro dei coloni greci con le genti anelleniche della Lucania', in *I Greci in Occidente*, 541–48; Leighton, *Sicily Before History*, 245; B. d'Agostino, 'L'incontro dei coloni greci con le genti anelleniche della Campania', in *I Greci in Occidente*, 533–40.

[45] Hall, 'The Role of Language', 95–96; idem, *Ethnic Identity*, xiii; idem, *Hellenicity*, 172–228.

[46] C. Morgan, 'The Archaeology of Ethnicity in the Colonial World of the Eighth to Sixth Centuries B.C.: Approaches and Prospects', *Atti del 37° Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia* (Taranto, 1999, 85–145).

[47] L. Kurke, 'The Politics of ἁβροσύνη in Archaic Greece', *Classical Antiquity* 11 (1992) 91–120; M. Faraguna, 'Note di storia milesia arcaica: ἐργιθες e la στάσις' di VI secolo', *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 36 (1995) 37–89.

period such isolated encounters were considered to constitute a-common experience that might have contributed to a strong Hellenic consciousness at the margins. Irad Malkin has insisted that the altar of Apollo Archegetes, outside the city of Naxos, served as a focal point for all the Greeks of Sicily, whether Dorian or Ionian.[48] Yet what Thucydides (6.3.1) actually says is that the Chalcidians 'built the altar of Apollo Archegetes which is now outside the city and on which *theoroi* who sail from Sicily first sacrifice'—not that all the *theoroi* from Greek cities on Sicily gathered there as part of some collective Hellenic rite.[49] As Gillian Shepherd has argued, archaeological evidence from Olympia reveals that the great interregional sanctuaries of mainland Greece attracted a considerable degree of investment at an early date from Sicilian and Italian Greeks.[50] But such conspicuous and competitive display confirmed the donors' status as Panhellenes qualified to participate in a wider élite community centered on the mainland, not as Hellenes defined through opposition with indigenous 'barbarians'.

Our information for Greek perceptions of indigenous groups in the west—a necessary prerequisite for gauging the degree to which there existed a Hellenic self-consciousness—is meager but nonetheless illuminating. The best-known testimony is Thucydides' account (6.1–2) of the prehellenic populations of Sicily: the Sicani, Elymi, Siceli and Phoenicians. Many archaeologists have employed this information to interpret the material patterning of Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Sicily,[51] but such credence is almost certainly misplaced because other indications suggest that the identity of these groups was particularly salient in the 5th century, thus making it

---

[48] I. Malkin, 'Apollo Archegetes and Sicily', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 16 (1986) 959–72; idem, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden, 1987), 19, 140; idem, *The Returns of Odysseus. Colonization and Ethnicity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1998), 60.

[49] See also the objections of C.M. Antonaccio, 'Ethnicity and Colonization', in I. Malkin (ed.) *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (Cambridge MA, 2001), 134.

[50] G. Shepherd, 'The Pride of Most Colonials: Burial and Religion in the Sicilian Colonies' in T. Fischer-Hansen, ed., *Ancient Sicily* (Copenhagen, 1995), 51–82; cf. I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, 'Fremde Weihungen in griechischen Heiligtümern vom 8. bis zum Beginn des 7. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.', *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums in Mainz* 32 (1985) 215–54.

[51] E.g. Bernabò Brea, *Sicily Before the Greeks*, 136–200; V. La Rosa, 'Le popolazioni della Sicilia: Sicani, Siculi, Elimi', in *Italia omnium terrarum parens* (Milan, 1989), 3–110; V. Tusa, 'Gli Elimi', in *Prima Sicilia*, 521–526.

dangerous to retroject charter myths whose chief function was to legitimate those identities.[52] For one thing, Thucydides' account is not always congruent with other contemporary authors: while he says that the Elymi were descended from Trojans and Phocian migrants, Hellanicus (4 *FGrH* 79) argues that they were an Italian population, suggesting a contemporary climate of contestation over ethnic origins. In the second place, it was in the middle of the 5th century that Ducetius attempted to organize a resistance effort among the Sicel population (Diod. 11.91–92)—an event that is evidently germane to the issue of Sicel identity but must also have had repercussions concerning self-identification among other groups on the island. Thirdly, the city of Eryx began at the same time to issue coins with legends in the Elymian language despite having earlier displayed Greek legends on its coinage—a move that was almost certainly effected under pressure from neighboring Egesta but which represented a powerful symbolic act given the public and official medium through which this linguistic proclamation was communicated.[53]

On the other hand, neither should we be overly skeptical and simply dismiss Thucydides' information as fifth-century invention or Athenian propaganda foisted onto indigenous groups who are silent to posterity. The notion that the Sicani originated in Iberia may derive from Hecataeus,[54] but the professions of autochthonous origins which Thucydides (6.2.2) rejects though Timaeus (566 *FGrH* 38) defends are surely Sicanian in origin, and their existence as a definable group is already attested in an early sixth-century inscription from the Samian Heraion.[55] Similarly, the Trojan elements in the accounts of Elymian origins may well extend back into the Archaic period given Stesichorus' apparent association (840 *FGrH* 6b) of Trojan heroes with western foundations. Hermann Bengston, and more recently Edith Hall and Pericles Georges, have all argued that the

---

[52] Cusumano, *Una terra splendida*, 139–62; R.M. Albanese-Procelli, 'Le etnie dell'età del ferro e le prime fondazioni coloniali', in *Prima Sicilia*, 511–20; Antonaccio, 'Colonization and Ethnicity'.

[53] Agostiniani, *Iscrizioni anelleniche*, 132; P. Anello, 'Le popolazioni epicorie della Sicilia nella tradizione letteraria', in *Prima Sicilia*, 552.

[54] L. Pareti, 'Basi e sviluppo della 'tradizione' antica sui primi popoli della Sicilia, I', *Kokalos* 2 (1956) 5–19.

[55] G. Dunst, 'Archaische Inschriften und Dokumente der Pentekontaetie aus Samos', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 87 (1972) 100–106.

Trojans were not 'barbarianized' as the Greeks' natural and implacable enemies until the aftermath of the Persian War,[56] so if the Trojan tradition of Elymian origins does date back to the Archaic period it would be premature to regard it as designed to cast the Elymians in a profoundly alien role. Such a view would, in any case, neglect the Phocian component that Thucydides attributes to the early Elymians. Indeed Irad Malkin has noted that many of the *nostos* traditions in the west—associated particularly with areas of indigenous settlement—involve partnerships between Greeks and Trojans.[57]

According to Herodotus (7.170.1–2), the Messapioi of Iapygia were descended from Cretans blown ashore on the Puglian coast after an unsuccessful attempt to avenge the murder of Minos on Sicily. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.11–13) cites Sophocles, Antiochus and Pherecydes in support of his assertion that the Oinotri and Peucetii of South Italy were descended from Arcadians. Although this specific information cannot be traced further back than the 5th century, some earlier hints of similar traditions are attested in the closing verses of Hesiod's *Theogony* (1011–18) which describe how Circe bore to Odysseus Agrios, Latinos and Telegonos 'who ruled over the glorious Tyrsenioi'.[58] Far from being considered inescapably different, then, the indigenous populations of the west were on the one hand 'familiarized' by being identified with populations known from the mainland, and on the other 'domesticated' in the sense that these same populations were often stereotyped as being generally less advanced.[59]

Hamilcar's invasion of Sicily and his defeat at Himera in 480 B.C. could have represented a defining moment for the Greeks of Sicily—a western equivalent to the heroic defense of mainland Greece. Indeed the parallels were not ignored: Pindar (*Pyth.* 1.71–80) likens the defeat of the Carthaginians at Himera to the Battle of Plataea and the earlier victory over the Etruscans off Cumae to the Battle of Salamis, and later tradition held that the conflict at Himera was actually

[56] H. Bengtson, 'Hellenen und Barbaren. Gedanken zum Problem des griechischen Nationalbewußtseins', in K. Rüdinger, ed., *Unser Geschichtsbild* (Munich, 1954), 27; Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian*, 1–55; Georges, *Barbarian Asia*, 62–63.

[57] Malkin, *Returns of Odysseus*, 198–99.

[58] The Hesiodic authorship of these lines is defended by Malkin, *Returns of Odysseus*, 180–83; *contra* M.L. West, *Hesiod: Theogony* (Oxford, 1966), 397–99.

[59] D. Briquel, 'Le regard des Grecs sur l'Italie indigène', in *Crise et transformation des sociétés archaïques de l'Italie antique au Ve siècle av. J.-C.* (Rome, 1990), 165–88.

fought on the same day as the battle of Salamis (Hdt. 7.166) or Thermopylae (Diod. 11.24). Yet the opportunity was not capitalized upon: far from promoting a sense of Hellenic consciousness in confrontation with barbarians, the first *Pythian Ode* actually celebrates the Dorian institutions and ordinances that the tyrant Hieron established for the city of Etna.

This failure, even in the 5th century, to mobilize a sense of Hellenic identity is particularly apparent in the speeches Thucydides puts in the mouths of Sicilian statesmen, where appeals are more commonly made to Dorian or Ionian affiliations (e.g. 3.86.3; 4.61.2–4; 6.80.3). There was, however, another identification open to the Greeks of Sicily. At the congress of Gela in 424 B.C., the Syracusan statesman Hermocrates tells delegates: 'There is nothing disgraceful in people giving way to those who are like them, whether Dorian to Dorian or Chalcidian to others of his kin; but at a collective level we are neighbors and fellow settlers of a single land, surrounded by sea, and called by a single name—Sikeliotai' (4.64.3). The term 'Sikeliotai', attested here for the first time, was to acquire an increasing significance in subsequent periods and Carla Antonaccio has argued that the appearance of this new territorially-based designation signals an interesting instance of ethnogenesis.[60] What is important is that the term 'Sikeliotai' distinguishes the Greeks of Sicily from the Greeks of the mainland. Furthermore, although the term clearly was applied initially to Greek residents of the island, its territorial basis of definition was poorly equipped to distinguish between Greeks and non-Greeks: according to Diodorus (5.6.6), the indigenous populations of the island gradually became enculturated in Greek ways of life, abandoned their 'barbarian' dialect and began to call themselves 'Sikeliotai'.

The situation is not much different in South Italy. The earliest attestation of the geographical expression Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς to denote South Italy is given by Polybius (2.39.1) whose dependence upon the testimony of Timaeus is now increasingly doubted.[61] Polybius himself uses the term in the context of the destruction of the Pythagorean συνέδρια in the mid-5th century and the subsequent establishment

[60] Antonaccio, 'Ethnicity and Colonization'.

[61] R. Cantarella, 'Η μεγάλη Ἑλλάς in *La città e il suo territorio. Atti del VII° convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia* (Taranto, 1968), 11–25.

of an Italiote confederacy modeled after the Achaean League of mainland Greece,[62] but it is difficult to document the existence of the Achaean League much before the end of the 5th century.[63] If anything, a more significant level of identification—beyond that of individual *poleis*—seems again to have been associated with 'subhellenic' groups—particularly the Achaean cities confronted by, on the one hand, Dorian Taras and, on the other, Ionian Siris.[64]

The Greeks, like everybody else, possessed a spectrum of potential ethnic, social, familial and occupational identities to which they might subscribe at different times. My suspicion is that to most, the *oikos*—followed closely by the *polis*—commanded a more recurrent loyalty than subhellenic affiliations and that even the latter were invoked more frequently than a broader Hellenic identity. What I hope to have shown, however, is that the orbit of the western colonies provides no evidence for an early—or even very significant—expression of Hellenic consciousness, suggesting in turn that the recent debate on the 'real' identity of the early protagonists in the west is an anachronistic problematization of concerns more appropriate to the context of the modern nation-state than to the situation that existed at this period in antiquity.

Acknowledgements

I should like to express my gratitude to Kathryn Lomas for inviting me to participate in the proceedings honoring Professor Brian Shefton, and to Carla Antonaccio, Paul Cartledge, Kurt Raaflaub, and Hans van Wees for their valuable comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

---

[62] For the chronology: F.W. Walbank, *An Historical Commentary on Polybius* (Oxford, 1957) 222–26.

[63] C. Morgan and J.M. Hall, 'Achaian *Poleis* and Achaian Colonisation', in *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis*, 194–97. See, however, F.W. Walbank, 'Hellenes and Achaians: 'Greek Nationality' Revisited', in P. Flensted-Jensen, ed., *Further Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Stuttgart 2000), 19–33.

[64] The conflicts between these cities and the role this played in the construction of Achaean identity in the west is treated in more detail in J.M. Hall, 'Myths of Greek Colonialism: The Case of South Italy and Achaean Identity', in C. Morgan and G. Tsetskhladze, ed., *Art and Myth in the Colonial World* (Leiden, forthcoming); idem, *Hellenicity*, 58–65.

Bibliography

Agostiniani, L. *Iscrizioni anelleniche di Sicilia. Le iscrizioni elime.* Florence: Olschki, 1977

——. 'Epigrafia e linguistica anelleniche di Sicilia: prospettive, problemi, acquisizioni', *Kokalos* 26–27 (1980–81) 503–30

——. 'I modi del contatto linguistico tra Greci e indigeni nella Sicilia antica', *Kokalos* 34–35 (1988–89) 167–206

——. 'L'emergere della lingua scritta', in S. Tusa, ed., *Prima Sicilia alle origini della società siciliana.* Palermo: Regione Siciliana, 1997, 579–81

Albanese-Procelli, R.M. 'Le etnie dell'età del ferro e le prime fondazioni coloniali', in S. Tusa, ed., *Prima Sicilia alle origini della società siciliana.* Palermo: Regione Siciliana, 1997, 511–20

Anderson, B. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism.* 2nd ed. London: Verso, 1991

Anello, P. 1997. 'Le popolazioni epicorie della Sicilia nella tradizione letteraria', in S. Tusa, ed., *Prima Sicilia alle origini della società siciliana.* Palermo: Regione Siciliana, 1997, 539–557

Antonaccio, C.M. 'Ethnicity and Colonization', in I. Malkin, ed. *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, Washington DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2001, 113–57

Antonaccio, C.M., J. Neils. 'A New Graffito from Archaic Morgantina', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 105 (1995) 261–77

Bengtson, H. 'Hellenen und Barbaren. Gedanken zum Problem des griechischen Nationalbewußtseins', in K. Rüdinger, ed., *Unser Geschichtsbild.* Munich: Bayer, 1954, 25–40

Bernabò Brea, L. *Sicily Before the Greeks.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1957

Boardman, J. 'Orientalia and Orientals on Ischia', in B. d'Agostino, D. Ridgway, ed., *APOIKIA. I più antichi insediamenti greci in occidente: funzioni e modi dell'organizzazione politica e sociale. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner*, (= *Annali, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo, Sezione di Archeologia e Storia Antica* Supplement 1), 1994, 95–100

Bottini, A. 'L'incontro dei coloni greci con le genti anelleniche della Lucania', in G. Pugliese Carratelli, ed., *I Greci in occidente.* Milan: Bompiani, 1996, 541–48

Briquel, D. 'Le regard des Grecs sur l'Italie indigène', in *Crise et transformation des sociétés archaïques de l'Italie antique au V*[e] *siècle av. J.-C.* Pisa and Rome: Scuola Normale Superiore and Ecole Française de Rome, 1990, 165–88

Buchner, G. 'Early Orientalizing Aspects of the Euboean Connection', in D. Ridgway, F. Ridgway, ed., *Italy Before the Romans: The Iron Age, Orientalizing and Etruscan Periods*, London: Academic Press, 1979, 129–43

Buchner, G., D. Ridgway. *Pithekoussai* I. *La Necropoli: Tombe 1–723 scavate dal 1952 al 1961.* Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1993

Cantarella, R. 'Η μεγάλη Ἑλλάς, in *La città e il suo territorio. Atti del VII° convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia.* Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1968, 11–25

Casevitz, M. 'Hellenismos. Formation et fonction des verbes en -ίζω et de leurs dérivés', in S. Said, ed., *ἙΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ: quelques jalons pour une histoire de l'identité grecque.* Leiden: Brill, 1991, 9–16

Cassio, A.C. 'Il 'carattere' dei dialetti greci e l'opposizione Ioni-Dori: testimonianze antiche e teorie di età romantica', *Annali, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo, Sezione Linguistica* 6 (1984) 113–36

Coldstream, J.N. 'Mixed Marriages at the Frontiers of the Early Greek World', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 12 (1993) 89–107

——. 'Prospectors and Pioneers: Pithekoussai, Kyme and Central Italy', in F. de Angelis, G.R. Tsetskhladze, ed., *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation. Essays Dedicated*

to Sir John Boardman. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1994, 47–59

Coleman, J.E. 'Ancient Greek Ethnocentrism', in J.E. Coleman, C.A. Walz, ed., *Greeks and Barbarians. Essays on the Interactions between Greeks and Non-Greeks in Antiquity and the Consequences for Eurocentrism*. Bethesda MD: CDL Press, 1997, 175–220

Cusumano, N. *Una terra spendida e facile da possedere: i Greci e la Sicilia*. (*Kokalos* Supplement 10). Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1994

d'Agostino, B. 'L'incontro dei coloni greci con le genti anelleniche della Campania', in G. Pugliese Carratelli, ed., *I Greci in occidente*. Milan: Bompiani, 1996, 533–40

Davison, J.M. 'Myth and the Periphery', in D.C. Pozzi, J.M. Wickersham, ed., *Myth and the Polis*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991, 49–63

de Juliis, E. 'L'incontro dei Greci con le genti anelleniche della Puglia', in G. Pugliese Carratelli, ed., *I Greci in occidente*. Milan: Bompiani, 1996, 549–54

de la Genière, J. 'C'è un 'modello' Amendolara?'' *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 8 (1978) 335–54

Dougherty, C. 'It's Murder to Found a Colony', in C. Dougherty, L. Kurke, ed., *Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 178–98

Ducrey, P. 'La muraille est-elle un élément constitutif d'une cité?', in M.H. Hansen, ed., *Sources for the Ancient Greek City* (= *Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre* 2). Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 1995, 245–56

Dunbabin, T.J. *The Western Greeks*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948

Dunst, G. 'Archaische Inschriften und Dokumente der Pentekontaetie aus Samos', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 87 (1972) 99–163

Faraguna, M. 'Note di storia milesia arcaica: i Γέργιθες e la στάσις di VI secolo', *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 36 (1995) 37–89

Fine, J.V.A. *The Ancient Greeks. A Critical History*. Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1983

Finley, M.I. *The Use and Abuse of History*. 2nd ed. London: Fontana, 1986

Fischer-Hansen, T. 'The Earliest Town-Planning in the Western Greek Colonies with Special Regard to Sicily', in M.H. Hansen, ed., *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis* (*Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre* 3). Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 1996, 317–73

Georges, P. *Barbarian Asia and the Greek Experience from the Archaic Period to the Age of Xenophon*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994

Glotz, G. *Histoire grecque*, Vol. 1. 4th ed. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1948

Greco, E. *Archeologia della Magna Grecia*. 2nd ed. Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1993

Hainsworth, J.B. 'Greek Views of Greek Dialectology', *Transactions of the Philological Society* 65 (1967) 62–76

Hall, E. *Inventing the Barbarian. Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989

Hall, J.M. 'The Role of Language in Greek Ethnicities', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 41 (1995) 83–100

——. *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997

——. *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002

——. 'Myths of Greek Colonialism: The Case of South Italy and Achaean Identity', in C. Morgan, G. Tsetskhladze, ed., *Art and Myth in the Colonial World*. Leiden: Brill, forthcoming

Hodos, T. 'Intermarriage in the Western Greek Colonies', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 18 (1999) 61–78

Kilian-Dirlmeier, I. 'Fremde Weihungen in griechischen Heiligtümern vom 8. bis zum Beginn des 7. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.', *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums in Mainz* 32 (1985) 215–54

Kirk, G.S. *The Iliad: A Commentary*. Vol. 1: *Books 1–4*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985
Kurke, L. 'The Politics of ἁβροσύνη in Archaic Greece', *Classical Antiquity* 11 (1992) 91–120
La Rosa, V. 'Le popolazioni della Sicilia: Sicani, Siculi, Elimi', in *Italia omnium terrarum parens*. Milan: Scheiwiller, 1989, 3–110
——. 'L'incontro dei coloni greci con le genti anelleniche della Sicilia', in G. Pugliese Carratelli, ed., *I Greci in occidente*. Milan: Bompiani, 1996, 523–33
Leighton, R. *Sicily Before History. An Archaeological Survey from the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age*. London: Routledge, 1999
Lejeune, M. 'Rencontre de l'alphabet grec avec les langues barbares au cours du Ier millénaire av. J.-C.', in *Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche*. Pisa and Rome: Scuola Normale Superiore and Ecole Française de Rome, 1983, 731–51
Lévy, E. 'Apparition des notions de Grèce et de grecs', in S. Saïd, ed., *ʽΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ: Quelques jalons pour une histoire de l'identité grecque*. Leiden: Brill, 1991, 46–69
Malkin, I. 'Apollo Archegetes and Sicily', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 16 (1986) 959–72
——. *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*. Leiden: Brill, 1987
——. *The Returns of Odysseus. Colonization and Ethnicity*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1998
Manganaro, G. 'Tavolette di piombo inscritte della Sicilia greca', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 7 (1977) 1329–49
Manni, E. *et al.* 'Una nuova iscrizione anellenica da Montagna di Marzo', *Kokalos* 24 (1978) 3–62
Markoe, G.E. 'In Pursuit of Metal: Phoenicians and Greeks in Italy', in G. Kopcke, I. Tokumaru, ed., *Greece between East and West: 10th–8th Centuries B.C.* Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1992, 61–84
Morel, J.-P. 'Greek Colonization in Italy and in the West (Problems of Evidence and Interpretation)', in T. Hackens, N.D. Holloway, R.R. Holloway, ed., *Crossroads of the Mediterranean*. Louvain-la-Neuve and Providence RI: Institut Supérieur d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art and Brown University, Center for Old World Archaeology and Art, 1984, 123–61
Morgan, C. 'The Archaeology of Ethnicity in the Colonial World of the Eighth to Sixth Centuries B.C.: Approaches and Prospects', *Atti del 37° Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia*. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1999, 85–145
Morgan, C., Hall, J.M. 'Achaian *Poleis* and Achaian Colonisation', in M.H. Hansen, ed., *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis* (*Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre* 3). Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 1996, 164–232
Morpurgo Davies, A. 'The Greek Notion of Dialect', *Verbum* 10 (1987) 7–28
Morris, I. 'The Use and Abuse of Homer', *Classical Antiquity* 5 (1986) 81–138
Mosley, D.J. 'Greeks, Barbarians, Language and Contact', *Ancient Society* 2 (1971) 1–6
Nenci, G., S. Cataldi. 'Strumenti e procedure nei rapporti tra Greci e indigeni', in *Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche*. Pisa and Rome: Scuola Normale Superiore and Ecole Française de Rome, 1983, 581–605
Osanna, M. *Chorai coloniali da Taranto a Locri. Documentazione archeologica e ricostruzione storica*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1992
Osborne, R.G. *Greece in the Making, 1200–479 B.C.* London: Routledge, 1996
Papadopoulos, J.K. 'Euboeans in Macedonia? A Closer Look', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 15 (1996) 151–81
——. 'Phantom Euboeans', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 10 (1997) 191–219
Pareti, L. 'Basi e sviluppo della 'tradizione' antica sui primi popoli della Sicilia, I', *Kokalos* 2 (1956) 5–19

Pembroke, S. 'Locres et Tarente: le rôle des femmes dans la fondation de deux colonies grecques', *Annales (Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations)* 25 (1970) 1240–70

Piraino Manni, M.T. 'Nuove iscrizioni dall'Acropoli di Gela', in *Φιλίας Χάριν. Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1980, 1767–1832

Powell, B.B. *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991

Raaflaub, K.A. 'A Historian's Headache. How to Read 'Homeric Society'', in N. Fisher, H. van Wees, ed., *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence*. London: Duckworth, 1998, 169–93

Redfield, J.M. *The Locrian Maidens. Love and Death in Greek Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Forthcoming

Ridgway, D. *The First Western Greeks*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992

——. 'Phoenicians and Greeks in the West: a View from Pithekoussai', in F. de Angelis, G.R. Tsetskhladze, ed., *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation. Essays Dedicated to Sir John Boardman*. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1994, 35–46

——. 'Seals, Scarabs and People in Pithekoussai, I', in G.R. Tsetskhladze, A.J.N.W. Prag, A.M. Snodgrass, ed., *Periplous: Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology Presented to Sir John Boardman*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2000

Romaine, S. *Language in Society. An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994

Rotolo, V. 'La comunicazione linguistica fra alloglotti nell' antichità classica', in *Studi classici in onore di Quintino Cataudella*, Vol. 1. Catania: University of Catania, 1972, 395–414

Schwabl, H. 'Das Bild der fremden Welt bei den frühen Griechen', in O. Reverdin, ed., *Grecs et barbares* (*Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique* 8). Geneva: Fondation Hardt, 1962, 1–23

Shepherd, G. 'The Pride of Most Colonials: Burial and Religion in the Sicilian Colonies', in T. Fischer-Hansen, ed., *Ancient Sicily* (= *Acta Hyberborea* 6). Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1995, 51–82

Smith, A.D. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986

Stier, H.E. *Die geschichtliche Bedeutung des Hellenennamens*. Cologne and Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1970

Tusa, V. 'Gli Elimi', in S. Tusa, ed., *Prima Sicilia alle origini della società siciliana*. Palermo: Regione Siciliana, 1997, 521–26

Vannicelli, P. 'Il nome Ἕλληνες in Omero', *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 117 (1989) 34–48

Vasilescu, M. 'Hellènes et barbares dans les épopées homériques', *Klio* 71 (1989) 70–77

Walbank, F.W. *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957

——. 'Hellenes and Achaians: 'Greek Nationality' Revisited', in P. Flensted-Jensen, ed., *Further Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (*Historia Einzelschriften* 138). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000, 19–33

Wathelet, P. 'L'origine du nom des Hellènes et son développement dans la tradition homérique', *Études Classiques* 43 (1975) 119–28

Weber, M. *Economy and Society*, Vol. 1 (trans. Ephraim Fischoff *et al*.). New York: Bedminster, 1968

Weidner, E. 'Βάρβαρος', *Glotta* 4 (1913) 303–304

Werner, J. 'Nichtgriechische Sprachen im Bewußtsein der antiken Griechen', in P. Handel, W. Meid, ed., *Festschrift für Robert Muth*. Innsbruck: Amoe, 1983, 583–95

West, M.L. *Hesiod, Theogony*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966

SICULO-GEOMETRIC AND THE SIKELS: CERAMICS AND IDENTITY IN EASTERN SICILY

Carla Antonaccio
Wesleyan University

In 1958, a Princeton University archaeological expedition uncovered the fragments of an Attic red figure volute krater at Morgantina, in east central Sicily (fig. 1). The vase was found in the debris of a building that was destroyed apparently in 459 B.C. when Douketios, *hegemon* of a league of Sikel towns in the interior of the island, took Morgantina as he sought to achieve indigenous autonomy. Not all the fragments of the krater were recovered, and some had been burned in the destruction. Once cleaned and restored, it was seen that the vessel was worn from use and had been repaired in antiquity at the handle and foot (fig. 2). Sir John Beazley, the master connoisseur of Greek vase study, immediately attributed the krater to the Athenian red figure pioneer, Euthymides, a judgement recently confirmed by Jenifer Neils. As noted by Neils, the Morgantina krater is the only known vessel of this shape by Euthymides, the only krater by a pioneer from all of Sicily, and the shape itself is rare everywhere in this period.[1] Made perhaps around 515 B.C. and not destroyed until more than fifty years later, the signs of wear and ancient repairs may be attributed to the krater's long period of use, though the director of excavations that year, Richard Stillwell, had another explanation. As Stillwell stated the following year in the pages of the *American Journal of Archaeology*:

> It was not only gratifying, but also not a little surprising, to find a work of a master hand in a relatively remote Greek settlement in the center of Sicily. Perhaps the very fact that the vase had been broken and mended in antiquity may be significant, and could suggest that

---

[1] J. Neils, 'The Euthymides Krater from Morgantina,' *AJA* 99 (1995) 427–44 and J. Neils, 'Attic Vases from Morgantina,' in G. Rizza *et al.*, ed., *I vasi attici ed altre ceramiche coeve in Sicilia* (Catania, 1996), vol. II, 173–8; Neils also notes fragments of a second krater at Morgantina which she attributes to Euthymides.

Fig. 1: Attic red-figure volute krater attributed to Euthymides (inv. no. 58–2382): photo C. Williams.

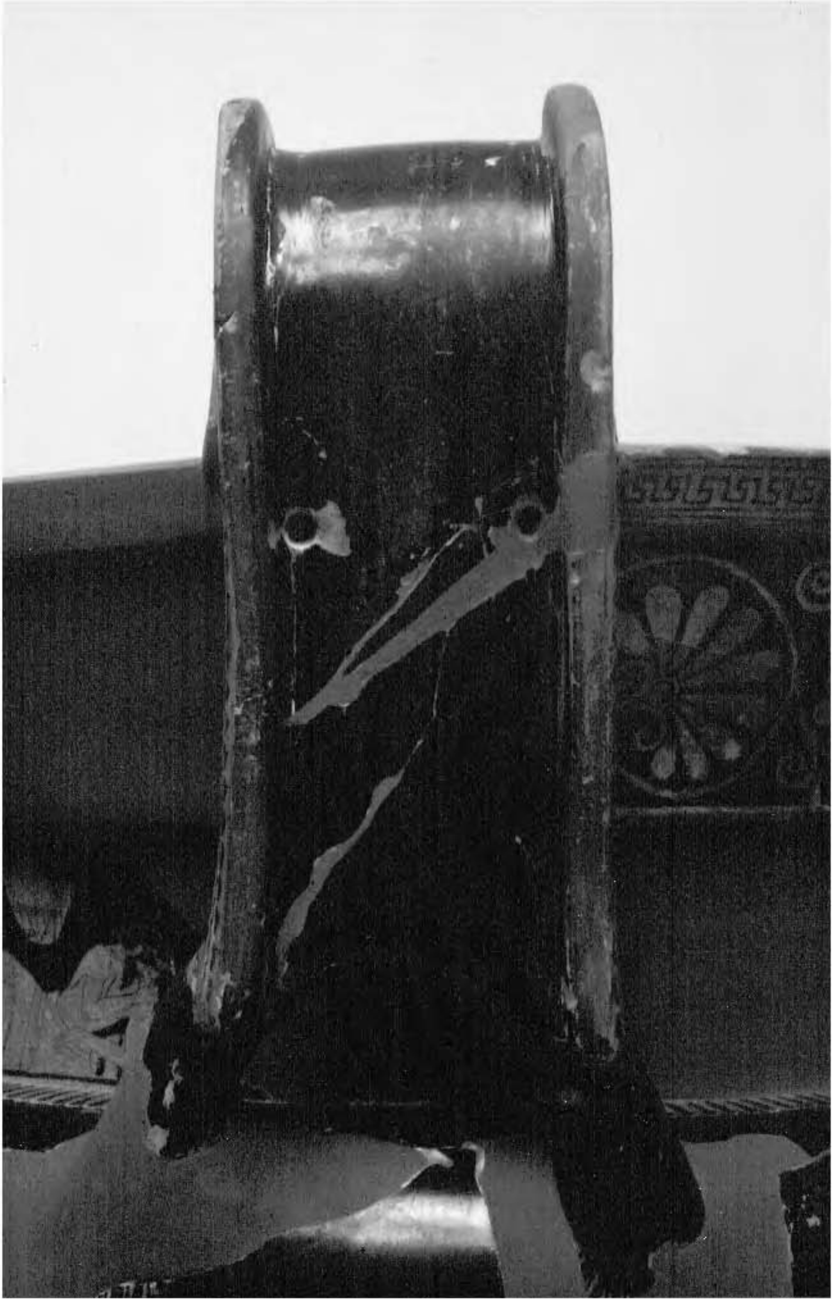


Fig. 2: detail of fig. 1: repair to handle: photo C. Williams.

> after its importation from Athens to Syracuse it had, as damaged goods, been acquired by a citizen of Morgantina and taken home as a memento.[2]

Stillwell could only imagine that the vase had been directly imported from Athens to Syracuse, a Greek colony with which Morgantina had close cultural and political contacts in this period, and that the only explanation for the krater's presence in interior Sicily was its sale as second-hand goods to some visitor who carried it up into the hills as a kind of souvenir of his visit to the coastal metropolis.

Thus invoking Syracuse, Attic red figure, Euthymides, and Beazley employs a point of entry that is frequently utilized in approaching colonial-period Sicily: imported Greek artefacts, sometimes of extraordinarily high quality, that draw the attention of scholars who are interested in the objects as the scattered oeuvre of a particular artist, time, or place. Yet, the find of the krater of Euthymides cannot be understood without considering its Sicilian, colonial context, arguably as important as the place of origin or the hand that painted the vase. Nor can the question of contemporary non-Greek pottery found on the same site be fully addressed without Euthymides.[3]

The indigenous ceramic production of east and central Sicily, especially the matt-painted pottery now conventionally called Siculo-Geometric, is a perfect subject for the question posed by John Boardman: 'by whom and for whom?' and the issue of Greek imports to native sites represented by the krater is a suitable focus in a volume dedicated to the honor of Brian Shefton.[4] The Siculo-Geometric style is the latest manifestation of a long ceramic tradition belonging to the pre-colonization native population in eastern Sicily, and takes its name from these Sikels, or Siculi in Latin, and the Greek Geometric style, the impact of which is perceptible from the 9th and

---

[2] R. Stillwell, *AJA* 63 (1959) 172.

[3] On the specific archaeological context of the krater, which there is no room here to address in detail, see C. Antonaccio, 'Urbanism at archaic Morgantina.' *Acta Hyperborea* 7 (1997) 167–93.

[4] J. Boardman's query came in his paper at Newcastle. For Shefton's work as relevant to Morgantina, see below.

[5] P. Orsi, 'Le necropoli di Licodia Eubea ed i vasi geometrici del quarto periodo siculo,' *Römische Mitteilungen* 13 (1898) 305–66; cf. T. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (Oxford, 1948), 2 n. 1; see also A. Åkerström, *Der geometrische Stil in Italien* (Uppsala, 1943), 14–50 on Sicily and Southern Italy, R. Leighton, *Sicily before history* (London, 1999), 187–268 on the Iron Age and colonial periods. E. Herring,

8th centuries.[5] The periodization for this pottery was first established by the great Italian archaeologist Paolo Orsi, who called Sicilian indigenous pottery of all phases Siculan, and divided its development and production into four main phases. His Siculan I corresponds roughly to the Early Bronze Age, Siculan II is encompassed by the periods of Middle and Late Bronze Age, Siculan III can be assigned to the Iron Age including the period of first contact with Greeks, and Siculan IV belongs to the period of colonization. Siculan IV pottery is also sometimes called 'Licodea Eubea' ware or style, after the typesite (a cemetery analyzed by Orsi) in the south eastern part of the island.[6] In publishing the archaic necropoleis of Morgantina. Claire Lyons made a distinction between the decorated and plain wares of eastern Sicily, calling the former 'Sikelo-geometric' and the latter 'Siculan', classing both under the rubric of 'local', 'a term that includes all non-imported and non-colonial wares, painted and plain, as well as coarse domestic pottery'.[7] Lyons concluded that 'the term [sc. local] should therefore be understood to comprise ceramic production in the general cultural sphere of interior settlements in central eastern Sicily, from Etna and the Hyblei to Enna'.[8] But she also states, 'The term Siculan . . . is to a certain extent misleading, given the obviously Greek appearance of the pottery of this period'.[9] Indeed, the indigenous pottery tradition terminates around 500 in Orsi's scheme, when the colonial movement had reached its culmination.

Thus Siculo-Geometric is, broadly speaking, the matt-painted pottery of Orsi's periods III and IV, the 8th to 6th centuries B.C. Despite Lyons's caveat, it has been considered by a kind of unexamined consensus as the quintessential marker of native Sicilian identity, indeed of ethnic identity, of non-Greekness, and the mark of indigenous presence and survival. After the Greeks had arrived in

---

Explaining change in the matt-painted pottery of southern Italy: cultural and social explanations for ceramic development from the 11th to the 4th centuries B.C. (Oxford, 1998) which does not treat Sicily, is nevertheless important as a comprehensive study of the matt-painted traditions of what is regarded by some as the Sikel homeland (see below). See C. Lyons, *Morgantina Studies V. The Archaic Cemeteries* (Princeton, 1996), Ch. 5 on the local pottery.

6 See on this site most recently M.T. Magro, 'Importazioni attiche in un centro indigeno: il caso di Licodia Eubea,' in *I vasi attici ed altre ceramiche coeve in Sicilia*, vol. II, 113–9.

7 Lyons, *Morgantina Studies*, 73.

8 Lyons, *Morgantina Studies*, 74.

9 Lyons, *Morgantina Studies*, 73.

Sicily its absence in the colonies is used to prove the subjugation and removal or absorption of natives, just as its persistence in the hills supposedly demonstrates indigenous resistance.[10] Siculo-Geometric in the period of contact and colonization is thus intimately bound up with the issue of identity in the western Mediterranean which is the theme of this volume. The association of this pottery with native Sikel makers and users depends directly on assigning a style of pottery to an ethnic group, and thus confronts the question of ethnic, or cultural, identity and its expression in material culture. The notion that 'pots are for people' will guide the discussion, at the same time resisting the notion that 'pots equal people'.[11]

Sikel origins, Sikel culture

The Sikels were one of three indigenous groups known from written sources; they are mentioned as early as Homer, but it is possible that Homer means only 'Sicilian' by the term. Ancient written traditions assigned much of central and southern Italy to the Sikels. The Sikel king Italos lent his name to the Italian peninsula, says Thucydides. According to his account, in the 11th century B.C. the Italian Sikels were forced south by the Oinotrians and crossed the straits of Messina. Sikels were said to remain in southern Italy in the 5th century.[12] According to the fully developed written tradition, in displacing the native Sikans, the second group, west into Sicily's interior, the migrants also imparted their group's name to their new island home, which came to be thereafter called Sikelia. The third group, the Elymians, were descended either from Trojan and Greek refugees or from Iberians, and inhabited the far west of Sicily, including Segesta. These three distinct groups together in Greek writings are referred to as *barbaroi*. Irad Malkin has recently suggested that the Greeks may have regarded native Italians and Sicilians less as *barbaroi*, more as *xenoi*, and clearly they might also interact with

---

[10] On the absence of Sikel pottery in the colonies, Dunbabin, *Western Greeks*, 47, 171–2 For a different view of native persistence, see Herring, *Explaining ceramic change*, and below.

[11] J. Boardman at the Newcastle conference.

[12] The most recent treatment of the ancient sources is R. Sammartino, *Origines gentium Siciliae. Ellanico, Antioco, Tucidide* (Rome, 1998).

[13] I. Malkin, *The returns of Odysseus. Colonisation and ethnicity* (Berkeley, 1998), 19,

Greeks, if not as *xenoi* then certainly as *proxenoi*.[13] Greek mythic and cultural frameworks, however, were adapted to them as to so many groups who were assimilated and themselves adapted Greek modes to their own taste throughout antiquity.

The narratives are also the basis by which historians and archaeologists define indigenous ethnic cultures, territories and languages. Assemblages of pottery, methods and types of building, an Italic dialect are all assigned to the Sikels: thus all pre- or non-Greek material culture in the area is 'Sikel'. This method permits no local variation, and chronological variation is detected mostly by noting the effects of 'hellenization', whether it is an increasing sloppiness in native design or the adoption of Greek forms. But recent years have witnessed a very vigorous debate as to whether ethnicity is detectable in the archaeological record (see below). The very applicability of the category of ethnic identity to pre-modern, non-state societies has been challenged as well; much of what we think of as ethnic identity in anthropological ethnography is actually the result of colonial administrations and anthropological fieldwork. In the words of Scott MacEachern, it is illegitimate to 'merely search for "authentic" precolonial ethnic identifications . . . to use as indigenous substitutes for the external identifications imposed by colonialists or manufactured in the crucible of the modern world.'[14] In other words, just because the ancient authors mention three ethnic groups in ancient Sicily, we should not necessarily accept that what we find on the ground expresses those identities. We should be wary of accepting these groups as named by the Greeks and Romans as truly native ethnic divisions, rather than the imposition of ancient colonialism. Moreover, some recent archaeological examinations of Sicilian native identities have concluded that these ethnicities are examples of either neotribalism or some other kind of response to both Greek and Punic

---

and see Antonaccio, 'Ethnicity and Colonization' in *Ancient perceptions of Greek ethnicity*, ed I. Malkin (Cambridge, MA, 2001), 113–57.

[14] S. MacEachern, 'Scale, style, and cultural variation: technological traditions in the northern Mandara mountains' in M. Stark, ed., *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries* (Washington DC, 1998), 111.

[15] S. Thompson, *A central Sicilian landscape: settlement and society in the territory of ancient Morgantina (5000 B.C.–A.D. 50)* (Ph.D. diss. University of Virginia, 1999), 462–73 ('Hellenization was not simply a process of becoming Greek but was, just as importantly, a process of becoming Sikel', p. 263) and for the Elymians of Segesta self-consciously fashioning an identity in response to Punic and Greek presences, J. Hall, *Hellenicity: between ethnicity and culture* (Chicago, 2002), Ch. 3 with references.

colonial activities without any pre-colonial validity.[15] As for the presence of Greek objects in inland communities like Morgantina, various models have been proposed. In the time since Stillwell suggested that a traveler from Morgantina picked up the Euthymides krater second-hand as a keepsake in Syracuse, an assortment of trade mechanisms, intermarriage with native women, and prospecting Greek settlers have all been suggested as explanations for Greek artefacts at Morgantina and other (formerly) indigenous contexts. Throughout, the focus of scholarly interest until very recently has remained on the Greek material in isolation, without confronting the total assemblages and their contexts.[16]

Thus it is necessary to grasp the nettle of ethnicity. A consensus has emerged among researchers that ethnicity is a category distinct from race, but also neither a valid biological classification nor indicated solely by cultural characteristics, which may be used to express a variety of identities or statuses. As discussed recently by Richard Jenkins, ethnicity is mostly about culture. He summarizes the current anthropological understanding of ethnicity in four main points: 'ethnicity is about cultural differentiation . . . identity is always a dialectic between similarity and difference; ethnicity is centrally concerned with culture—shared meaning—but it is also rooted in, and to a considerable extent the outcome of, social interaction; ethnicity is no more fixed or unchanging than the culture of which it is a component or the situations in which it is produced and reproduced; ethnicity as a social identity is collective and individual, externalized in social interaction and internalized in personal self-identification.' He goes on to define culture within this understanding as 'a model of different *cultures*, of social differentiation based on language, religion, cosmology, symbolism, morality, and ideology.'[17] At nearly the same time, in classical archaeology, a new framework was proposed by Jonathan Hall, who suggested criteria to distinguish ethnicity from other types of group (or individual) identities—regional, class, gender, civic. *Criteria* of ethnic identity comprise narratives of common descent and ancestral homelands. Cultural traits—and material cul-

[16] Cf. Neils, 'Euthymides krater' and 'Attic vases'; the present paper attempts to meet the challenge posed in her publication of the krater to consider its context.

[17] R. Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity. Arguments and Explorations* (London, 1997), 14–5.

ture like pottery—may be called *indicia*, which sometimes convey or help construct ethnicity, but should not be confused with its *criteria*.[18]

Thus, Hall restricts ethnicity to a few *criteria* that are conveyed in spoken or written discourses not readily detected in the majority of the archaeological record of material culture. In the case of Morgantina, the only discursive account is in Strabo: the name of the community derived from that of the eponymous hero Morges, who guided the Morgantina Sikels from South Italy to the site and also gave his name to their group, the Morgeti, as well as the toponym.[19] Strabo's narrative led one of Morgantina's past excavators to identify its Bronze and Iron Ages as 'Morgetian' phases (in a scheme no longer advocated nor followed). Here the old culture-history method meets diffusionist or invasion scenarios to produce a neat agreement between myth, archaeology, and history.[20] Yet, despite the pitfalls in such approaches, archaeologists as well as anthropologists would not readily agree that ethnicity is never identifiable in material culture without the benefit of textual or oral narratives that state the descent *criteria* and also may identify some *indicia*. Indeed, Jenkins's outline of a common anthropological understanding of ethnicity does not mention descent or homeland at all, in part because of his (and other researchers') efforts to disentangle ethnic identity from race.[21] In a recent broad consideration of material culture and its role in society Michael Schiffer has recently argued that 'the most appropriate paradigm for modeling communication is *archaeological* inference'.[22] In fact, says Schiffer, researchers should not disembed artifacts (material culture) from culture, and he flatly states that neither speech nor 'nonverbal' acts are the most important conveyers of information: 'the importance of one performance mode over any others is always an empirical question *anchored to an activity*: on the basis of which performances, in which modes, does a person obtain information,

---

[18] J. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1997); cf. S. Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity* (London, 1997).

[19] Strabo *Geog.* 6.1.7.

[20] See H. Allen, 'Per una definizione della facies preistorica di Morganinta: L'età di ferro', *Kokalos* 18–19 (1972–73) 146–60 and 'The effect of population movements and diffusion on Iron Age Morgantina', *Kokalos* 22–23 (1976–77) 479–509, and now R. Leighton, *Sicily before History*, 215–17.

[21] See Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity*, 21–4, 48–51 et passim.

[22] M. Shiffer (with A. Miller), *The Material Life of Human beings, Artifacts, behavior, and communication* (London and New York, 1999), 51.

[23] Schiffer, *Material Life*, 49.

make inferences, and respond?'[23] Indeed, cultural, linguistic, and physical differences are the most readily detectable signs of difference; what these signs actually indicate is the issue, and conversely how ethnic identity may be expressed or perceived without such differences.[24] Moreover, the so-called *criteria* of ancestral territory and common descent are often vague and, in many historically documented instances, less critical to ethnic identity than the perception of cultural difference.

To sum up: together with many other researchers, we may reject a primordialist or essentialist notion of ethnicity. Ethnic identity is construed both by its subjects and by outsiders. Ethnic identity, defined as cultural difference in which descent may be an operating factor, may be constructed out of difference, and that difference may be expressed by artefact style, among other cultural factors. It is possible to sift out ancient ethnic identity as a cultural identity from the differences between Greek and Sikel, cultures that were originally distinct, and their recombination after colonization. No single trait, or even combination of markers, should be used to read off the identity of a population from the archaeological record; Euthymides' krater by itself is not very informative. It is Euthymides' krater together with everything else that it is found with that is informative. In considering what pottery may say about ethnic identity, the multiple contexts in which pottery is used are critical.

In what follows, the term 'Sikel' will designate the inhabitants of eastern Sicily before and at the time of Greek (and Punic) colonization. Greek and Sikel can be taken simply as persons, and their cultures, occupying different places at the moment before or at contact.[25] While proceeding we must remain aware of accepting 'neotribalism' as original or becoming entrapped in the circularity of argument with which we began.

'Material' culture

The lived experience of most individuals in the past is founded not only in traditions and narratives of descent and in claims to and

[24] Cf. the difference, hardly discernable, between Hutu and Tutsi in central Africa: see references in Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity*, 22 n. 4.

[25] See Hall, this volume, and Antonaccio, 'Ethnicity and Colonization'.

connection with territory, but also in the realia of everyday life, of lifeways, language, and material culture. Indeed, material culture, as recently emphasized by M. Schiffer, cannot be disembedded from social meaning. Although individuals may use language or material culture without ethnic intention, it is by choosing aspects of material culture, language, and other characteristics that individuals construct ethnic identity in a discourse that may be in addition to, or alternative to that of the *criteria*, according to the actions and intentions of the users, as well as the perceptions of others. In many cases drawn from the historical and ethnographic record (see below), such a process can be active rather than passive.

Difference in the material cultures of Greeks and pre-colonial Sikels may be readily discerned. Language differed also: the Sikels spoke a tongue related to Latin. The difficulties arise in trying to determine the significance of these factors and of changes in material culture and language after the arrival of the Greeks. Though pottery is privileged here, we could speak of much else, and even in speaking just about this one category of material culture, there are really three different but related phenomena to be accounted for: the importation of Greek ceramics, like Euthymides' krater, into what had been indigenous communities; the imitation of Greek forms in those same communities; and the continued production of pottery in a native tradition, albeit influenced by Greek forms and decoration: that is, Siculo-Geometric.

All indigenous or native ceramics share characteristics of style and technology, in much the same way Athenian, Corinthian and Lakonian pottery may be all classed as Greek, though within both broad groups, spatial and temporal variations certainly exist. We cannot be sure of what an Athenian encountering a Corinthian drinking cup thought about the meaning of such an object, but in the Greek homeland, at least, regional or civic identities in material culture were indeed recognized and could be wielded to make different sorts of statements in antiquity. Herodotos, for example (5.88), relates an incident that culminated in a change of dress for Athenian women, from the Dorian *peplos*, secured with pins (a mode also said by Herodotos to be most like the Corinthian way) to the Ionian *chiton*. Herodotos goes on to describe how the Aiginetans and Argives on the other side of the dispute which engendered the change legislated not only the offering of longer dress pins in their sanctuaries but a prohibition against bringing Attic objects or pottery to them, and specified

that drinking had to be done from local pottery. It is clear enough that Greek potters borrowed from each other's styles of decoration and shape repertoires, and that Greeks at times borrowed from other cultures—notably the Persians.[26] As Siân Jones points out, style actively conveys information on social identification, especially in times of stress, but 'archaeologists cannot then assume that degrees of similarity and difference in material culture provide a straightforward index of interaction.'[27]

Obviously, these are all large questions and even a survey of evidence available that pertains to any one of them would take more than the space available here. Ceramic evidence from colonial-era Morgantina is particularly well-documented, while the written record is scanty—a good context in which to attempt to understand the relationships of ethnicity and material culture. Morgantina was inhabited as early as the Neolithic period and continuously from the later Iron Age, or 10th century B.C., a century and a half before Greek colonization.[28] The material culture of the site is similar to that of other pre-Greek places in east central Sicily. The population lived in a settlement of dispersed longhouses built of wattle and daub constructed on a cut bedrock floor, and buried their dead in chamber tombs. By the 8th century indigenous potters had borrowed some elements of form and of decorative style from Greek Geometric pottery, especially Corinthian and so-called Island Geometric. The adoption of Greek forms includes, for example, the trefoil lip on pouring vessels, several types of krater, the hydria and kotyle, as well as decorative patterns from the Geometric and Subgeometric repertoire of Greek ceramic styles.[29] These were selective innovations, however, and neither close copies nor imitations of Greek wares. Carinated shapes continued to be very numerous, and one handled bowls, basket-like bowls with three vertical handles on the rim, *askoi, amphorai,*

---

[26] M. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the fifth century B.C.* (Cambridge, 1997). C. Antonaccio, 'Hybridity and the Cultures within Greek Culture', in C. Dougherty, L. Kurke, ed., *The Cultures within Greek Culture*, 57–71.

[27] Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 115. For another view, Herring, *Explaining Change.*

[28] R. Leighton, *Morgantina Studies IV, The Protohistoric Settlement* (Princeton, 1993); the site was also inhabited in the Early and Late Bronze Ages, Thompson. *Central Sicilian landscape*, notes a Middle Bronze Age gap at the site and in the territory generally.

[29] R.M. Albanese-Procelli, 'Importazioni greche nei centri interni della Sicilia in età arcaica: aspetti dell'«acculturazione»', in *Vasi attici*, II, 97–111.

Fig. 3: Attic SOS transport amphora from the archaic acropolis: photo C. Williams.

and cups with high-swung handles were all produced and used side by side with imported wares, from the end of the Iron Age right through the 5th century.

The earliest actual Greek pottery imports at Morgantina arrived from Corinth in the middle or late seventh century.[30] Transport jars (*amphorai*) from Athens began to be imported in the later 7th century as well (fig. 3), followed by Athenian drinking wares in the 6th; Lakonian pottery first makes its appearance late in the 7th century, with much more coming in the early 6th century, and a few East Greek imports also make their way to the site. In Morgantina's archaic necropoleis nearly half the burials received Attic pottery. 25% of the total is 'Sikeliote' or 'colonial', Greek in style and tech-

[30] Lyons, *Morgantina Studies*, 19, 127 on Farmhouse Hill, the acropolis that later was the site of Morgantina's most impressive archaic naiskos; Leighton, *Morgantina Studies*, 62–3, discounting 'Mycenaean' sherds at Morgantina (based on examination by J. Neils); Antonaccio, 'Urbanism' and 'Colonization and Ethnicity'.

[31] On the cemeteries, see also C. Lyons, 'Sikel burials at Morgantina: defining ethnic and social identities,' in R. Leighton, ed. *Early Societies in Sicily* (London, 1996), 177–188.

nique and made somewhere in the island (presumably) by Greeks.[31] Lakonian kraters are especially favored offerings in the cemeteries and settlement, both actual imports as well as imitations. Lyons published a total of 11 complete examples from the cemeteries, and Jenifer Neils has catalogued approximately 20 fragmentary examples from the settlement.[32] Kraters of all types were imported and locally made. Yet, the pottery in the tombs is only about 26% imported. Nearly half the total of 1000 vases published is in the native tradition. Of this pottery more than half is suitable for wine or some other drink, and over 20% for food consumption.[33] Domínguez suggests that Greek *symposion* pottery in Iberian cemeteries may have been acquired only to be broken at the funeral, and that local imitations were acceptable, 'with or without decoration . . . the important thing is the shape'.[34] In Iberia, an important difference is that Greek presence is limited to coastal trading centers (*emporia*), rather than a bona fide colonial enterprise; yet, considering the different record of the coastal areas and the interior, the comparison is not inappropriate.

Morgantina's imports are remarkably diverse. The transport *amphorai* among the earliest imports which originated in Corinth, Athens, Sparta, and the eastern and northern Aegean (including Samian fractionals and Meandean transport *amphorai*) indicate the acquisition not only of pottery but of foreign commodities—wine and oil. Corinthian and East Greek aryballoi signal other early trade in Greek luxuries. It is probable that wine was a new item in the local menu, as in parallel situations that arose in Gaul and Spain in the wake of Greek contacts and colonizations in and around those areas. While a comprehensive account of the total imports to Morgantina in the archaic

[32] See Lyons, *Morgantina Studies*; the material from the settlement is being studied by the author and Professor Neils.

[33] The statistics are found in Albanese Procelli, *Importazioni greche*, 104–5 (derived from Lyons's study).

[34] A. Domínguez, 'Hellenization in Iberia? The reception of Greek products and influences by the Iberians' in G. Tsetskhladze, ed., *Ancient Greeks west and east* (Leiden, 1999), 301–29, 321. Cf. 322: 'the multiplication of Greek cups and krateres [sic] in native tombs is the clearest indication of the fact that Iberian society was in the antipodes of what is Hellenic. We can assert that as more Greek products [that] appear in an Iberian tomb, so in smaller measure we a speak of 'Hellenization'. The Iberians reinterpreted, according to their own criteria, those products that had arrived, and in this reinterpretation the Greeks possibly had very little to say, partly because there were very few Greeks directly involved in the trade of Greek products in the internal regions of Iberia.'

period awaits completion of study of the settlement for final publication, it is completely clear that the ceramics used in the settlement are similar to those from the tombs. Still, these imports must not sidetrack us from confronting the vigor of the local traditions of pottery in the archaic period. While the imported pottery always received more attention in the preliminary excavation reports, local, Siculo-geometric is more prevalent in the percentages, and some forms represented in this category were not, or seldom, imported.[35] Mostly local versions of some shapes, for example the oinochoe, are in use, while some forms, like two handled deep bowls as large as basins, and other smaller bowls aren't replaced by anything in the Greek repertoire. Plates are rare, cooking vessels retain their local forms even though new commodities have been introduced. Even in pottery influenced by or imitating Greek wares there is no attempt to closely reproduce Greek shapes, slip, or decoration. Moreover, local potters did not keep up with innovations in the Greek repertoire. Instead, the geometric designs become simplified, the drawing more slapdash. The less common shapes among the ritual imports, like aryballoi and plastic vases, are rarer still in domestic contexts.

Yet despite the prevalence of Siculo-Geometric pottery, the increasing amount and diversity of the imports have been taken as evidence for the presence of Greek settlers who are also held responsible for a Greek-style settlement which grew up in the second quarter of the 6th century directly on top of the indigenous one: houses and *naiskoi* constructed of mudbrick on a stone foundation and roofed with tiles and architectural terracottas.[36] By the late archaic period, a Doric order structure (temple or perhaps altar) and a monumental altar decorated with Ionic mouldings were built probably somewhere on the ridgetop west of the archaic settlement.[37] Both the plans and the technology of these buildings, not to mention the elaborately moulded and painted terracotta decoration of the 6th cen-

---

[35] Lyons's discussion of Tomb 4 in Morgantina's archaic necropolis II is a departure from the tendancy to focus on separate categories of ceramic production even when they come from the same context: 'Modalità di acculturazione a Morgantina', *Bollettino di Archeologia* 11–12 (1991) 1–10.

[36] Study and publication of the architectural terracottas being conducted by John Kenfield and will appear in the series Morgantina Studies. For earlier work, see references in Antonaccio, 'Urbanism'.

[37] B. Barletta, 'The archaic monumental architecture from Morgantina', *AJA* 97 (1993) 352.

tury ceremonial structures, are Greek in style and origin and certainly differ from traditional native forms of building. In the cemeteries, Greek ceramics and burial forms were increasingly used in the old chamber tombs. The precise origins and specific ethnic identities of the putative Greeks responsible for these changes have been reconstructed based on both historical accounts and the style of the Greek artefacts, especially the architectural terracottas and the Ionic mouldings. Their Eastern styles and some iconographic details have encouraged considerations of connections with the east coast of Sicily, colonized by Greeks who were Ionians, and even more precisely to a group of Greek refugees from Phokaia.[38] These interpretations, however, suffer from the fallacy identified earlier, wherein artefact style is taken as an indicator of ethnicity, in this case of Ionian Greek ethnicity, and even a specific Phokaian identity. This remains a possibility, but need not be the case. It also assumes that Greeks were directly responsible for the transformation of the settlement, whereas they may have been only the craftsmen who produced the decoration—and were the intended recipients of the imports of Greek ceramics, especially in the 6th and 5th centuries.

Here is where context and comparanda may help, and archaeologists studying other colonial encounters, from the Americas, the Northwest to the Spanish southwest, East Africa and the northeastern American colonies, have been using some variation on this approach to assess the processes of acculturation. They have, moreover, begun to discuss the concept of hybridity, a true fusing of different cultures into something new, as already employed in the analysis of modern post-colonial situations, a concept suggested for the ancient Mediterranean by Peter van Dommelen and echoed recently by John Papadopoulos in a review of the publication of the Pantanello necropolis near Metapontion by Joe Carter and his col-

[38] See J. Kenfield, 'The case for a Phokaian presence at Morgantina as evidenced by the site's Archaic architectural terracottas', in *Les grand ateliers d'architecture dans le monde égeén du Vie siecle av. J.-C.* (Paris, 1993), 261–9 with references on this idea proposed by John Kenfield, and in Antonaccio, 'Urbanism' and 'Ethnicity and Colonization'.

[39] P. van Dommelen, 'Colonial constructs: colonialism and archaeology in the Mediterranean.' *World Archaeology* 28 (1997) 305–23; cf. C. Antonaccio and J. Neils. 'A new graffito from archaic Morgantina' *ZPE* 101 (1995) 261–77, suggesting a similar approach. It should also be noted that post-colonialism was already being applied to the study of Romanization and Roman imperialism slightly before; cf. J. Webster, N. Cooper, ed., *Roman Imperialsim: post-colonial perspectives* (Leicester, 1996).

laborators.[39] Hybridity, as the critic Homi Bhabha defines it, is a place between the polarities of colonizer and colonized, what he calls a 'third-space' of communication and negotiation. Bhabha is actually speaking about politics: hybridity is where 'the construction of a political object that is new, neither the one nor the other' takes place, but this core idea has been extended to include a dynamic whereby the colonizer is transformed by the encounter, which produces the necessity of communication between groups using different languages, cultures, and ideologies—what Leela Gandhi calls 'in-between-ness' in post-contact colonial Sicily.[40] The mutual effects of hybridity in this case would be on the Greeks, and such can be found in the formation of a specifically Sicilian Greek identity: the Sikeliotai.[41] The Greek effect lies outside the scope of this paper, but the idea of a 'third space' can be paralleled by Richard White's notion of a 'middle ground' of negotiation as recently discussed by Irad Malkin.[42]

The adoption of European ceramics by peoples in the Amercian Northwest coast, a situation not directly comparable to ancient Sicily, nevertheless is a suggestive case. Two indigenous groups recently studied by Yvonne Marshall and Alexandra Maas were more impressed at first contact with the decoration of the ceramics than with their possibilities for use in domestic contexts, and two other groups used European ceramics in potlatches, the great feasts centered on display and gift-giving, where pottery was used to serve food but was more important as gifts. These gifts were then set aside by the recipients and retained as prized possessions. The same pattern could be traced in other societies where pottery was adopted first for use in ceremonies and only later for domestic purposes; further, in the case of Eskimo hunters in southwestern Alaska, the first adoption was for drinking tea—a custom that involves both new material culture and a new commodity, the tea itself. In all these cases, pottery was first adopted in ceremonial contexts which were found to be more open to modification than everyday life: 'Any decision to incorporate a new item into an existing repertoire of material culture is socially

[40] L. Gandhi, *Postcolonial theory, a critical introduction* (New York, 1998), 130, quoting H. Bhabha, *Location of Culture* (New York, 1994). See Antonaccio, 'Hybridity'.

[41] Antonaccio, 'Ethnicity and Colonization'.

[42] R. White, *The Middle Ground, Indians, Empires and republics in the Great lakes Region, 1560–1815* (Cambridge, 1991), Malkin, *Returns of Odysseus*.

mediated and no matter how unequal the relative power of two contacting groups, each will select and reject items according to their own logic.'[43]

Other comparative colonial contexts in which similar dynamics were at work include northeast North America and the Pacific. For the former, Patricia Rubertone's study of early colonial America suggests that native behavior should not be seen as merely imitative: 'Not only did European objects themselves change meaning as they were transferred from one culture to another, but the ways they functioned once within the context of [Native American] Indian social interaction differed'.[44] A similar way of viewing the interactions of native and colonizer is provided by Nicholas Thomas, who argues that in the early colonization of the Pacific, islanders actively incorporated, rather than passively accepted, foreign objects into pre-existing economic, social, and ideological systems: 'the uses to which things were put were not inscribed in them by their metropolitan producers . . . gifts and commodities could be variously recontextualized as commodities or gifts, as unique articles for display, as artifacts of history, or as a new category of prestige valuable'.[45]

Thus, it may not be justified to extrapolate more or less directly from ceramic evidence for the meanings that accompanied objects into this matrix: the Northwest American Heiltsuk studied by Marshall and Maas used washbasins not for their intended function of washing the body, but for serving food. Considering the imports of commodities, however, together with those of drinking pottery, it appears that Greek drinking forms were accepted by non-Greek Sicilians. While the sympotic imports have led to the conclusion that the Greek drinking party or *symposion* was introduced by Greek settlers, with

---

[43] Y. Marshall, A. Maas, 'Dashing dishes', *World Archaeology* 28 (1997) 275–290; cf. 287: '. . . social context mediates decisions on the adoption of a new item of material culture by framing what is considered useful. Usefulness cannot be understood in simple functional terms.'

[44] P. Rubertone, 'Archaeology, colonialism and 17th-century Native America: towards an alternative interpretation,' in E. Layton, ed., *Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions* (London, 1989), 32–45, 36; see also E. Chilton, 'The cultural origins of technical choice: unraveling Algonquian and Iroquoian ceramic traditions in the Northeast', in Stark, ed., *Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, 132–160, emphasizing technology choice over style in the ceramic traditions of two neighboring native American groups.

[45] *Entangled Objects, Exchange, Material Culture and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Harvard, 1991), 108.

the acknowledgement of the large number of non-Greek vessels, such a scenario seems improbable. Native communities had a tradition of ritual dining and drinking before the arrival of the Greeks, so native interior communities accepted wine and *symposion* pottery readily because they found they fit into their own practices and social structures, and could they in turn shaped those institutions. Contrary to Greek practice, however, women apparently participated (as among the Etruscans). Indeed, rather than the *symposion*, with its attendant social and political implications, communal banqueting may have been practiced (see below).[46]

Yet having rejected a Greek presence as a sufficient explanation for the Greek ceramics, simply to assume that natives were the producers and consumers of Siculo-Geometric pottery would run the risk of falling into the same interpretive trap. To better comprehend the total assemblage we must now confront the production and/or acquisition of pottery made in the indigenous tradition, even though it shows signs of Greek influence, alongside the Greek imports. To be accurate, we must speak of more than one tradition. Some of the 'Sikel' or local wares are in fact almost certain not made at Morgantina at all, but seem to be imported from elsewhere in Sicily. Though clay analyses have not been done, and no archaic kilns have been excavated at Morgantina, some of the 7th century non-Greek pottery appears to come from Marianopoli in the west-central part of the island (fig. 4).[47] There is also a class of stamped and incised wares present in some quantity at Morgantina that is often associated with western Sicily and its Elymian population.[48] This pottery derives some of its decorative repertoire of geometric designs from contact with Greek potters, as the matt-painted styles do. Many of the motifs, however, can be found in much earlier phases of prehistory, and so can the technique of incision and stamping. Given the traditions about Sikel origins, it is interesting to note its presence in prehistoric S. Italy. The matt-painted tradition is also broadly

[46] Antonaccio 'Ethnicity and Colonization'; compare the comments of Domínguez on Iberian adoption of wine in 'Hellenization in Iberia?' 320–322.

[47] The comparison is based on personal examination of comparable pottery in the local museum, which appear to be very similar in slip and decorative scheme, as well as form. Regarding Morgantina's production, there are archaic wasters, though as yet no kilns. For an example, of a misfired Siculo-Geometric vase, see Lyons, *Morgantina studies*, pls. 63, 88 a local storage jar tomb inv. 32–7.

[48] See Leighon, *Sicily before History*, 205, 266 for discussion and references.

Fig. 4: Carinated cup with high swung handle from the archaic acropolis: photo C. Williams.

distributed in Sicily as well as south Italy, the many local styles named for the different groups mentioned in the literary sources: Apulian, Daunian, Peucetian.[49] Despite all these sub-categories, however, clearly distinct native ethnic identities have eluded mapping, and it is unclear if local pottery can be used to determine the boundaries between ethnic groups, instead of individual communities. In this connection, not only native choice, but also the kind of boundaries being delineated are at issue: a social field which depends on identity may not be founded on ethnic, linguistic, or even cultural groups, but on friendship, for example, or some other widely-shared relationship. As Scott MacEachern says, writing about Africa, 'archaeologists should arguably pay more attention to long-lasting ties of amity between individuals and communities, even over relatively long distances' than to ethnicity.[50]

The continued use of deep bowls and basins and large drinking

[49] See the recent complete re-evaluation by Herring, *Explaining change.*
[50] MacEachern, 'Scale, style, and cultural variation', 123.

vessels, for example *kotylai*, and the long-term persistence of local cooking vessels, may mean that local foodways were still important, including the group sharing of food. In the American state of South Carolina, slave-produced pottery (Colono Ware) that was undecorated and handmade, and suitable for cooking African meals and eating them with the hands, continued to be produced until at least the mid-19th century. From this data one researcher concludes that maintaining the basic repertoire of ceramic shapes and ways of using them formed a component in the resistance strategies of enslaved Africans. While the political and ideological implications of this notion of 'resistance' may not fit Morgantina, another example from North America may be particularly appropriate. This is native American Pueblo pottery from the American Southwest of the period from about 1000–1300 C.E. Changes in the size and shape of ceramic cooking vessels cannot be related to any major change in cuisine or food types, but may be attributed to both increasing household size and the formation of suprahousehold commensal groups.[51]

The ideology and technology of drinking was a different matter, however; it may have been used to express elite solidarity. The deliberate construction of hybrid assemblages, including a great variety of Greek shapes and styles and even locally varied types in the earliest period, and the creation within the indigenous tradition of hybrid forms, suggests a complex negotiation and renegotiation of identities over time, engendered by Greek colonization.

Euthymides in the Sicilian mesogeia

These observations have implications for our understanding of such objects as Euthymides' krater. The majority of the types and quantities of imported ceramics in the interior are not of its quality by any means, but they are significant in amount and variety. Indeed, some specialized production for this market has been suggested—among the candidates, the Castulo Cup. Brian Shefton himself sug-

---

[51] L. Ferguson, 'Struggling with Pots in Colonial South Carolina,' in R. McGuire, R. Paynter, ed., *The Archaeology of Inequality* (Oxford, 1991), 28–39: B. Mills, 'Ceramics and the social contexts of food consumption in the northern Southwest', in J. Skibo, G. Feinman ed., *Pottery and people, a dynamic interaction* (Salt Lake City, 1999), 99–114.

Fig. 5: Castulo Cup from the archaic settlement (inv. 80–576): photo J. Boscarino.

gested the term Castulo Cup for the stemless Attic black glazed cup with inset rim. As he notes, this heavy-bottomed and durable shape would have transported well and is distributed widely around the Mediterranean, especially the west, but rarely encountered in the Greek homeland. The excavation of Morgantina has produced these cups as well (inv. 80–576, from the settlement: fig. 5).[52] It should be noted that in Sicily, as in other places, this shape seems to be concentrated in 'native' contexts, and several sites noted by Shefton that have produced these cups are in very close proximity to Morgantina, including Montagna di Marzo and Barrafranca. Jenifer Neils, more-

[52] Photograph by J. Boscarino; the example illustrated here has never before been published. B. Shefton, 'Greek Imports at the Extremities of the Mediterranean, West and East: Reflections on the Case of Iberia in the Fifth Century B.C.', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 86 (1995) 127–155; 'The Castulo Cup: an Attic shape in black glaze of spcial signifiance in Sicily', in *Vasi Attici*, vol. I, 85–98, Albanese Procelli, *Importazioni greche*, 106 + n. 26. I would like to thank Justin Walsh for his help in identifying and recording this shape in the unpublished sherd material from the settlement during the summer of 1998, examples that will be published in the Morgantina Studies series by the present author and Jenifer Neils.

over, has noted the presence of the Phanyllis class of Attic black figured lekythoi at Morgantina and also suggested the production of this shape for export.[53]

The influx of imported pottery and commodities must have come through the Greek communities on the coasts, and Robert Leighton has suggested that native chiefs who controlled trade may have appeared in the early colonial period following a time of less pronounced social hierarchy in native Sicily. Drinking among the Sikels apparently included women in both life and death, their status perhaps due to their importance in wool processing and cloth production, which is known to have occurred on a large scale in both the Iron Age and colonial period communities of Morgantina.[54] The tea-drinking hunters discussed above come to mind: one of the Canadian groups studied by Marshall and Maas was descended from European fur traders and native women; not only did the women help maintain a distinct social identity but the possession of a personal tea cup was necessary for participation at weddings and meetings on trade, and ceramics were given to the dead within a couple of generations of the introduction of tea. The role of women in maintaining traditions of material culture is also traced in a recent study by Robert Goodby on early colonial southern New England, who noted that Pequot and Mohegan women in eastern Connecticut continued to make traditional tools and pottery for almost fifty years after the arrival of English colonists brought European substitutes.[55] The role of intermarriage in early colonial dynamics has often been proposed; while the ethnographic examples of women's roles in social and cultural production are only possibilities, not parallels, they are interesting to contemplate as possibilities for archaic Sicily.[56]

The early imports of commodities fit well into a 'commensal politics' outlined by Michael Dietler, in which food is 'a pervasive and critical element in the articulation and manipulation of social relations'.[57]

---

[53] Neils, 'Attic Vases' 174 with fig. 1.

[54] Leighton, *Sicily before History*, 188–90, 202–3.

[55] R. Goodby, 'Technological patterning and social boundaries: ceramic variability in southern New England, A.D. 1000–1675,' in Stark, ed., *Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, 161–182.

[56] Cf. the recent arguments in favor of native wives among the colonists, based on colonial burials with indigenous style metalwork: Leighton, *Sicily before History*, 234–6.

[57] M. Dietler, 'Feasts and commensal politics in the political economy. Food,

The use of symposion pottery in shared feasting complements the evidence for communal consumption of food that may be seen in large Siculo-Geometric open shapes. Imported drinking vessels, many personalized with graffiti, may however signal that social or status distinctions were being advertised by individuals within the group. Dietler points out that the activities of feasting connect the domestic and political. It is therefore possible, given the emphasis on both the communal consumption and individually owned artefacts association with drinking wine, that two different systems of commensal politics were at work: one integrative, the other competetive and exclusive. Exotic commodities may have been imported early into interior communities for use in what Dietler calls the 'entrepreneurial feast' used to organize labor and disparate areas of economic activity in a society in which status is not rigidly defined. Exchange of fine ceramics and artefacts from other Sikel or local communities also played a role at this initial stage. Once imports were more common and more choice became available in the later 6th and 5th centuries, a development accompanied by the construction of sanctuaries with *naiskoi* in interior communities, the pattern of ritual drinking and eating may have taken on aspects of the 'diacritical' feast in which style plays a major part (and which incidentally also describes the Greek symposion). These feasts would not push aside other occasions for feasting, but the importance of style might account for the great variety of ceramics in use at Morgantina. Indeed, the red figure krater by Euthymides, worn and repaired as it was and apparently an heirloom at the time of its destruction in the mid-5th century, is a particularly eloquent object in this regard: a prized and unique object that was possibly a very important element in someone's social repertoire, a rare Greek object used at a hybrid table.

To sum up, local people and their culture existed before colonization; their identities are not wholly constructs of the colonizers, though the myths of their origins and their very ethnonyms are only known from classical sources. No object by itself defines ethnicity. We must be careful not to use cultural traits to discuss only one kind of identity, that is ethnic identity. In any case, in the end, the

---

power and status in prehistoric Europe,' in P. Weissner, W. Schiefenhövel, ed., *Food and the status quest. An interdisciplinary perspective* (Providence RI and Oxford, 1996), 87–125. See also M. Dietler, B. Hayden, ed., *Feasts. Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power* (Washington, 2001).

issue is not whether Morgantina or other places like it is Greek or Sikel, but the emergence of new, hybrid forms that redefine both identities.

Acknowledgement

It is a very great honor to participate in honoring Brian Shefton, whom I also thank for graciously accepting this offering from one of the few at the conference to have never met him before the event. I owe Kathryn Lomas a particular debt, first for inviting me to Newcastle and to contribute to the present volume, and especially for her immense patience while waiting for the contribution to materialize. I also wish to thank Jonathan Hall and David Ridgway for their generosity in sharing unpublished work, and providing texts of their papers in advance of publication. Finally, I am grateful to Steve Thompson for years of conversations about Morgantina and for access to his unpublished doctoral dissertation on the Morgantina survey.

Bibliography

Åkerström, A. *Der geometrische Stil in Italien*. Lund: Gleerup, 1943

Albanese-Procelli, R.M. 'Importazioni greche nei centri interni della Sicilia in età arcaica: aspetti dell'«acculturazione»', in G. Rizza *et al.*, ed., *I vasi attici ed altre ceramiche coeve in Sicilia*, II, 97–111

Allen, H. 'Per una definizione della facies preistorica di Morgantina: L'età di ferro', *Kokalos* 18–19 (1972–73) 146–60

——. 'The effect of population movements and diffusion on Iron Age Morgantina', *Kokalos* 22–23 (1976–77) 479–509

Antonaccio, C., Neils, J. 'A new graffito from archaic Morgantina', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 101 (1995) 261–77

——. 'Urbanism at archaic Morgantina', *Acta Hyperborea* 7 (1997) 167–93

——. 'Ethnicity and Colonization', in I. Malkin, ed., *Ancient perceptions of Greek ethnicity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001, 113–57

Antonaccio, C. 'Hybridity and the Cultures within Greek Culture' in C. Dougherty, L. Kurke, ed., *The Cultures within Greek Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 57–7

Barletta, B. 'The archaic monumental architecture from Morgantina', *American Journal of Archaeology* 97 (1993) 352

Bhabha, H. *Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1994

Chilton, E. 'The cultural origins of technical choice: unraveling Algonquian and Iroquoian ceramic traditions in the Northeast', in M. Stark, ed., *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, 132–160

Dietler, M. 'Feasts and commensal politics in the political economy. Food, power and status in prehistoric Europe,' in P. Weissner, W. Schiefenhövel, ed., *Food and the status quest. An interdisciplinary perspective*. Providence RI and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1996, 87–125

Dietler, M., Hayden, B., ed., *Feasts. Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001

Domínguez, A.J. 'Hellenisation in Iberia? The reception of Greek products and influences by the Iberians', in G Tsetskhladze, ed., *Ancient Greeks west and east* (Mnemosyne Supp. 196). Leiden: Brill, 1999, 301–29

Dunbabin, T. *The Western Greeks*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948

Ferguson, L. 'Struggling with Pots in Colonial South Carolina', in R. McGuire, R. Paynter, ed., *The Archaeology of Inequality*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991, 28–39

Gandhi, L. *Postcolonial theory, a critical introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998

Goodby, R. 'Technological patterning and social boundaries: ceramic variability in southern New England, A.D. 1000–1675', in M. Stark, ed., *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, 161–182

Hall, J.M. *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997

——. *Hellenicity: between ethnicity and culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003

Herring, E. *Explaining change in the matt-painted pottery of southern Italy: cultural and social explanations for ceramic development from the 11th to the 4th centuries B.C.* (BAR Int. Series 722). Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1998

Jenkins, R. *Rethinking Ethnicity, Arguments and Explorations*. London: Sage, 1997

Jones, S. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*. London: Routledge, 1997

Kenfield, J. 'The case for a Phokaian presence at Morgantina as evidenced by the site's Archaic architectural terracottas', in J. des Courtils, J.-C. Moretti, ed., *Les grand ateliers d'architecture dans le monde égeén du VI^e^ siecle av. J.-C.* (Varia anatolica 3), Paris: Institut français d'études anatoliennes, 1993, 261–9

——. *Morgantina Studies VI*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, forthcoming

Leighton, R. *Morgantina Studies IV. The Protohistoric Settlement*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993

——. *Sicily before history*. London: Duckworth, 1999

Lyons, C. 'Modalità di acculturazione a Morgantina', *Bollettino di Archeologia* 11–12 (1991) 1–10

——. 'Sikel burials at Morgantina: defining ethnic and social identities,' in R. Leighton, ed. *Early Societies in Sicily* (Accordia specialist studies on Italy, 5), London: Accordia Research Institute, 1996, 177–188

——. *Morgantina Studies V. The Archaic Cemeteries*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996

MacEachern, S. 'Scale, style, and cultural variation: technological traditions in the northern Mandara mountains', in M. Stark, ed., *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, 107–31

Magro, M.T. 'Importazioni attiche in un centro indigeno: il caso di Licodia Eubea,' in G. Rizza *et al.*, ed., *I vasi attici ed altre ceramiche coeve in Sicilia*, vol. II, 113–9

Malkin, I. *The returns of Odysseus. Colonisation and ethnicity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998

Marshall, Y., Maas, A. 'Dashing dishes', *World Archaeology* 28 (1997) 275–290

Miller, M. *Athens and Persia in the fifth century B.C.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997

Mills, B. 'Ceramics and the social contexts of food consumption in the northern Southwest', in J. Skibo, G. Feinman, ed., *Pottery and people, a dynamic interaction*, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999, 99–114

Neils, J. 'The Euthymides Krater from Morgantina', *American Journal of Archaeology* 99 (1995) 427–44

——. 'Attic Vases from Morgantina', in G. Rizza *et al.*, ed., *I vasi attici ed altre ceramiche coeve in Sicilia* vol. II, 173–8

Orsi, P. 'Le necropoli di Licodia Eubea ed i vasi geometrici del quarto periodo siculo', *Römische Mitteilungen* 13 (1898) 305–66

Rizza, G. *et al.*, ed., *I vasi attici ed altre ceramiche coeve in Sicilia*. Catania, 1996

Rubertone, P. 'Archaeology, colonialism and 17th-century Native America: towards an alternative interpretation', in E. Layton, ed. *Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions*. London: Routledge, 1989, 32–45

Sammartino, R., *Origines gentium Siciliae. Ellanico, Antioco, Tucidide* (Kokalos suppl. 14). Rome: G. Bretschneider, 1998

Shefton, B.B. 'Greek Imports at the Extremities of the Mediterranean, West and East: Reflections on the Case of Iberia in the Fifth Century B.C.', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 86 (1995) 127–155

——. 'The Castulo Cup: an Attic shape in black glaze of special signifiance in Sicily', in G. Rizza *et al.*, ed., *I vasi attici ed altre ceramiche coeve in Sicilia* vol. I, 85–98

Shiffer, M. (with A. Miller), *The Material Life of Human beings, Artifacts, behavior, and communication*. London and New York: Routledge, 1999

Stark, M., ed., *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998

Thomas, N. *Entangled Objects, Exchange, Material Culture and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1991

Thompson, S. *A central Sicilian landscape: settlement and society in the territory of ancient Morgantina (5000 B.C.–A.D. 50)* (Ph.D. diss. University of Virginia), 1999

van Dommelen, P. 'Colonial constructs: colonialism and archaeology in the Mediterranean', *World Archaeology* 28 (1997) 305–23

Webster, J. and Cooper, N., ed., *Roman Imperialism: post-colonial perspectives* Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1996

White, R. *The Middle Ground, Indians, Empires and republics in the Great lakes Region, 1560–1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991

This page intentionally left blank

THE IDENTITY OF EARLY GREEK POTTERY IN ITALY AND SPAIN: AN ARCHAEOMETRIC PERSPECTIVE

Richard Jones and Jaume Buxeda i Garrigós
University of Glasgow *University of Barcelona*

Pottery, or ceramics more generally, is but one of many archaeological indicators of Greek identity in the West, notably in Italy, proving predictably to be both effective and sensitive. The ceramic evidence has played a major role in understanding not only the process of early Greek colonisation, for example in the Bay of Naples, Campania and elsewhere, but also the relationship between Greece and Etruria, between colony and founding city, between colonial settlement and the hinterland in the 6th and later centuries B.C., and between settlements and sanctuaries. Equally, the pottery finds have provided the means of tackling similar issues elsewhere in the West where Greek influence has been recorded archaeologically, and as many papers in this volume demonstrate,[1] these finds have at least the potential of exploring a greater level embedded within the notion of Greek identity.

Greek pottery in the West is relatively plentiful, and where it occurs as whole vases and more frequently in sherd form it is stylistically highly distinctive. In addition, there are the additional characteristics of the fabric and slip. Surely then the traditional, visual attributes of pottery would suffice in securely defining Greek identity and resolving questions arising from those relationships just mentioned, in essence defining the pottery's status: locally made, an imitation and if so of what, or imported and if so where from? As is well known, the answer is sometimes in the negative. There may be similar questions of ambiguity surrounding the status of Greek pottery recovered from firstly excavation contexts and secondly archaeological (field walking) survey, the latter often being in fragmented and poor surface condition. Under these circumstances in which the status or identity of the pottery is called into question, the potential of the archaeometric approach may come into its own; here the

[1] See, for example, John Boardman, pp. 149–62.

objective dimension of chemical, petrographic or other aspects of composition of the pottery is brought into play.

The purpose of this paper is to assess the extent to which that potential has been realised by considering some recent attempts to investigate the origin and technology of production of definable classes of decorated pottery of Greek origin or derivation found at sites in Italy and Spain (Fig. 1). Subsumed within this enquiry are two related questions: to what extent did Greek potting traditions in terms of materials, methods and workplaces successfully transfer to the West, and can such traditions be discriminated objectively from the indigenous practices in Italy and Spain, as well as those of the Phoenicians? Although the relevant data set is not large, the archaeometric approach is worthy of review because of the range of questions that has been posed, and the manner in which it inter-relates to comparable studies of chronologically earlier and later pottery; furthermore, the approach is currently undergoing much change. The reader is referred to the author's treatment of early research on Greek pottery in the West, published in 1986.[2]

Approaches

The traditional approach to the determination of origin of *fine decorated pottery* has been to characterise it by chemical (elemental) analysis and then to compare its composition with those of reference composition groups representing pottery from known, contemporary manufacturing centres. A correspondence in composition between test sample and a reference group should imply correspondence of origin. The major requirements are a suitable technique of analysis, sufficiently powerful to resolve subtle differences in composition, and a large databank of reference compositions. The writer has described this approach in detail.[3] Parallel to it has been the need to supplement the pottery selected for the reference group, based on pottery either found in or associated with a kiln or more commonly in the presumed local fabric, with (modern) clay materials, the aim being to build up a fuller, more realistic picture of the range of composi-

[2] R.E. Jones, *Greek and Cypriot Pottery: a review of scientific studies* (Athens, 1986), [Hereafter, *GCP*].

[3] *GCP* Chapter 1.

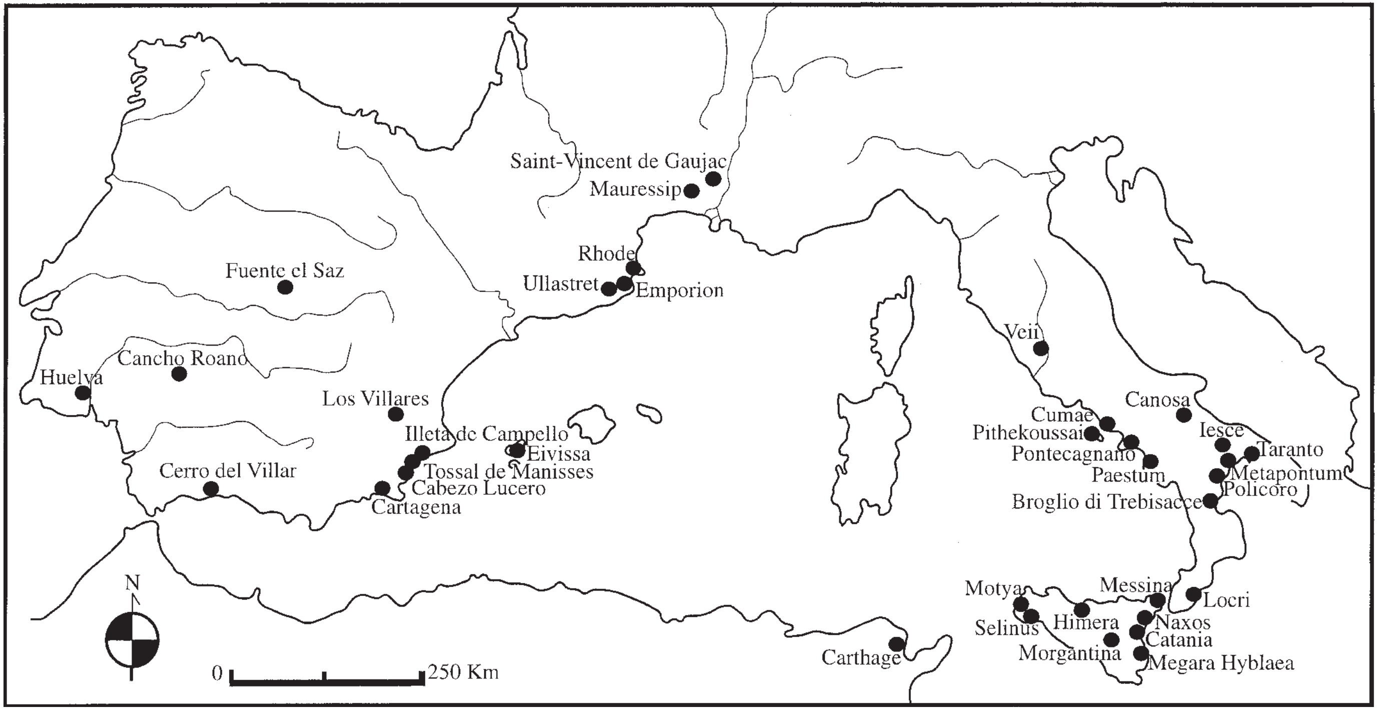


Fig. 1: Map of Italy and the Iberian peninsula, showing the locations of some of the sites mentioned in the text.

tions associated with that centre of production. This has been achieved at a number of the larger centres in Greece and Italy, as described below. Prospection for such materials requires geological knowledge, an awareness of the practices of traditional potters who may have been operating in the same locality during the recent past and above all an experimental approach derived from a keen 'potting' sense; it also requires the adoption of the more directly visual approach associated with petrographic analysis. Useful examples here are the work in the Plain of Sybaris and Corinth by Levi and Whitbread respectively.[4]

An associated approach is to give greater emphasis to the technological attributes of the pottery, typically its mode of fabrication, decoration and firing. Finally, these two approaches can be integrated within the archaeological enquiry into production at a given centre, that is the direct evidence of workshops, kilns and potters quarters. Again, the ability to define Greek identity at the technological level depends on the relative contrast between the technology as expressed in the Greek homeland and its adaptations in the West, as well as that of the 'local' traditions in the West. This forms the last part of the present enquiry.

Methods

Much of the pottery described in this paper, fine-textured and decorated, is very well suited to chemical analysis. A single sample or preferably multiple samples taken by drilling from one location of a vase, say its base, should on analysis give a composition that is representative of the whole vase. The instrumental techniques of chemical analysis which have been many and various are listed with their relevant advantages and disadvantages in Table 1; here they are placed in two groups according to the number of elements determined and within each group their relative popularity over the last thirty years. At the risk of generalisation, whereas NAA is probably the technique of choice, its application has lessened in the last decade

[4] S. Levi, *Produzione e circolazione della ceramica nella Sibaritide protostorica I. Impasto e dolii.* Grandi Contesti e Problemi della Protostorica Italiana 1 (Florence, 1999); and I.K. Whitbread, Greek Transport Amphorae: a petrological and archaeological study (London, 1995), 308–43.

Table 1: Instrumental techniques of analysis employed in provenance and some technological investigations

Technique	*Elements*	*Comment*
OES—optical emission spectroscopy	9	+ very good coverage of Greece in terms of reference data (c. 50 sites) – too weak; no longer used
MS—Mössbauer spectroscopy	1 (iron)	+ sensitive to both origin and firing – little (published) reference data; little used in provenance work generally
AAS—atomic absorption spectrometry	11	+ relates well to the OES data base – weak; need for sample dissolution
XRF—X-ray fluorescence spectrometry	12+	+ powerful and popular
NAA—neutron activation analysis	15+	+ powerful; much comparative data – see text
ICP-ES—inductively-coupled plasma emission spectroscopy	18+	+ powerful; determines wide range of elements; reasonable comparability with NAA – need for sample dissolution
PIXE-PIGME—proton-induced X-ray and gamma-ray emission spectrometry	18+	+ powerful; determines wide range of elements; comparability with XRF and NAA – employed by few laboratories
SEM-EDX—Scanning electron microscopy with energy-dispersive X-ray analysis	10	+ the technique of choice in technological investigation for examining microstructure (and hence firing temperature estimation) and decoration – Elemental analysis is semi-quantitative unless sample can be prepared as a polished section
XRD—X-ray diffraction		Used in technological investigation, identifying mineral phases present in the pottery and paint

with the demise of many civil nuclear reactors in Europe. XRF and ICP-ES are currently two popular techniques used in European laboratories that are likely to have a secure future in part because they routinely determine a range of major, minor and trace elements, as opposed to the preponderance of trace elements that NAA gives. For these three techniques, two critical requirements are (1) inter-laboratory and inter-technique comparability, and (2) the availability of relevant reference data.[5] For the coarser textured classes of pottery, which are not the prime concern of this paper, a combination of petrographic (thin section examination) and chemical is normally necessary.

In technological investigations, the scanning electron microscope with analyser, SEM-EDX, is generally employed. Investigation with the SEM of the pottery's microstructure allows an estimation of firing temperature range to be made, while the analyser attachment provides a microanalysis of, for example, a gloss/paint. In a similar way, X-ray diffraction, XRD, which identifies the mineral phases present, also enables the estimation of firing temperatures because of changes in mineralogical phases during firing. Mössbauer spectroscopy, which is highly sensitive to the environment of a single element in clay, iron, finds limited applicaton today to the pottery concerned in this paper, despite its potential attractions: the parameters associated with the Mössbauer spectrum are sensitive to origin, the nature of the clay (for instance calcareous vs. non-calcareous) *and* its firing.

Results

Three general points need to be made at the outset. First, the approaches mentioned above in their application to Greek pottery in the West have not been adopted on either a long-term or a large scale. Work has tended to proceed until recently in a piecemeal fashion with the result that progress in characterising the compositions of fine wares associated with individual production centres in Magna Grecia has been uneven. The corresponding chemical database for Geometric to Hellenistic production within Greece itself is more

---

[5] R.E. Jones, 'Current trends and issues in Mediterranean ceramic studies'. in F. Burragato, O. Grubessi, L. Lazzarini, ed., *Proc. 1st European Workshop on Archaeological Ceramics* (Rome, 1994), 13–22.

extensive, yet there are significant lacunae in upgrading old OES data to what is expected from currently used techniques of analysis. Central Greece and the Islands are but two examples. On the other hand, a significant contribution will become available with the forthcoming publication of NAA characterisation data of Black Glaze (BG) production centres in Greece.[6] In Spain, only recently has work centered on case studies large enough to provide valuable data on pottery production at two Greek colonies (Rhode and Emporion) and in Eivissa (Balearic Islands), where it was imitated.

Second, those studies concerned with establishing whether a given class of pottery was the product of a center in Greece or was a local adaptation have benefited from the fortunate occurrence of a significant, if small level of discrimination between the composition of pottery made in several regions of respectively Greece and of Italy and probably Spain as well. It has long been recognised that the prognosis for provenance work in these regions was therefore favourable, although this happy situation, as described below, did not extend to certain crucial areas of Greece, notably Euboea, and Italy, such as Campania. Third, two main phases of work can for convenience be isolated, an early one, many of whose results are reviewed in detail by the author,[7] and a recent one that is of greater concern here, encompassing the mid-1980s to the present day.

1. *Early Greek pottery in Italy*

This well-known pottery dating from the 8th century B.C. is of considerable archaeological importance, and as such specific questions regarding the identity of individual sherds or vases have been asked of chemical analysis (Table 2). Nowhere is this better illustrated than with the results for Pithekoussai on Ischia, Cumae, and Veii, obtained in the course of the large programme of analysis set up by John Boardman and carried out at the Oxford Research Laboratory in the 1970s. The present writer has set out the composition characteristics of the reference groups consisting of the likely local decorated fabrics for these three sites, and they were compared with those for Chalkis on Euboea and Corinth. Apart from Corinth and to a

6 A.J.N.W. Prag, J. Scott, N. Kourou, *Greek Black Glaze Pottery: a Study by Neutron Activation Analysis* (BAR: Int. Ser.) in preparation.

7 *GCP.*

Table 2: Analyses of early Greek pottery in Italy

Material	*Findspot*	*Samples*	*Technique*	*Result*	*Publication*
Greek Geometric (Fig. 3)	Pithekoussai	19 + clays	OES	Local	*GCP*: Table 8.10
		80 + clays	MS	Local: Aetos 666 kotylai and other shapes Imported: Corinthian inc. Thapsos class (see below)	Deriu *et al.* 1986
Greek Geometric	Cumae	26	OES	Local and imported	*GCP*: Table 8.11
Greek Geometric (Fig. 3)	Veii	49	OES	Local and imported	*GCP*: Table 8.12
		17	MS		Ridgway *et al.* 1985
Thapsos/ Corinthian	Pithekoussai & Megara Hyblaea	10	OES	'Corinthian'	*GCP*: 681f.
	Pithekoussai		MS	'Corinthian'	Deriu *et al.* 1986
	PCor & LG Cor	17	NAA, PE	'Corinthian'	Grimanis *et al.* 1977
Chalcidian and pseudo-Chalcidian BF		10	OES	Uncertain, but the two classes probably made at different centres	Boardman & Schweizer 1973, and *GCP*: 686f.
Caeretan hydriae, & the Northampton amphora		4 and 1	WCA and OES	Etruria	*GCP*: 688f.
SubG craters	Megara Hyblaea	21	OES	Mostly Attic	Tréziny & Jones 1979

lesser extent Veii, the sites were not separated well from each other in terms of composition (Fig. 2a).[8] Thus whereas there seemed little doubt that the three sites in Italy were indeed producing Greek, generally Euboean-type decorated pottery, it was not possible to identify confidently Greek *imports* at these sites owing to the overlap in composition between Euboean and Italian counterparts. The chevron skyphoi (Fig. 3), in particular, were left in the ambiguous category, either local or Euboean. A few negative statements about origin were possible, for instance that the three 'Cycladic' skyphoi from Cumae were neither local nor apparently Cycladic.[9] In sum, the results of chemical analysis were supportive in a general sense of archaeological and stylistic expectations but were scarcely decisive.

A more focused study was that of Ridgway and Deriu on material from Pithekoussai and Veii, and including modern clays from the former site, using Mössbauer spectroscopy.[10] Results for the reference groups were reasonably encouraging with respect to two complementary parameters, the magnetic and paramagnetic ratios which gave a certain level of discrimination between Pithekoussai, Euboea and Corinth (Fig. 2b). Ridgway and co-workers bravely proceeded to look at comparable material from a cemetery at Veii where assignments of origin to individual chevron skyphoi and other vases (17 in total) each dated to Phase IIA (traditionally dated c. 800–760 B.C.) or IIB and classified according to Descoeudres and Kearsley's scheme were sought.[11] According to the stylistic classification, these vases, while mostly attributable to local (i.e. from Veii) and Eretrian production, also included individual Corinthian, Attic, Cycladic and Near Eastern examples. The corresponding classification of the Mössbauer data pointed to four sources: Euboean (5), local (4), Campanian (4) and other (2). But there are two difficulties: first, the distinctions in magnetic parameters between sources is not absolute, and, second, eight of the skyphoi and other vases from Veii have independently determined chemical compositions, indicating a range

---

[8] *GCP* 673–80.

[9] *GCP* Table 8.11: 1–3. On the other hand, re-examination of the composition of a chevron skyphos from Veii (Table 8.12: 26) (GC Tomb 779; 35605) thought by the writer not to be Corinthian probably is Corinthian in composition.

[10] D. Ridgway, A. Deriu and F. Boitani 'Provenance and firing techniques of Geometric pottery from Veii: a Mössbauer investigation', *ABSA* 80 (1985) 139–50.

[11] J.-P. Descouedres and R. Kearsley 'Greek pottery at Veii: another look', *ABSA* (1983) 9–53.

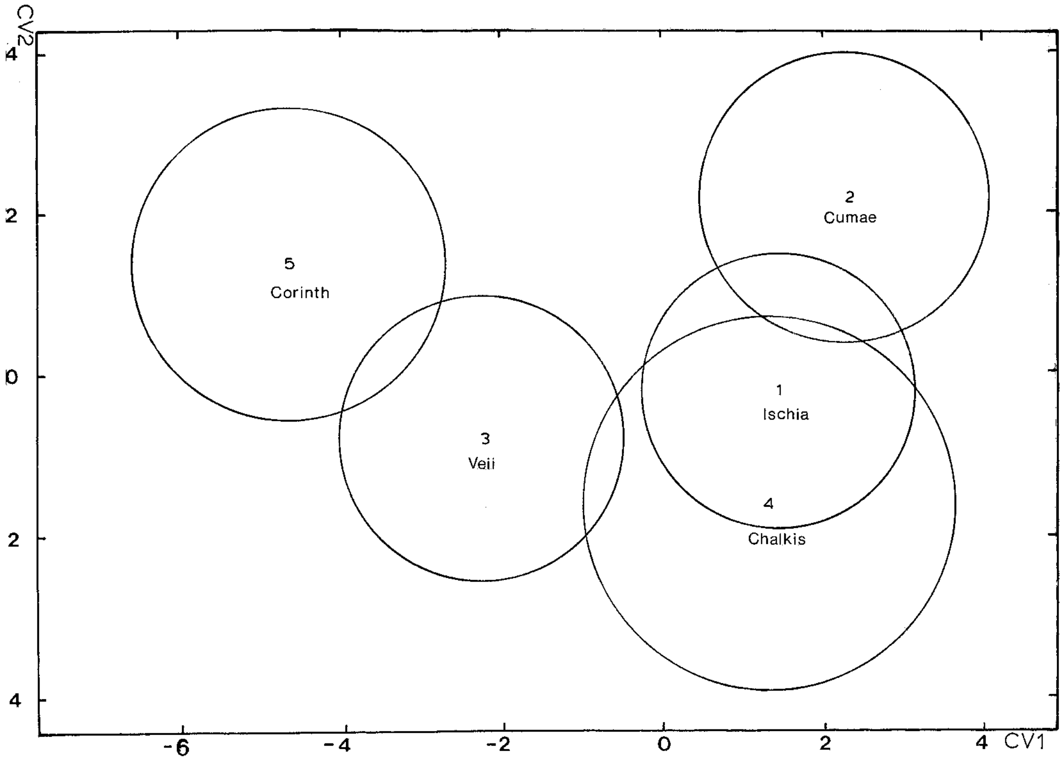


Fig. 2a: A representation of the optimal discrimination between the composition groups for Ischia (1), Cumae (2), Veii (3) Chalkis (4) and Corinth (5). Each circle encompasses 80% or more of each group. OES data; discrimination analysis. Note the considerable overlap between the Ischia and Chalcis (Euboea) groups. From *GCP* Fig. 8.18.

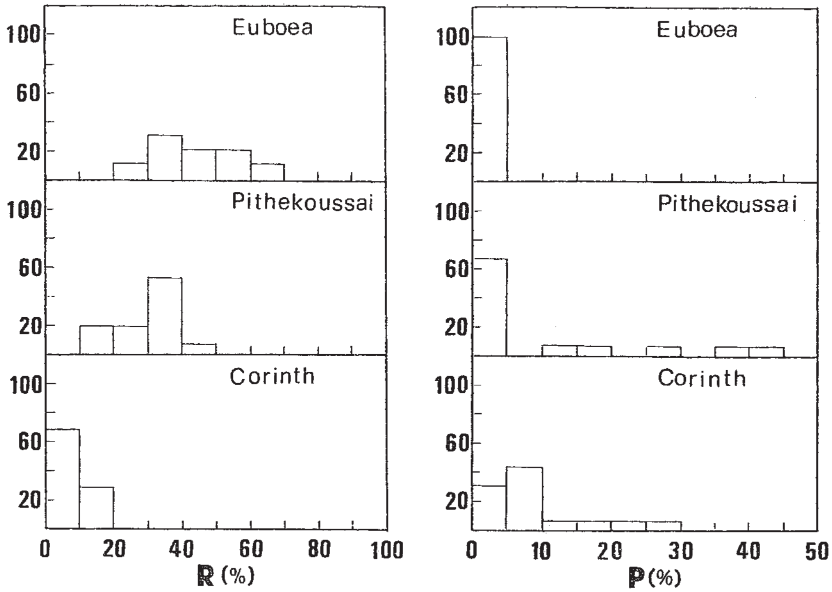


Fig. 2b: Results of Mössbauer spectroscopy of groups of pottery from Euboea, Pithekoussai and Corinth. Left Magnetic ratio R; right Paramagnetic ratio P. The three groups are better discriminated according to the magnetic ratio. Note that a small group (7 samples) of grey coloured fabric from Euboea was also analysed but is not shown in this figure. Because this fabric was fired differently from the group (which had a reddish fabric) its Mössbauer spectrum characteristics differed significantly. Adapted from Deriu *et al.* 1986, Fig. d/e.

of calcium contents rather than two distinct groups based on that element;[12] at least one of their calcium contents does not correlate with their Mössbauer classification based on calcareous and non-calcareous groups. Overall, the conclusions are inescapable: the results are only capable of interpretation at the general level—vases were indeed made in both Italy and Euboea—not at the individual level.

One way forward would be to integrate all the existing (high quality) Mössbauer data (from Pithekoussai, Veii and Pontecagnano (the latter unpublished)) with chemical compositions for the same vases

[12] Determined by OES; see *GCP* Table 8.12: 25, 26, 30–32, 34, 35 and 38. 38 (GG 16–17; 60699) appears in the Mössbauer calcareous group and yet has a content of 2.2% CaO.

obtained by ICP or NAA. That process should give a reliable classification of the vases into groups that have meaning in terms of origin, and in a few instances have technological significance as well. When and only when there has been a fuller mapping of the composition ranges in the candidate production areas by the same technique of chemical analysis will it be possible to return to the ambitious aim of assigning origin to individual vases. Since these and similar studies[13] were carried out, there have been further and reasonably successful efforts towards defining chemically Euboean imports at Knossos, and Torone and Mende in northern Greece.[14]

As regards Protocorinthian and Thapsos class, analysis has well supported the stylistic attributions but has as yet provided little additional detail beyond what the present author has commented, although Whitbread's review of the database for clay materials in the Corinth area are relevant here.[15] It remains the case that the best clays and those that best match Corinthian fine wares lie just to the west of the Potters Quarter and the lignite beds close to Penteskouphi.

2. *Greek pottery in Italy and Spain: Archaic to Hellenistic* (Table 3)

The chemical studies relating to this long time period have taken several, often related directions:

a. Confirmation of Attic Black Glaze identity in pottery found in the West has often been sought because the macroscopic condition of the black gloss and fabric is not sufficiently diagnostic.[16] For the most part results have been decisive since the compositions associated

---

[13] M. Popham, H. Hatcher and A.M. Pollard, 'Euboean exports to Al Mina, Cyprus and Crete: a reassessment', *ABSA* (1983) 281–90.

[14] D.J. Liddy, 'A chemical study of decorated Iron Age pottery from the Knossos North Cemetery', in J.N. Coldstream, H.W. Catling, ed., *Knossos North Cemetery, Early Greek Tombs II* (London, 1996), 465–516. R.E. Jones and I.K. Whitbread, 'Chemical and petrographic analysis of Protogeometric pottery from Torone', in J. Papadopoulos, ed., *Torone: the Protogeometric tombs* (Los Angeles, forthcoming). M. Kessisoglou, E. Mirtsou, J. Stratis and A. Vassiliou, 'Study of pottery sherds from Mende, Chalkidiki', in *Archaeometrical and archaeological research in Macedonia and Thrace: Proc. 2nd Hellenic Archaeometrical Society* (Thessaloniki, 1996), 169–80. The writer and H. Hatcher have carried out a large (unpublished) study of clays of the Lelantine plain in Euboea and their chemical variability (see Jones *op. cit.* n. 5).

[15] *GCP* 683; Whitbread *op. cit.* n. iv. 308f.

[16] Despite the pleas of many archaeological scientists including the present writer (see *GCP* 804–5), the appellation Black Glaze is apparently too ingrained in the classical archaeology literature to deserve a change!

Table 3: Greek Pottery in Spain, Italy and elsewhere: Archaic to Hellenistic. Some chemical studies published since 1985*

Material	*Sites*	*Samples*	*Technique*	*Results*	*Publication*
Attic RF (early 4th c.); Paestum RF (4th c.)	Spain: unprovenanced (now in Nat. Arch Museum Madrid)	24	AAS, XRD, MS	5 Attic well separated from 19 Paestum chemically and in firing attributes (see Table 4)	Gracia Garciá 1980
Castulo cups mainly, with some kylikes, skyphoi and one-handed cups (5th c.)	Spain: Cancho Roano (Badajoz)	60	XRF, XRD (SEM)	5 Attic chemical groups. See Table 4	Buxeda i Garrigós *et al.* 1999
Greek Grey Monochrome (16), coarse pottery (4), and samples from kiln structure (2)	Spain: kilns at the Palaia Polis of Emporion	23	XRF (10 major elements), XRD	Identification of two local groups A (Grey Monochrome pottery) and B (Grey Monochrome and coarse pottery)	Vendrell 2001
Psedocampanian Ebussita (6)	Eivissa, Balearic Islands	6	XRF, XRD	Local production in calcareous clay; well-developed black gloss, fired at *c.* 950ºC	Buxeda and Cau 1998

Table 3 (*cont.*)

Material	*Sites*	*Samples*	*Technique*	*Results*	*Publication*
Proto-Campanian pottery attributed to the production centre of Rhode (19), and the groups of Nikia (4) and TPRE (1)	France: Pech de Mau (almost all samples)	24	XRF, XRD	The archaeological groups of Nikia and TPRE seem to belong to the production from Rhode. The latter has a wide range of variation in CaO from low calcareous to calcareous pottery	Buxeda and Madrid 2001
Black glaze and related (Campanian A–C)	Carthage, S. Italy, Motya, Athens	c. 58	NAA	Confirmation of Apulian, Attic, Sicilian and local (Carthaginian) productions, but several misclassifications of individual samples (see text for Motya)	Wolff *et al.* 1986
Black glaze and related	Morgantina, Cosa and other sites in Italy	Many	XRF	Local productions	Cuomo di Caprio & Picon (1994)
Campanian A–C	Sites in Bruttium (S. Italy)	157	ICP-ES	Imports of Campanian A (Naples area), B (Etruria), C (Sicily); local imitations of A and B (incl. Grey-on-grey)	Mirti *et al.* 1998

Campanian A	Naples and Ischia		XRF	Local production	Morel and Picon 1994
Ionian cups	Oria to Sybaris Oria	176 Many	AAS and NAA PIGME-PIXE	 Work in progress	Van Compernolle 1994 E. Robinson (pers. comm.)
Fine wares (7th–2nd c. B.C.)	Locri Epizephiri (Marasa Sud, Centomare & San Cono)	56	ICP-ES (FES) (total 11 elements)	Attic & Corinthian partially confirmed; Cor imitations confirmed	Mirti *et al.* 1995
Range of pottery from Bronze Age to early Roman	Iesce				Moresi *et al.* 1998
?Ionian (2) and Black Glaze (5)	Canosa tombs	7	AAS (16 elements)	?Ionian sherds certainly imported but no source indicated (high Cr but surprisingly low Ni). BG local	Rotuno *et al.* 1997
Lucanian & Apulian Red Figure, Gnathia and Xenon group; Athens RF (all 5th–4th c. B.C.)	Unprovenanced (now in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney)	20	PIXE-PIGME	See text	Grave *et al.* 1996/97

Table 3 (*cont.*)

Material	*Sites*	*Samples*	*Technique*	*Results*	*Publication*
Greek and local pottery; figurines	Catania: Demeter sanctuary				Torrisi *et al.* 1996
Attic, Chalcidian & Laconian	Messina	?	XRD, XRF, SEM-EDX	Confirmation of archaeological classification except for some Chalcidian having Attic composition	Barone *et al.* 2002
Iato K480 cups (6th–5th c. B.C.)	Himera and 3 other sites in Sicily	10	XRF, XRD, PE	Production at/near Himera	Alaimo *et al.* 2000

* This table refers specifically to work on Greek pottery, but note two reports on material from Sicily: P. Agozzino, D.I. Donato, S. Magazù, D. Majolino, P. Migliardo, R. Ponterio, E. Rivarola and S. Vassallo, "Moessbauer and FTIR studies of archaeological wares of the Himera necropolis", *Science and Technology for Cultural Heritage* 4 (1995) 59–65. This deals with amphorae and tiles from the Chalcidian colony. Alaimo *et al. op. cit.* n. 29.

with Athens/Attica can be differentiated from those in Italy and elsewhere in the West with relative ease. They have confirmed that the visual characteristics of black gloss pottery may indeed not be a secure indicator of identity, as was shown in the study of Attic from Cancho Roano in Spain (Table 3; Fig. 3) which clearly received Attic products of inferior surface quality. This contrasts with the picture at Motya where, of the seven examples of BG taken to be Attic, only one had an Attic composition, the majority of them probably being local (Table 3). The Attic composition was reassuringly similar to that identified in the now well-known NAA study of ceramics from the Athenian Agora which demonstrated that for a large group of Classical-Hellenistic terracotta figurines there was a single characteristic composition type very similar to that of BG black gloss, Black Figure and Red Figure found at sites in southern France as well as many sites in the East Mediterranean.[17] This classic Attic composition, differing from those of Protogeometric and Subgeometric pottery from the Agora, must represent a number of neighbouring workshops presumably in Athens all adopting similar materials and techniques. It would be of interest to know the relationship between these groups and the five isolated among the Attic at Cancho Roano. In any event, there appears to be a contrast with what has been found among Attic Late Geometric imports found at Knossos, that is, a typical Attic group and one that may represent regional production, perhaps in Attica.[18] As for the other entries in Table 3, the detail is regrettably insufficient to say more than that an Attic identity is confirmed. A number of Spanish studies have included the characterisation of the fabric and firing conditions of some of stylistically identifiable Greek pottery. Because they are based on small sample numbers they are not included in Table 3.[19]

---

[17] D. Fillières, G. Harbottle and E. Sayre, 'Neutron activation study of figurines, pottery and workshop materials from the Athenian Agora, Greece', *Journal of Field Archaeology* 10 (1983) 555–69.

[18] Liddy *op. cit.* n. 14.

[19] See, for example, J. Galván García and V. Galván Martínez, Apendice II. Estudios mineralógicos de trece fragmentos de cerámica procedentes del yacimiento celtibérico de Fuente el Saz (Madrid), in M.C. Blasco Bosqued and M.A. Alonso Sánchez, *Cerro Redondo, Fuente el Saz del Jarama, Madrid*, Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España, 143 (Ministerio de Cultura, Madrid, 1985) 351–368 (1 Attic vase). F. Ruiz Beviá, V. Gomis Yagües, A. Gómez Siurana, and L. Abad Casal, Caracterización de cerámicas arqueológicas de la provincia de Alicante por aplicación de análisis estadístico multivariante a los datos de composición química, *Lucentum* 7–8 (1988–89) 205–219 (6 Greek vases). M.N. Peláez Colilla, Puesta a

b. Attic BG was imitated outside Greece, nowhere more so than in southern Italy and Sicily where its derivatives and variants in the 5th and 4th c. B.C. are well known. Although their main centres of production are recognised, the locations of others are less certain; in the same way some stylistically defined vases can be attributed to particular workshops, but there are many that cannot. Chemical analysis has much to offer in tackling the issues of workshop identity and the relationship between workshops and in particular between major and minor (or branch) ones. Leaving aside the early efforts in this direction which have been reviewed elsewhere, the principal recent contribution has been the work carried out in Sydney by P. Grave, E. Robinson and collaborators.[20] Applying the suitably powerful technique, PIXE-PIGME, to whole vases from the Nicholson Museum in Sydney, they have investigated whether Red Figure, Gnathia and Xenon group pottery of mainline and supposed 'branch' south Italian workshops can be discriminated. The results shown in Fig. 4 are encouraging: two small groups stylistically thought to be from 'branch' workshops at Ruvo and Canosa respectively formed two closely related chemical groups—α1 and α2—which in turn differed from group β, early Apulian with pale clay probably from Taranto, and group γ comprising examples of Lucanian Red Figure, Apulian with orange clay, and Xenon group. This last group seems to signify productions at both Metapontum and Taranto which cannot yet be resolved chemically, the potters at Taranto using two (or more) types of clay. In any case, the interpretation of group γ neatly places into focus some of the problems attendant upon high-resolution provenance assignments; without adequate reference data, subtle distinctions in composition may be as much a function of technological variables associated with a given workshop—different clays and preparation methods in use over a period of time—as of origin.

punto de algunas técnicas físico-químicas para el estudio de cerámicas arqueológicas, *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología* 9–10 (1982–83) 151–210 (1 Greek lagynos). A. Millán, J.G. Arribas, P. Beneitez, T. Calderón and P. Rufete, Caracterización mineralógica de cerámicas de filiación fenicia, griega y turdetana de Huelva, *Huelva Arqueológica* 12 (1990) 401–445 (3 Ionian cups).

[20] P. Grave, E. Robinson, M. Barbetti, Z. Yu, G. Bailey and R. Bird, 'Analysis of South Italian pottery by PIXE-PIGME', *Mediterranean Archaeology* 9/10 (1996/97) 113–25.

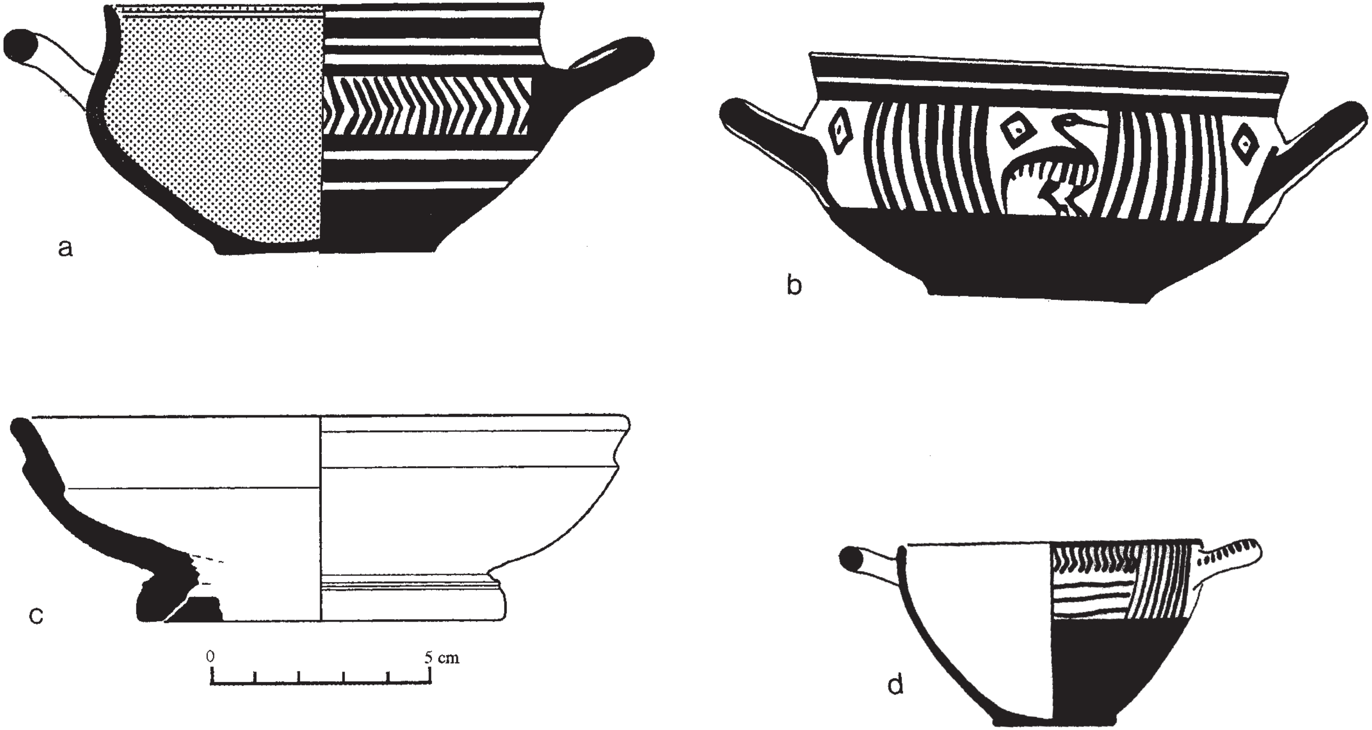


Fig. 3: a/b Chevron skyphos and decorated skyphos from Veii analysed by OES (*GCP* Table 8.12: 34 and 32) and by MS (Ridgway *et al.* 1985: chevron skyphos sample 2) scale 1:3; c Castulo type 1B cup from Cancho Roano (Buxeda i Garrigos *et al.* 1999: sample CR-17), reproduced with permission from F. Gracia; d Kotyle from Ischia analysed by OES (*GCP* Table 8.10: 2) scale 1:2.8.

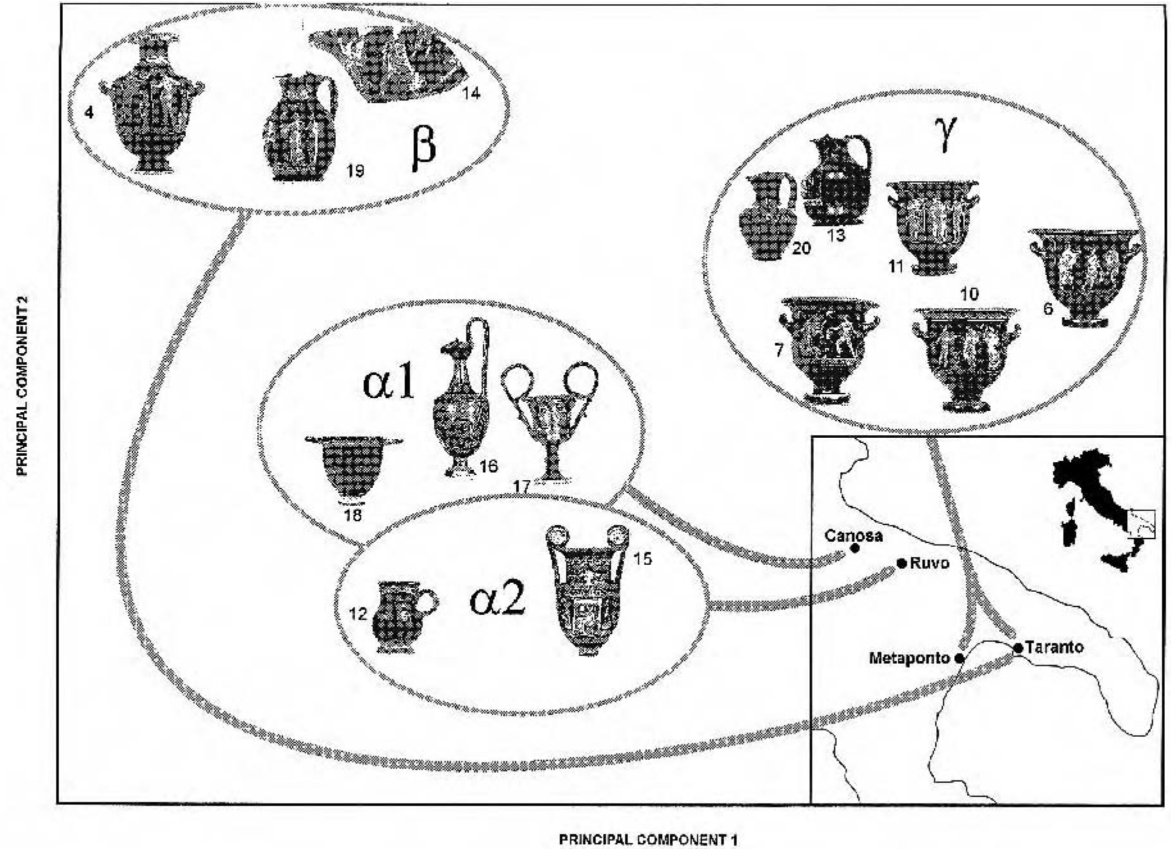


Fig. 4: Results of PIXE-PIGME analysis of Apulian and Lucanian RF, represented on a principal components plot. The sample numbers indicate the appropriate position of each sample on the PC plot. See text for explanation. Reproduced with permission from Grave *et al.* 1996/97 Fig. 4.

Table 4: Greek and later pottery in Greece, Italy and Spain: some recent technological investigations.

Material	*Findspot*	*Techniques*	*Results*	*Publication*
Greek Grey Monochrome (16), coarse pottery (4), and samples from kiln structure (2)	Spain: kilns at the Palaia Polis of Emporion	XRF, XRD, SEM	Calcareous pottery; Group A, low fired, group B medium-high fired. The gloss is black because of the presence of magnetite	Vendrell 2001
Attic RF (early 4th c.); Paestum RF (4th c.)	Spain: unprovenanced (now in Nat. Arch Museum Madrid)	AAS, XRD, MS	Attic fired c. 1000°C with complete oxidation in final phase, unlike in Paestum group (see Table 3)	Gracia García 1980
Castulo cups mainly, with some kylikes, skyphoi and one-handed cups (5th c.)	Spain: Cancho Roano (Badajoz)	XRF, XRD (SEM)	Most fired in range 900–1000°C, but some poor quality Attic fired below 800°C (see Table 3)	Buxeda *et al.* 1999
Proto-Campanian (12) and Campanian A (6)	Spain: Rhode (Girona)	CEMS, XRD, SEM-EDX	See text	Vendrell-Saz *et al.* 1991

Table 4 (*cont.*)

Material	*Findspot*	*Techniques*	*Results*	*Publication*
Proto-Campanian pottery attributed to the production centre of Rhode (19), and the groups of Nikia (4) and TPRE (1)	France: Pech de Mau (almost all samples)	FRX, DRX	Low calcareous and calcareous pottery. Firing temperatures mainly in the range 900–950°C	Buxeda and Madrid 2001
Greek Grey Monochrome (26) and local Iberian wares (25)	Spain: Ullastret near Emporion	XRF, XRD	Same local calcareous clay used for both productions	Pradell *et al.* 1995
Early Greek pottery: see Table 2 and text	Pithekoussai	MS	Similar firing techniques for 'Euboean imports' and local wares: 900–1000°C; slightly higher than Corinthian	Deriu *et al.* 1986
Early Greek pottery: see Table 2 and text	Veii	MS	Firing temperature range 900–1000°C. Some variation in firing atmosphere	Ridgway *et al.* 1985
Campanian B (20)	Cales	SEM-EDX, XRF, XRD, microprobe		Magetti *et al.* 1981

18 examples of Campanian A, B & C and derivatives	Sites in Calabria	SEM-EDX, XRD, TMA	See text. Firing temps.: Campana A & B > 900°C, Campana C variable	Mirti and Davit 2001
Black & Red Figure (6th–4th c. B.C.)	Athens	SEM, TEM, microprobe, laser reflectance	Ultra thin glassy film on black paint layer gives the characteristic sheen; see text	Maniatis *et al.* 1993
Mainly potters' test or draw-pieces of PG, G and Protoattic date; Attic clays	Athenian Agora	TMA, TG, SEM	700–850°C on basis of TMA/TG	Schilling in press

TEM transmission electron microscopy; TMA Thermomechanical analysis; TG thermogravimetric analysis; CEMS conversion electron Mössbauer spectroscopy.

c. Later BG in Italy—Campanian pottery—has been received some attention, notably by M. Picon and more recently by P. Mirti and co-workers who have made an impressive study of both the fabric and gloss of this pottery from six mainly coastal sites in Calabria (Tables 3 and 4).[21] Their combined work with that of J.P. Morel has established the characteristics of the clay and gloss of its three main classes: Campanian A (Naples area) non-calcareous, reddish clay with standardised black gloss; Campanian B (central Italy) pale calcareous clay; Campanian C (Sicily) grey calcareous clay with black gloss or grey slip.

In Calabria, imports of these three classes were confirmed, but probably more important was establishing their distribution across the sites (Locri, for example, was apparently the only site receiving Campanian B); the remaining half of the samples analysed were regional products including (the commonly imitated) Campanian B and other black gloss and grey-on-grey wares. It appears that the centres in Calabria were to some extent specialised in their production.

In Spain, Campanian pottery may only have been produced at the Greek colonies of Emporion and, especially, Rhode. However, at present we only have secure knowledge of Greek BG production at Rhode, while at Emporion there are known kilns (dating to ca. 580–550 B.C.) producing Greek Grey Monochrome pottery (Tables 3 and 4).[22] At Rhode, this pottery had previously received more attention on the technological level (Table 4), but at present the interest has shifted to the chemical characterisation (Table 3). Imitations were also produced on the island of Eivissa, even though this island was completely within the Phoenician-Punic area. Buxeda and

[21] J.P. Morel and M. Picon, 'Les céramiques etrusco-campaniennes: recherches en laboratoire', in Ceramica romana e archeometria: lo stato degli studi (Florence, 1994) 23–46. P. Mirti, M. Aceto and M.C. Preacco Ancona, 'Campanian pottery from ancient Bruttium (southern Italy): scientific analysis of local and imported products', *Archaeometry* 40 (1998) 311–29.

[22] In 1998 three kilns were found in the excavations of the Palaia Polis of Emporion. These kilns were built at the beginning of the establishment of the Greek colony, during the second quarter of the 6th century B.C., and their activity was mainly centered on the production of archaic Greek Grey Monochrome pottery: X. Aquilué Abadías, P. Castanyer I Masoliver, M. Santos Retolaza, J. Tremoleda i Trilla, 'Les ceràmiques gregues arcaiques de la Palaià Polis d'Empòrion' in P. Cabrera Bonet, M. Santos Retolaza, ed., *Ceràmiques jònies d'època arcaica: centre de producció i comerialització al Mediterrani Occidental* (Empúries, 2001), 285–346.

Cau[23] have shown that it was produced from local calcareous clays, also used to make domestic pottery and amphorae, at several workshops on the island.

d. A useful line of enquiry has been more technological, integrating chemical analysis of the body of the vase with a study of the decoration. Attic black gloss has for long received attention, and from the wealth of technological data that has accumulated, derived from SEM-EDX, Mössbauer and other techniques, there is now an impressive understanding of how the best examples of Attic black were achieved in terms of materials and firing conditions. An extra dimension of information has recently been given by the discovery using transmission electron microscopy of a thin clear glassy film, only 0.1 microns thick (rich in Al and Fe, low in silica) on the outer surface of the black paint layer on Attic BF and RF; it is claimed that this glassy film is responsible for the well-known sheen.[24]

The technique involved in making a product of such manifest Greek identity was, of course, adopted in the West, as several studies based on Greek pottery and its later successors made in Italy and Spain have indicated: the clay material for the gloss was of very fine particle size, and iron- and often illite-rich; it may represent a very refined version of the clay used for the body of the vase, but there is as yet no consensus as to how, or with what additives, the refining was achieved; the firing sequence with its critical reducing phase had to be carefully controlled. Two of these studies can be mentioned. Working on material from Rhode in Spain, Vendrell-Saz and co-workers established that the difference between the surface gloss of Proto-Campanian A and Campanian A (the latter made in Italy) lay in the size of iron oxide grains in the paint layer and not in the use of different clay materials;[25] thus, it is the diffraction

[23] J. Buxeda i Garrigós, M.A. Cau Ontiveros, 'Possibilitats i limitacions en l'estudi arqueomètric de les produccions ceràmiques ebussitanes', *Pyrenae* 29 (1998) 97–115.

[24] Y. Maniatis, E. Aloupi and A.D. Stalios, 1993, new evidence for the nature of the Attic black gloss, *Archaeometry* 35, 23–34.

[25] M. Vendrell-Saz, T. Pradell, J. Molera and S. Aliaga, 'Proto-Campanian and A-Campanian ceramics: characterisation of the differences between the black coatings', *Archaeometry* 33 (1991) 105–17. See also J.R. Gancedo, M. Gracia, J.F. Marco and J. Palacios, "Mössbauer spectroscopic and SEM study of Campanian and Terra Sigillata pottery from Spain", *Hyperfine Interactions* 41 (1988) 791–794, where CEM, MS and SEM-EDX were applied to Campanian A pottery from Ullastret and Campanian pottery from Rhode.

of visible light by these grains that gives rise to the gloss on Campanian A, whereas in the case of Proto-Campanian the small grain size causes interference outside the visible region thereby giving the paint layer a matt effect. The logical next step has been taken by Mirti and Davit, who have focused on the black coatings on a wide variety of Campanian pottery found at sites in Calabria (see Tables 3 and 4), explaining in material and technological terms the known visual differences between the classes.[26]

Two important observations arising from some of the technological data summarised in Table 4 are first that the quality of the coating may not be a reliable diagnostic of identity; expressed more simply, just as the chemical composition of the fabric can be a valuable corrective of what appears on visual ground to be true Attic, so the same applies to the black coating. The best Attic black gloss was certainly superior in quality to its counterparts made in the west, but the Attic workshops were also capable of making and exporting inferior products. Second, the new results obtained for potters' test or draw-pieces from the Athenian Agora would suggest a lower firing temperature than what would be estimated by SEM and MS on the basis of the appearance of the clay microstructure, and the Mössbauer parameters (ferrous to ferric ratio and the magnetic ratio) respectively. To the authors' knowledge the white and red decoration on RF vases has not been compared with counterparts from Athens and elsewhere in Greece.

Discussion

The results presented above have made a modest contribution to the enquiry into identity. Rarely able on their own to resolve questions of identity, when integrated with stylistic and other considerations the laboratory-based data can provide valuable supplementary information at the broad, long-distance level. But the difficulty that has confronted archaeometric work in this sphere has been the failure to bridge the gap between the archaeological expectations of the analysis and the quality of information derived from the analysis.

---

[26] P. Mirti and P Davit, 'Technological characterisation of Campanian pottery of Type A, B and C and of regional products from ancient Calabria (southern Italy)', *Archaeometry* 43 (2001), 19–33.

Some laboratory-based results have emerged from small, site-based investigations in which the nature of the pottery of supposedly Greek identity may have been subsidiary to the broader aim of defining the range of (chemical) compositions of the local clays. Other, more ambitious enquiries have had more specific aims. Common to all of them has been the material under investigation, namely pottery over which there is to a greater or lesser extent stylistic, contextual and chronological control. It is when this tightly defined circumstance is contrasted with the more fluid, archaeometric situation that the laboratory-based results can be viewed in perspective. Not only are the majority of archaeometric investigations exploratory in terms of the range of techniques used and the nature and numbers of samples analysed, but the manner in which their results are presented is variable. As a consequence, the field is still at the data gathering stage, specifically establishing compositions associated with local and regional productions or defining technological attributes (notably, the nature of black gloss and why it differs according to production region). Only relatively recently has any consensus emerged about the suitability of a technique for a particular task, let alone systematic efforts being made to relate one laboratory's output with that of others. Only when the database in the West has grown and has greater consistency, a more long-term approach is taken, and a more standardised co-ordinated methodology is in place can the undoubted potential of the archaeometric approach be more fully realised.[27] That this process is already well under underway makes the present writers confident of the future; the gap mentioned above between archaeological expectation and what can be securely delivered is being narrowed. Furthermore, attention on the pottery in the laboratory is now better balanced by fieldwork, such as clay prospection, and by taking more account of the physical evidence for production. The evidence, notably in the form of kilns, of a *kerameikos* or a workshop from settlements of Archaic to Hellenistic date, such as Locri, Morgantina, Policoro (Siris-Heralea), Metapontum and Taranto is now well known, as are the workshops serving sanctuaries at Naxos and the acropolis at Selinus;[28] there is also the 7th–4th c. B.C.

---

[27] The very large chemical database for southern Italy obtained with most if not all the techniques outlined in Table 1 would perhaps be the first target for a serious rationalisation of disparate data sets.

[28] N. Cuomo di Caprio, 'Les ateliers de potiers en Grande Grèce: quelques aspects techniques', in F. Blondé, J.Y. Perreault, ed., *Les Ateliers de potiers dans le monde Grec*

potters' quarter in the Topicelli district of Canosa.[29] On another level, the characterisation of Punic production centres in Italy and Spain is providing valuable comparative data.[30]

Another heartening feature is the way in which archaeometric study is perhaps better equipped than the pottery specialist to bridge chronological divisions. To take but one example, the understanding of the effect of the strong Mycenaean influence on pottery production and exchange within the Plain of Sybaris during the later Bronze Age was achieved with substantial input from petrographic and chemical analysis.[31] Besides providing relevant chemical reference data for the study of pottery of the Greek colonial period and later in the Plain, there is the important finding that at least in some areas of Italy that were to become part of Magna Grecia many of the

aux époques géometrique, archaïque et classique (Paris, 1992), 69–86. This article usefully identified particular features of each centre, for instance use of grog at Locri, cylindrical pierced supports for reducing firing at Metapontum. For the kilns (7th to 1st cents. B.C.) at Taranto see A. Dell'Aglio, 'Taranto' in E. Lippolis, ed., *I Greci in Occidente: Arte e ertigianto in Magna Grecia*, (Milan, 1996), 51–80. See also N. Cuomo di Caprio, *Fornaci e officine da vasaio tardo-ellenistiche a Morgantina. Morgantina Studies III* (Princeton, 1992).

[29] F.G. Lo Porto, 'Abitato e necropoli di Topicelli' in Principi Imperatori Vescovi: duemilia anni di storia a Canosa ed Cassano (Venice, 1992), 72–102.

[30] See R. Alaimo, C. Greco, I. Iliopoulos, and G. Montana, 'Ceramic workshops in western Sicily: Solunto and Mozia (VII–III B.C.): a first approach through raw materials, fabric and chemical composition of ceramic objects', in V. Kilikoglou, A. Hein and Y. Maniatis (eds), *Modern trends in scientific studies on Ancient Ceramics*, BAR International Series 1011 (2002) 207–18 and papers by M.L. Amadori and B. Fabbri on Punic production at Toscanos, Sardinia and Ischia in *Atti della 2 Giornata di Archeometria della Ceramica 'Produzione e circulazione della ceramica fenicia e punica nel Mediterraneo: il contributo delle analisi archeometriche'* (Ravenna, 1998) 68–94. And for the Balearic Islands, J. Buxeda i Garrigós, M.A. Cau Ontiveros, 'Caracterización arqueométrica de las ánforas T-8.1.3.1. del taller púnico FE-13 (Eivissa)', in J. Ramón Torres, ed., *FE-13: un taller alfarero de época púnica en Ses Figueretes: Eivissa* (Eivissa, 1995) 179–205. A Phoenician pottery production centre has also been recently characterized at Málaga (south-east of the Iberian peninsula): C. Cardell, J. Rodríguez Gordillo, M. Morotti and M. Párraga, 'Arqueometría de cerámicas fenicias de "Cerro del Villar" (Guadalhorce, Málaga): Composición y procedencia', in J. Capel Martínez, ed., *Arqueometría y Arqueología*, Monografica Arte y Arqueología 47, (Granada, 1999), 107–120.

[31] S.T. Levi *op. cit.* n. 4. See, more generally, R.E. Jones, S.T. Levi and L. Vagnetti, 'Connections between the Aegean and Italy in the later Bronze Age: the ceramic evidence', in S.T. Levi *op. cit.* n. 4. See, more generally, R.E. Jones, S.T. Levi and L. Vagnetti, 'Connections between the Aegean and Italy in the later Bronze Age: the ceramic evidence', in V. Kilikoglou, A. Hein, Y. Maniatis, eds., *Modern Trends in Scientific Studies on Ancient Ceramics*, BAR Int. Ser. 1011 (2002), 171–84.

technological facets of Greek ceramic identity were already in place by the end of the Bronze Age and furthermore developed during the course of the Iron Age: the use of fine-textured, pale (calcareous) clays, and the ability to decorate in dark glossy paints and to fire in a controlled atmosphere in a kiln.[32] Thus, when Greek potters emigrated to the West in the Archaic period and later, some of them at least probably encountered people who were familiar with the range of technological choices that any potter adapting to a new location is confronted with. Placing the pottery of supposed Greek identity in Italy within a framework of indigenous pottery production from the Early Iron Age to the Roman period has been an important contribution.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to John Papadopoulos for permission to mention the work by R. Schilling in advance of publication, and to Piero Mirti, David Ridgway and Ted Robinson for discussion and advice.

Bibliography

Alaimo, R., Giarrusso, R., Iliopoulos, I., Montana, G. 'Coppe tipo Iato K480: indagini archeometriche finalizzata alla individuazione del centro di produzione', *Atti del I Congresso Nazionale di Archeometria 1999*. Bologna, 2000, 413–25

Alaimo, R., Greco, C., Iliopoulos, I., Montana, G. 'Ceramic workshops in western Sicily: Solunto and Mozia (VII–III BC): a first approach through raw materials, fabric and chemical composition of ceramic objects', in V. Kilikoglou, A. Hein and Y. Maniatis (eds), *Modern trends in scientific studies on Ancient Ceramics*, BAR International Series 1011 (2002) 207–18

Aquilué Abadiás, X., Castanyer i Masoliver, P., Santos Retolaza, M. Tremoleda i Trilla, J. 'Les ceràmiques gregues arcaiques de la Palaià Polis d'Empòrion' in P. Cabrera Bonet, M. Santos Retolaza, ed., *Ceràmiques jònies d'època arcaica: centre de producció i commerialització al Mediterrani Occidental* (Monografies Emporitanes, 11). Empúries: Museu d'Arqueologie de Catalunya, 2001, 285–346

Barone, G., Ioppolo, S. Puglisi, G., Tigano, G. 'Archaeometric results and archaeological problems of the pottery of the archaeological area of Messina (Sicily) in V. Kilikoglou, A. Hein, Y. Maniatis, eds., *Modern Trends in Scientific Studies on Ancient Ceramics*, BAR International Series 1011 (2002) 219–26

[32] See J. Buxeda i Garrigos, Y. Maniatis, V. Kilikoglou, S. Levi, R.E. Jones, L. Vagnetti, K.A. Wardle and S. Andreou, 'Technology transfer on the periphery of the Mycenaean world: the case of Mycenaean pottery found in central Macedonia (Greece) and the Plain of Sybaris (Italy)', *Archaeometry* 45 (2003), 263–84.

Boardman, J., Schweizer, F. 'Clay analysis of Archaeic Greek pottery', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 69 (1973) 267–83

Buxeda i Garrigós, J., Cau Ontiveros, M.A. 'Caracterización arqueométrica de las ánforas T-8.1.3.1. del taller púnico FE-13 (Eivissa)', in J. Ramón Torres *FE-13: un taller alfarero de época púnica en Ses Figueretes: Eivissa*. Eivissa: Govern Balear. Conselleria d'Educació, Cultura i Esports, Treballs del Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera, 1995, 179–205

——. 'Possibilitats i limitacions en l'estudi arqueomètric de les produccions ceràmiques ebussitanes', *Pyrenae* 29 (1998) 97–115

——, Gracia Alonso, F. 'Caracterización arqueométrica de la cerámica ática del palacio-santuario de Cancho Roano (Zalamea de la Serena, Badajoz)', *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 56 (1999) 157–68

Buxeda i Garrigós, J., Madrid Fernández, M. *Caracterització arqueomètrica de les produccions protocampanianes occidentals (Taller de Roses I grups afins)*, Informe del projecte FbiG 300686, Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2001 (Internal report, unpublished)

Cuomo di Caprio, N. *Fornaci e officine da vasaio tardo-ellenistiche a Morgantina. Morgantina Studies III.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992

——, Picon, M. 'Classification et détermination d'origine des céramiques à vernis noir et à vernis rouge d'Italie: aspects méthodologiques', in F. Burragato, L. Lazzarini, eds, *Proceedings of the 1st European workshop on archaeological ceramics*. Rome: Università degli studi di Roma, 1994, 163–81

Dell'Aglio, A. 'Taranto' in E. Lippolis, ed., *I Greci in Occidente: Arte e artigianto in Magna Grecia*. Naples: Electa, 1996, 51–80

Deriu, A., Buchner, G., Ridgway, D. ' Provenance and firing techniques of Geometric pottery from Pithekoussai: a Mössbauer investigation' *Annali di Archeologia e storia antica* 8 (1986) 99–116

Descouedres, J.-P., Kearsley, R. 'Greek pottery at Veii: another look', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 79 (1983) 9–53

Fernández, J.H., Granados, O. *Cerámicas de imitación áticas del Museo Arqueológico de Ibiza* (*Trabajos del Museo Arqueológico de Ibiza*, 2). Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura. Dirección General del Patrimonio Artístico, 1980

Fillières, D., Harbottle, G., Sayre, E. 'Neutron activation study of figurines, pottery and workshop materials from the Athenian Agora, Greece', *Journal of Field Archaeology* 10 (1983) 555–69

Gancedo, J.R., Gracia, M., Marco, J.F., Palacios, J. 'Mössbauer spectroscopic and SEM study of Campanian and Terra Sigillata pottery from Spain', *Hyperfine Interactions* 41 (1988) 791–794

Gliozzo, E., Memmi Turbanti, I. 'Black Gloss pottery: production sites and technology in Northern Etruria. Part I: provenance studies', *Archaeometry*, forthcoming

Gracia García, M. *Estudio de cerámicas de interés arqueológico por espectroscopía Mössbauer* (*Serie Universitaria* 129). Madrid: Fundación Juan March, 1980

Grave, P., Robinson, E., Barbetti, M., Yu, Z., Bailey, G., Bird, R. 'Analysis of South Italian pottery by PIXE-PIGME', *Mediterranean Archaeology* 9/10 (1996/97) 113–25

Grimanis, A., Filippakis, S.E., Vassilaki-Grimani, M., Perdikatsis, B., Bosana-Kourou, N., Yalouris, N. 'Neutron activation and X-ray analysis of 'Thapsos class' vases. An attempt to identify their origin', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 7 (1980) 227–239

Jones, R.E. *Greek and Cypriot Pottery: a review of scientific studies*. Athens: British School at Athens, 1986

——. 'Current trends and issues in Mediterranean ceramic studies'. in F. Burragato, L. Lazzarini, ed. *Proceedings of the 1st European workshop on archaeological ceramics*. Rome: Università degli studi di Roma, 1994, 13–22

——, Whitbread, I.K. 'Chemical and petrographic analysis of Protogeometric pottery from Torone', in J. Papadopoulos, ed., *Torone: the Protogeometric tombs*. Los Angeles (forthcoming)

Kessisoglou, M., Mirtsou, E., Stratis, J., Vassiliou, A. 'Study of pottery sherds from Mende, Chalkidiki', in *Archaeometrical and archaeological research in Macedonia and Thrace: Proceedings of the 2nd Hellenic Archaeometrical Society*. Thessaloniki, 1996, 169–80

Levi, S. *Produzione e circolazione della ceramica nella Sibaritide protostorica I. Impasto e dolii*. Grandi Contesti e Problemi della Protostorica Italiana 1. Firenze: Giglio, 1999

Liddy, D.J. 'A chemical study of decorated Iron Age pottery from the Knossos North Cemetery', in J.N. Coldstream, H.W. Catling, ed., *Knossos North Cemetery, Early Greek Tombs* II (British School at Athens Supplementary vol. 28). London: British School at Athens, 1996, 465–516

Lippolis, E. *I Greci in Occidente. Arte e artigianato in Magna Grecia*. Naples: Electa, 1996

Maggetti, M., Galetti, G., Schwander, H., Picon, M., Wessicken, R. 'Campanian pottery: the nature of the black coating' *Archaeometry* 23 (1981) 199–207

Maniatis, Y., Aloupi, E., Stalios, A.D. 'New evidence for the nature of the Attic black gloss', *Archaeometry* 35 (1993), 23–34

Mirti, P., Davit., P., 'Technological characterization of Campanian Pottery of Type A, B and C and of Regional Products from Ancient Calabria (Southern Italy)', *Archaeometry* 43 (2001) 19–33

——, Aceto, M., Preacco Ancona, M.C. 'Campanian pottery from ancient Bruttium (southern Italy): scientific analysis of local and imported products', *Archaeometry* 40 (1998) 311–29

——, Davit, P. 'Technological characterisation of Campanian pottery of Type A, B and C and of regional products from ancient Calabria (southern Italy)', *Archaeometry* 43 (2001), 19–33

Morel, J.P., Picon, M. 'Les céramiques etrusco-campaniennes: recherches en laboratoire', in *Ceramica romana e archeometria: lo stato degli studi*. Florence: Giglio, 1994, 23–46

Moresi, M., Palara, M., Venturo, D., Zanettin, E., 'The ceramics of Iesce (Altamura, Bari – S Italy). Archaeometric study', *Science & Technology for Cultural Heritage* 7 (1998) 71–79

Popham, M., Hatcher, H., Pollard, A.M. 'Euboean exports to Al Mina, Cyprus and Crete: a reassessment', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 79 (1983) 281–90

Pradell, T., Martín, A., Molera, J., García-Vallès, M., Vendrell-Saz, M. 'Attribution of "Iberian Painted" and "Greek Grey Monochrome" ceramics, from the 6th century B.C. to a local production of Ullastret (Catalonia)', in M. Vendrell-Saz, T. Pradell, J. Molera, M. García, ed., *Estudis sobre ceràmica antiga*, Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, Generalitat de Catalunya, (1995) 23–27

Ridgway, D., Deriu, A., Boitani, F. 'Provenance and firing techniques of Geometric pottery from Veii: a Mössbauer investigation', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 80 (1985) 139–50

Rotuno, T., Sabbatini, L., Corrente, M. 'A provenance study of pottery from archaeological sites near Canosa, Puglia (Italy)', *Archaeometry* 39 (1997) 343–354

Sanmartí i Grego, E. *La cerámica campaniense de Emporion y Rhode I* (Monografías Ampuritanas IV). Barcelona: Institut de Prehistòria i Arqueologia de la Diputació Provincial de Barcelona, 1978

Schilling, M. 'Estimation of Ceramic Firing Temperatures by Thermomechanical Analysis', in J. Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus: The Early Iron Age Potters' Field in the Area of the Classical Agora, the Firing of Athenian Painted Pottery and the Topography of Early Athens* (Hesperia Supplement), forthcoming

Torrisi, A., Arena, G., Bellia, G., Contino, A., Falco, G., Grasso, L., Ingrassia, S., 'A study of Greek pottery and clay statuettes from the votive deposit in the sanctuary of Demetra in Catania', *Annali di Chimica (Rome)* 86 (1996) 329–341

Tréziny, H. and Jones, R.E. 'Une série de cratères subgéométriques de type attique, *Mélanges d l'Ecole Française d'Archéologie à Rome* 91 (1979) 7–62

Van Compernolle, T. 'Da Otranto a Sibari: un primo studio pluridisciplinare delle produzioni magno-greche di coppe ioniche', in F. Burragato, L. Lazzarini, ed.,

Proceedings of the 1st European Workshop on Archaeological Ceramics. Rome: Università degli studi di Roma, 1994, 343–48

Vendrell i Saz, M., Pradell, T., Molera, J., Aliaga, S. 'Proto-Campanian and A-Campanian ceramics: characterisation of the differences between the black coatings', *Archaeometry* 33 (1991) 105–17

Vendrell i Saz, M. 'Annex. Anàlisi de ceràmiques i mostres de forns d'època grega arcaica de Sant Martí d'Empúries' in X. Aquilué Abadías, P. Castanyer i Masoliver, Abadiás, M. Santos Retolaza, J. Tremoleda i Trilla, 'Les ceràmiques gregues arcaiques de la Palaià Polis d'Empòrion' in P. Cabrera Bonet, M. Santos Retolaza, ed., *Ceràmiques jònies d'època arcaica: centre de producció i comerialització al Mediterrani Occidental* (Monografies Emporitanes, 11). Empúries: Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya, 2001, 229–346

Wolff, S.R., Liddy, D.J., Newton, G.W.A., Robinson, V.J., Smith, R.J. 'Hellenistic Black Glazed ware in the Mediterranean. A study by epithermal neutron activation analysis', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 13 (1986) 245–259

PHOKÄISCHE THALASSOKRATIE ODER PHANTOM-PHOKÄER? DIE FRÜHGRIECHISCHEN KERAMIKFUNDE IM SÜDEN DER IBERISCHEN HALBINSEL AUS DER ÄGÄISCHEN PERSPEKTIVE*

Michael Kerschner
Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienna

Professor Shefton hat sich in seinem umfangreichen wissenschaftlichen Œuvre immer wieder mit den wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Kontakten auseinandergesetzt, die die Griechen mit den entlegenen Regionen der ihnen bekannten Welt unterhielten. Zu diesen zählte die iberische Halbinsel, die im 7. Jh. v. Chr. gerade erst in das Gesichtsfeld der ägäischen Seefahrer rückte. In einem grundlegenden Vortrag auf dem Kölner Symposium 'Phönizier im Westen' 1979 entwarf Brian B. Shefton ein Modell, in dem er die ägäisch-iberischen Beziehungen vom 8. bis zum 6. Jh. v. Chr. in vier Phasen unterteilte und diese interpretierte.[1] Als wichtigste archäologische

---

* Besonderen Dank für ihre Unterstützung bei dieser Arbeit möchte ich folgenden Personen aussprechen: N. Ehrhardt (Münster), V. Gassner (Wien) und U. Schlotzhauer (Mainz) für ihre kritische Durchsicht meines Manuskriptes und zahlreiche wichtige Hinweise; V. Gassner für die Einsicht in ihre noch ungedruckte Habilitationsarbeit, hier zitiert als: Gassner, Materielle Kultur und kulturelle Identität Eleas; U. Schlotzhauer für die Anfertigung der Diagramme Abb. 2–3; H. Mommsen (Bonn) für die archäometrischen Keramikanalysen, die hier als Basis für die Lokalisierung ostgriechischer Keramikgattungen dienen (vgl. Akurgal, Kerschner, Mommsen, Niemeier *Töpferzentren der Ostägäis. Archäometrische und archäologische Untersuchungen zur mykenischen, geometrischen und archaischen Keramik aus Fundorten in Westkleinasien*, Wien: 3 Ergänzungsheft zu den Jahresheften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes, 2002); K. Lomas (UCL) für die geduldige Redaktion des Manuskriptes. Die jüngst erschienen Akten des Kongresses P. Cabrera Bonet, M. Santos Rebolaza, ed., *Ceràmiques jònies d'època arcaica: centres de producció i comercialització al mediterrani occidental. Actes de la Taula Rodona celebrada a Empúries els dies 26 al 28 de maig de 1999, Monografies emporitanes 11* (Barcelona, 2000) konnten leider im Text nicht berücksichtigt werden, da sie bei Abgabe des Manuskriptes dem Verf. nicht zugänglich waren.

[1] B.B. Shefton, 'Greeks and Greek Imports in the South of the Iberian Peninsula. The archaeological evidence', in H.G. Niemeyer, ed., *Phönizier im Westen* (Mainz, 1982), 337–370; ebenso Shefton 'Zum Import und Einfluß mediterraner Güter in Alteuropa', *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 22 (1989) 209–212; vgl. H.G. Niemeyer, 'Die Griechen und die iberische Halbinsel. Zur historischen Deutung der archäologischen Zeugnisse', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 15/17 (1988/1990) 290–292 ('Shefton-Modell').

Evidenz dienten ihm dabei die griechischen Keramikimporte auf der iberischen Halbinsel, ihre Fundkontexte und ihre Verbreitungsmuster. Die folgenden Überlegungen wollen einen Beitrag zur Interpretation dieser Keramikfunde leisten, und zwar aus der Sicht neuer Forschungen in der Ostägäis.

Zu den aufsehenerregenden und vieldiskutierten archäologischen Entdeckungen der letzten Jahrzehnte zählen die Funde frühgriechischer Keramik im Süden der iberischen Halbinsel.[2] Erste Exemplare kamen in den 1960er Jahren in den phönizischen Niederlassungen an der Mittelmeerküste Andalusiens (Almuñécar, Toscanos, Cerro del Villar, später auch in Málaga) zutage, doch wurden sie später durch die wesentlich reicheren Funde aus Huelva in den Schatten gestellt. Dieser im atlantischen Küstenabschnitt gelegene Fundort, dessen antiker Name nicht bekannt ist, entpuppte sich als bedeutendes Zentrum der tartessischen Kultur.[3] Seit 1982 werden die Überreste der orientalisierenden Epoche unter der modernen Stadt Huelva durch die archäologischen Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen unter Leitung von J. Fernández Jurado systematisch erforscht. Die rasch und ausführlich publizierten Befunde und Funde[4] stimulierten eine intensive Diskussion innerhalb der Altertumswissenschaften. Spektakulär sind die griechischen Tongefäße der geometrischen und archaischen Epoche nicht nur aufgrund ihrer großen Gesamtmenge, die in jenem

---

[2] Ausführliche Zusammenstellungen mit Literatur bei P. Rouillard, *Les Grecs et la peninsule ibérique du VIII^{e} au IV^{e} siècle avant Jésus-Christ* (Paris, 1991) und A.J. Domínguez, C. Sánchez, *Greek Pottery from the Iberian Peninsula. Archaic and Classical Periods* (Leiden, 2001).

[3] Zusammenfassend zu Tartessos und Huelva mit älterer Literatur: M.E. Aubet Semmler, 'Zur Problematik des orientalisierenden Horizontes auf der Iberischen Halbinsel', in H.G. Niemeyer, ed., *Phönizier im Westen, Die Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums über 'Die phönizische Expansion im westlichen Mittelmeerraum'* (Mainz, 1982), 309–335; *Tartessos. Arqueología protohistórica del Bajo Guadalquivir* (Barcelona, 1989); *La Tartessos y Huelva* (*Huelva Arqueologica*, 1989); C. Aranegui Gascó, ed. *Argantonio, Rey de Tartessos. Katalog der Ausstellung* (Madrid, 2000).

[4] J. Fernández Jurado, 'Die Phönizier in Huelva', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 26 (1985) 49–60 (mit der älteren Literatur ebenda 49 Anm. 1); *Huelva Arqueologica* 10–11.3 (1988/89); Fernández Jurado, 'La orientalización de Huelva', in Semmler, ed., *Tartessos*; zu den griechischen Keramikfunden: P. Rouillard, 'Fragmentos griegos de estilo geométrico y Corintio Medio en Huelva', *Huelva Arqueologica* III (1977) 395–401; P. Cabrera Bonet, 'Nuevos fragmentos de cerámica griega de Huelva' in M. Picazo, E. San Martí, ed., *Taula Empùries* 1983, 43–57; P. Cabrera, R. Olmos, 'Die Griechen in Huelva. Zum Stand der Diskussion', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 26 (1985) 61–74; Cabrera Bonet, P. 'El comercio foceo en Huelva: cronología y fisionomía' in J. Fernández Jurado, ed., *Tartessos y Huelva. Huelva Arqueologica* 10–11.3 (1988/89) 41–100; Domínguez, Sánchez, *Greek Pottery from the Iberian Peninsula*, 5–17 (mit aktueller Bibliographie).

Zeitraum auf der iberischen Halbinsel ohne Vergleich ist, sondern auch wegen des hohen Alters und der besonderen Qualität einzelner Stücke.[5] Den Hauptanteil stellen ostgriechische Gefäße bzw. solche ostgriechischen Typs, die im Mittelpunkt unserer Überlegungen stehen sollen.

Die bisher umfangreichste Vorlage von frühgriechischen Keramikfunden aus Huelva unternahm P. Cabrera Bonet.[6] Durch ihre streng kontextuelle Vorgangsweise, bei der nur Funde aus stratigraphischen Zusammenhängen Berücksichtigung fanden,[7] war es möglich, selbst kleine Fragmente von Gebrauchskeramik chronologisch einzuordnen und so zu einer verläßlichen Phaseneinteilung des Fundkomplexes zu gelangen. Die quantitative Auswertung aller aussagekräftigen griechischen Keramikimporte in ihrer Gesamtheit bildete die Grundlage für ein wirtschaftsgeschichtliches Entwicklungsmodell des „comercio foceo en Huelva: cronología y fisionomía".[8] Während sich die „Chronologie" der ostgriechischen Keramikfunde durch die Grabungskontexte und die Vergesellschaftung mit attischen, korinthischen und lakonischen Importen absichern ließ, war die Frage nach der „Physiognomie" des „phokäischen Handels" ungleich schwerer zu beantworten. Voraussetzung dafür ist nämlich die genaue Bestimmung der Anteile einzelner Produktionsorte am Keramikspektrum. Cabreras Einteilung der ostgriechischen Funde aus Huelva nach Herkunftsgruppen (Abb. 2) basiert auf der makroskopischen Beurteilung des Scherbentyps.[9] Der nächste Schritt, die Zuweisung an einzelne Töpferzentren, stellte jedoch ein in vielen Fällen kaum zu bewältigendes Problem dar. Der schlechte Erhaltungszustand sowie die relativ uncharakteristischen

[5] Z. B. eine attisch-mittelgeometrische Pyxis: P. Cabrera Bonet, C. Sánchez Fernández, ed., *Los Griegos en España*, 231 Nr. 6; zwei euböisch-spätgeometrische Skyphoi: Cabrera Bonet – Sánchez Fernández, *Los Griegos en España*, 232 Nr. 7; Aranegui Gascó, ed., *Argantonio, Rey de Tartessos*, 231 Nr. 47; eine attisch-schwarzfigurige Schale und eine Olpe des Kleitias: Griegos 2000, 245f. Nr. 20; Aranegui Gascó, ed., *Argantonio, Rey de Tartessos*, 230 Nr. 46 (jeweils mit Literatur).

[6] Cabrera Bonet, 'El comercio foceo en Huelva'.

[7] Cabrera Bonet, 'El comercio foceo en Huelva', 54.

[8] Cabrera Bonet, 'El comercio foceo en Huelva', 43.

[9] Die Anwendung dieser Methode wird erschließbar aus der Beschreibung bei Cabrera Bonet, 'El comercio foceo en Huelva', 61. Zur Definition des Begriffs 'Scherbentyp' s. V. Gassner, 'Scherbentypen', in: V. Gassner, S. Groh, S. Jilek u. a., Das Kastell Mautern – Favianis, *Der römische Limes in Österreich* 39 (Wien, 2000), 185–199; V. Gassner, *Materielle Kultur und kulturelle Identität Eleas in spätarchaisch-frühklassischer Zeit. Untersuchungen zur Gefäß- und Baukeramik aus der Unterstadt (Grabungen 1984–1997), Velia-Studien 2* Wien, 2003.

Gefäß- und Dekorformen eines Großteils der Fragmente auf der einen Seite, auf der anderen Seite der für viele Bereiche der Ostägäis unzureichende Forschungsstand sind als Ursachen zu nennen, weshalb eine genaue Lokalisierung anhand typologischer Parallelen allein zumeist nicht möglich war.[10] Archäometrische Untersuchungen, die Gewißheit über die Herkunft hätten bringen können, waren wegen des damit verbundenen großen Aufwandes bisher nicht möglich. Cabreras Lokalisierungen beruhen daher oft auf historischen Überlegungen, die aus einer Interpretation der antiken Schriftquellen abgeleitet sind.

Seit Erscheinen von P. Cabreras Studie erbrachten die Forschungen zur ostgriechischen Keramik sowohl in der Ostägäis als auch an Fundorten des zentralen und westlichen Mittelmeeres wichtige neue Erkenntnisse, die zu Verschiebungen in dem von Cabrera entworfenen Bild führen (Abb. 2–3). Umfangreiche Materialvorlagen lassen nun das Keramikbild bedeutender Poleis und Heiligtümer wie Milet,[11] Didyma,[12] Ephesos,[13] Klazomenai,[14] Kyme,[15] Assos,[16] Selinus,[17]

[10] Vgl. Cabrera Bonet, 'El comercio foceo en Huelva', 61; zum Forschungsstand: Cook – Dupont 1998, 5–7; Akurgal, Kerschner, Mommsen, Niemeier *Töpferzentren der Ostägäis*, 28–36.

[11] Zuletzt mit weiterführender Literatur: V. von Graeve u. a., 'Milet 1996–1997', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1999) 1–472; U. Schlotzhauer, 'Die südionischen Knickrandschalen: Formen und Entwicklung der sog. Ionischen Schalen in archaischer Zeit', in F. Krinzinger, ed., *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer*. Beziehungen und Wechselwirkungen 8. bis 5. Jh. v. Chr. (Wien, 2000).

[12] Th. G. Schattner, 'Die Fundkeramik', in K. Tuchelt, ed., *Ein Kultbezirk an der Heiligen Straße von Milet nach Didyma* (Mainz, 1996) 163–216 Taf. 102.

[13] M. Kerschner, 'Ein stratifizierter Opferkomplex des 7. Jh.s v. Chr. aus dem Artemision von Ephesos', *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 66 (1997) 85–226; M. Kerschner, M. Lawall, P. Scherrer, E. Trinkl, 'Ephesos in archaischer und klassischer Zeit. Die Ausgrabungen in der Siedlung Smyrna', in *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer*, 45–54.

[14] Y. Ersoy, *Clazomenae: The Archaic Settlement* (Ann Arbor, 1996); Ersoy, 'East Greek Pottery Groups of the 7th and 6th Centuries B.C. from Clazomenae', in *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer*, 399–406.

[15] M. Frasca, 'Osservazioni preliminari sulla ceramica protoarcaica ed arcaica di Kyme eolida', in *Studi su Kyme eolica, Atti della giornata di studio della Scuola di specializzazione in archeologia dell' Università di Catania, Catania 16 maggio 1990, Cronache di archeologia* 32 (1993) 51–70; ders., 'Ceramiche Tardo Geometriche a Kyme Eolica', in *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer*, 393–398.

[16] F. Utili, 'Die archaische Nekropole von Assos', *Asia Minor Studien* 31 (Bonn, 1999).

[17] Ch. Dehl-von Kaenel, *Die archaische Keramik aus dem Malophoros-Heiligtum in Selinunt. Die korinthischen, lakonischen, ostgriechischen, etruskischen und megarischen Importe sowie die 'argivisch-monochrome' und lokale Keramik aus den alten Grabungen* (Berlin, 1995).

Elea,[18] Gravisca[19] und Massalia[20] klarer hervortreten. Neue archäometrische Untersuchungen in den ostägäischen Töpferzentren durch H. Mommsen erweitern und differenzieren die grundlegenden Arbeiten P. Duponts auf diesem Gebiet und erlauben weitere Herkunftszuweisungen (Abb. 1).[21] In einer Reihe von griechischen Kolonien des zentralen und westlichen Mittelmeerraumes wiederum konnten lokale Produktionen von Gefäßen ostgriechischen Typs nachgewiesen werden,[22] so daß für einen nicht unbedeutenden Teil der archaischen Keramikfunde aus Huelva und anderen südspanischen Fundorten nun auch die Möglichkeit einer kolonialgriechischen Provenienz in Betracht gezogen werden muß (Abb. 3). Dies betrifft besonders die Gattung der Knickrandschalen (= „ionische Schalen")[23] und die reifenverzierte Alltagskeramik.

Auffällig am Keramikbild des tartessischen Huelva ist die Tatsache, daß unter den zahlreichen Funden ostgriechischer Keramik figürlich und ornamental bemalte Gattungen völlig fehlen.[24] Im Falle der milesischen Tierfries- und Fikellurakeramik könnte man dieses Phänomen noch dadurch erklären, daß deren Export während der 1. Hälfte des 6. Jhs. v. Chr.—also eben zu jener Zeit, als die Anzahl griechischer Importe in Huelva ihren Höhepunkt erreichte—relativ gering war,

[18] Gassner, *Materielle Kultur und kulturelle Identität Eleas*.

[19] S. Boldrini, *Le ceramiche ioniche* (*Gravisca. Scavi nel santuario greco* 4) (Bari, 1994).

[20] F. Villard, 'La céramique archaïque de Marseille', in M. Bats *et al.*, ed., *Marseille grecque et la Gaule* (Aix-en-Provence, 1992); Gantès, 'L'apport des fouilles récentes à l'étude quantitative de l'économie massaliète', in M. Bats *et al.*, ed., *Marseille grecque et la Gaule*; J.-C. Sourisseau, 'Céramiques à pâte claire massaliètes', in A. Hesnard, M. Molinier, Conche, F. and Bouiron, M. ed., *Parcours de villes. Marseille: 10 ans d'archéologie, 2600 ans d'histoire* (Aix-en-Provence, 1999), 28–30.

[21] P. Dupont, 'Classification et détermination de provenance des céramiques grecques orientales archaïques d'Istros. Rapport préliminaire', *Dacia* 27 (1983) 19–46; Akurgal, Kerschner, Mommsen, Niemeier, *Töpferzentren der Ostägäis*.

[22] T. van Compernolle, 'Da Otranto a Sibari: Un primo studio pluridisciplinare delle produzioni magno-greche di coppe ioniche' in F. Burragato, L. Lazzarini, ed., *Proceedings of the 1st European Workshop on Archaeological Ceramics*, 343–348; ders. in: M. Bats et al., ed., *Marseille Grecque et la Gaule* (Aix-en-Provence, 1992), 461–463. 466; ders., 'Coppe di tipo ionico', in E. Lippolis, ed., *Arte e artiginato in Magna Grecia* (Napoli, 1996), 299–302; V. Gassner, 'Überlegungen zur Entstehung von Amphorentypen im östlichen und westlichen Mittelmeerraum', in *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer*, 493–496; Gassner, *Materielle Kultur und kulturelle Identität Eleas* 68–71.

[23] Zur Einführung des durch die Gefäßform definierten Begriffes 'Knickrandschale' anstelle der zum Teil unzutreffenden Definition nach der Herkunftsregion im Begriff 'Ionische Schale' siehe Schlotzhauer, 'Die südionischen Knickrandschalen', 412f.

[24] Cabrera Bonet, 'El comercio foceo en Huelva', 58. 62.

[25] Vgl. F. Villard, *La céramique grecque de Marseille (VI^{e}–IV^{e} siècle). Essai d'histoire économique* (Paris, 1960), 39; M. Martelli Cristofani, 'La ceramica greco-orientale in

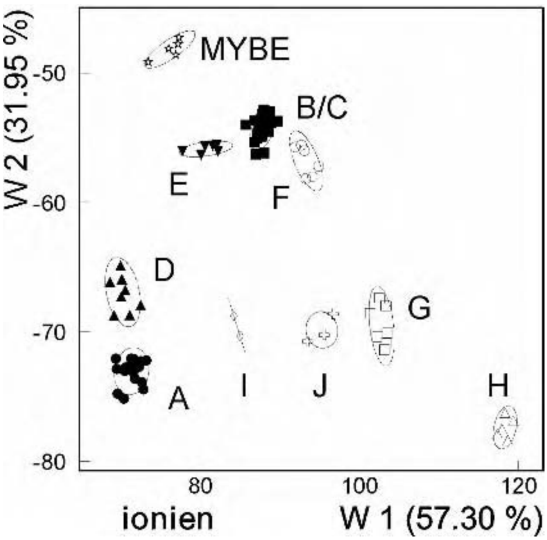


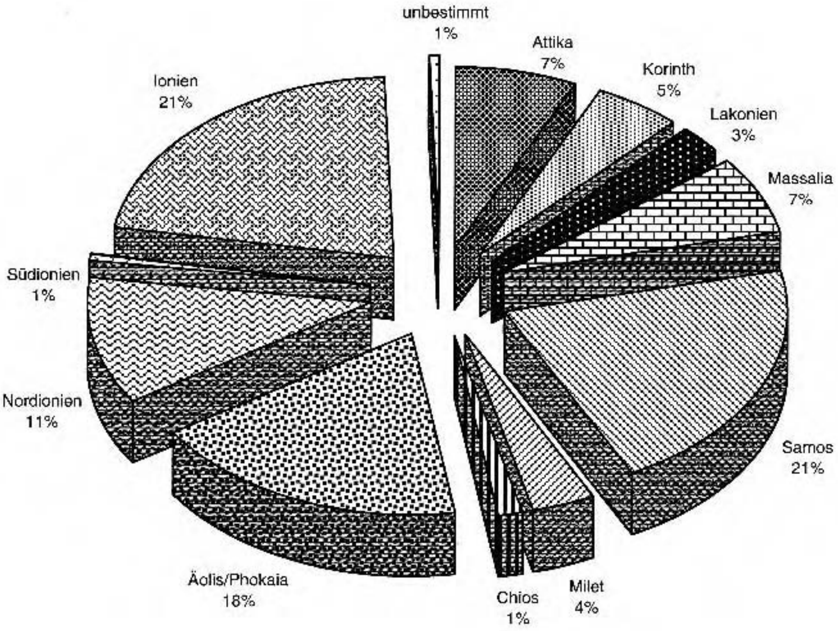
Abb. 1: Diskriminanzanalyse von 92 gruppierten Neutronenaktivierungsproben von Keramik der mykenischen, geometrischen und archaischen Epoche aus 7 verschiedenen Fundorten in Westkleinasien (Milet, Ephesos, Erythrai, Klazomenai, Smyrna, Phokaia und Daskyleion). Die Buchstaben A-H bezeichnen die erfaßten Herkunftsgruppen archaischer ostgriechischer Keramik (A und D = Milet; B/C, E, F = nordionisches Festland; G = Äolis; H = Ephesos, I = Südionien; J = südlisches oder mittleres Ionien).

besonders im zentralen und westlichen Mittelmeerraum.[25] Die späte nordionische Tierfrieskeramik des sogenannten „Late Wild Goat style", die im frühen 6. Jh. auch außerhalb der Ostägäis weite Verbreitung fand (so etwa in Sizilien),[26] würde man allerdings eher erwar-

---

Etruria', in *Les Ceramiques de la Grèce de l'Est* (Paris and Naples, 1978), 157–160. 191f.; Boldrini, *Le ceramiche ioniche*, 90f. 105–114 (Die relativ große Anzahl von Fikelluragefäßen in Gravisca bildet eine Ausnahme); Kerschner in *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer*, 487f. Die von Cabrera Bonet, 'El comercio foceo en Huelva', 58—zurückgehend auf Dupont, *Dacia* 27 (1983) 40—formulierte Hypothese einer Krise in der Töpferproduktion Milets während der 1. Hälfte des 6. Jhs. v. Chr., läßt sich nun anhand der Stratigraphie der neuen Grabungen am Kalabaktepe in Milet durch den Fund einer Reihe von Stücken, die Tierfries- und Fikelluraelemente auf ein und demselben Gefäß verbinden, widerlegen: U. Schlotzhauer, 'Zum Verhältnis zwischen dem sog. Tierfries- und Fikellurastil in Milet', in J. Cobet, V. v. Graeve, W.-D. Niemeier, K. Zimmermann, ed., *Frühes Ionien: Eine Bestandsaufnahme, Akten des Symposions am Panionion*, Güzelçamlı 1999 (Milesische Forschungen 4), (in Druck).

[26] Ch. Dehl-von Kaenel, *Die archaische Keramik aus dem Malophoros-Heiligtum in Selinunt.*



Attika	11	11
Korinth	8	8
Lakonien	4	4
Massalia	11	11
Samos	33	1
Milet	6	1
Chios	2	2
Äolis/Phokaia	29	0
Nordionien	18	1
Südionien	1	9
Südionien/Mittelionien	0	2
Südionien/Mittelionien	0	31
Ionien	34	0
Ostgriechisch	0	6
Ostgriechisch	0	68
unbestimmt	1	3
Gesamtanzahl der Gefäße	158	158

Abb. 2: Die frühgriechischen Keramikfunde aus Huelva (Phase II = 590/80–560 v. Chr.). Vorschlag einer Neuklassifikation nach Herkunftsregionen.

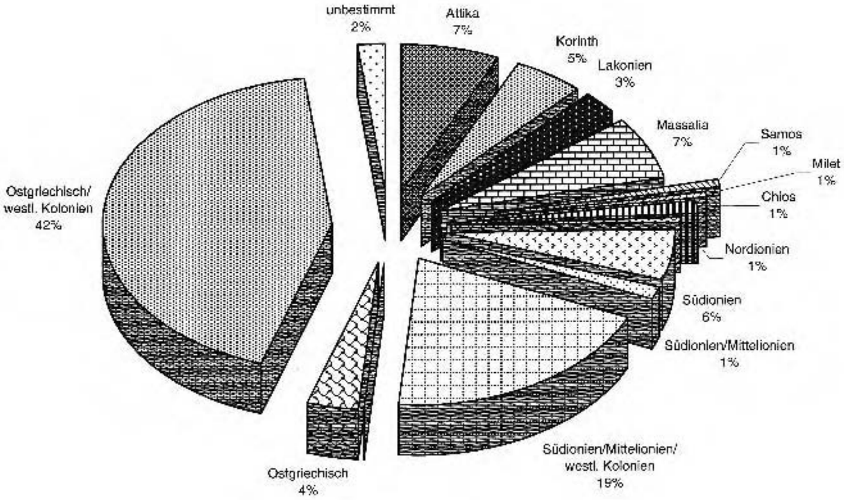


Abb. 3: Die frühgriechischen Keramikfunde aus Huelva (Phase II = 590/80–560 v. Chr.). Klassifikation nach Herkunftsregionen gemäß Cabrera 1989.

ten, zumal in einem Gebiet, das nach der gängigen Forschungsmeinung vom „comercio foceo" beherrscht wurde. Denn von den phokäischen Kaufleuten nimmt man im allgemeinen an, daß sie die Keramik aus ihrer Heimatstadt und den benachbarten nordionischen und äolischen Poleis transportierten.[27] Die bemalte Feinkeramik, die man in Huelva fand—und davon gibt es eine Reihe ganz exquisiter Stücke—stammt jedoch zum größten Teil aus Athen, daneben auch aus Lakonien und Korinth. Wieso, mag man sich fragen, brachten die—mutmaßlichen—phokäischen Händler zwar große Mengen an Alltagskeramik aus ihrer Heimatregion mit, jedoch keine Feinkeramik? Das Tafelgeschirr, das sich in Huelva fand, hätten die Phokäer, so wurde vermutet, an verschiedenen Stationen auf ihrer Fahrt nach Tartessos zugeladen.[28] Die extreme Seltenheit ostgriechischer Luxus-

Die korinthischen lakonischen, ostgriechischen, etruskischen und megarischen Importe sowie die 'argivisch-monochrome' und lokale Keramik aus den alten Grabungen (Berlin, 1995), 342–395; M. Kerschner, 'Die bemalte ostgriechische Keramik auf Sizilien und ihr Zeugniswert für den archaischen Handel', in *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer*, 487–491.

[27] Cabrera Bonet, 'El comercio foceo en Huelva', 62; R. Olmos, 'Los griegos en Tartessos: una nueva contrastación entre las fuentes arqueológicas y las literarias' in M.E. Aubet Semmler, ed., *Tartessos. Arqueología protohistórica del Bajo Guadalquivir*, 500.

[28] Vermutungen über die Orte, wo die phokäischen Schiffe fremde Keramik zuge-

gefäße ist auf der gesamten iberischen Halbinsel festzustellen. Nur zwei Beispiele figürlich bemalter ostgriechischer Feinkeramik sind bisher aus Südspanien bekannt: ein Randfragment eines Kessels der äolischen „London Dinos group" aus Málaga[29] und eine Wandscherbe vermutlich nordionischer Provenienz mit dem Rest einer menschlichen Figur aus dem iberischen Heiligtum Santuario de la Luz.[30]

Der bei weitem überwiegende Teil der ostgriechischen Keramikfunde aus Huelva gehört typologisch zwei Gruppen an: den Knickrandschalen und der reifenverzierten Alltagskeramik.[31] Gerade diese beiden Gattungen aber lassen sich besonders schwer lokalisieren. Die Knickrandschale ist die charakteristische Trinkschale im südlichen und mittleren Ionien,[32] während sie im nördlichen Teil dieser Landschaft nur in seltenen Exemplaren zu finden ist, die meist aus Südionien importiert wurden.[33] Für P. Cabrera galt, der ursprünglichen Meinung P. Duponts[34] folgend, Samos als Heimat der „copas 'jonias' de gran

---

laden haben könnten, finden sich bei Cabrera Bonet, 'El comercio foceo en Huelva', 56–58. 60.

[29] J.M. Gran-Aymerich, 'Cerámicas griegas y etruscas de Málaga. Excavciones de 1980 a 1986', *Archivo español de arqueología* 61, 1988, 209 Abb. 9,1; Olmos, 'Los griegos en Tartessos', 509. 521 Abb. 7. Zur 'London Dinos group' vgl. Ch. Kardara, *Rhodiaki Aggeiographia* (Athen, 1963), 271–276 ('ergastirion dinou'); E. Walter-Karydi, 'Äolische Kunst' in *Studien zur griechischen Vasenmalerei, 7. Beiheft zur Halbjahresschrift Antike Kunst* (Bern, 1970), 3–6 Taf. 1–4 (Gruppe um den Basler Dinos); R.M. Cook, P. Dupont, *East Greek Pottery* (London, 1998), 60f. Abb. 8.23; Akurgal, Kerschner, Niemeier, Mommsen, *Töpferzentren der Ostägäis*, 87–90 Abb. 40.55: zwei analysierte Stücke gehören der äolischen Herkunftsgruppe G an, vgl. Abb. 1.

[30] P. Rouillard, 'Un vase archaïque de Ionie du Nord a La Luz (Murcie, Espagne)', *Anales de prehistoria y arqueología. Universidad de Murcia* 11–12 (1995–1996) 91–94.

[31] Cabrera, Olmos, *Madrider Mitteilungen* 26 (1985) 69; Cabrera Bonet, 'El comercio foceo en Huelva'.

[32] Vgl. Schlotzhauer, 'Die südionischen Knickrandschalen'. Die dort vorgestellte Typologie ersetzt die mittlerweile fast ein halbes Jahrhundert alte von F. Villard, G. Vallet, 'Megara Hyblaea V. Lampes du VII[e] siècle et chronologie des coupes ioniennes', *MEFRA* 67, 1955, 7–34.

[33] Zur Seltenheit im nordionischen Klazomenai: Ersoy, *Clazomenae*, 380. Ein im nordionischen Tierfriesstil bemaltes Stück aus Smyrna – P. Dupont, 'Trafics méditerranéens archaïques: quelques aspects', in *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer*, 452 Abb. 317—bleibt eine Ausnahme. Für die von P. Cabrera vorgeschlagene Lokalisierung der Knickrandschalen: Cabrera Bonet, 'El comercio foceo en Huelva', 62. 84 Nr. 62–67 Abb. 4 in 'Jonia Norte' bzw. von Cabrera Bonet, 'El comercio foceo en Huelva', 61. 84 Nr. 76–78 Abb. 5 in 'Eolia/Focea' gibt es keinen Anhaltspunkt. Sie entsprechen geläufigen südionischen Typen.

[34] Dupont, 'Classification et détermination de provenance des céramiques grecques orientales archaïques d'Istros. Rapport préliminaire', *Dacia* 27 (1983), 33f. 40.

difusión".[35] Dupont revidierte jedoch jüngst diese Interpretation seiner Analysedaten: „En réalité, rien ne permet de conclure formellement pour l'instant à l'origine samienne des coupes ioniennes fines de grande série".[36] Neue archäometrische Keramikanalysen und archäologische Untersuchungen in der Ostägäis machen klar, daß es mehrere Produktionszentren von Knickrandschalen im mittleren und südlichen Ionien gab, von denen neben Samos auch Ephesos und vor allem Milet zu den bedeutendsten zählten.[37] Hinzu kommt, daß einige der in Huelva vertretenen Typen von Knickrandschalen auch in den westlichen Kolonien produziert wurden, so daß man nicht einmal mit Sicherheit von ostgriechischer Provenienz ausgehen kann.[38] F. Villard erkannte dieses Problem, das eine wesentliche Verringerung des bisher als ostgriechisch eingestuften Anteiles der Keramik in westmediterranen Fundplätzen zur Konsequenz hat, am Beispiel von Massalia: „Ainsi, les coupes authentiquement ioniennes de la fin du VII^{e} et de la première moitié du VI^{e} s. apparaissent désormais, à Marseille comme sur beaucoup d'autres sites occidentaux, très minoritaires par rapport aux coupes 'pseudo-ioniennes': l'origine de ces dernières reste à préciser".[39] Nur systematische archäometrische Untersuchungen können in diesem Fall zu einer präziseren Bestimmung der Provenienz führen. Als kolonialgriechische Erzeugnisse identifizierte P. Cabrera die Importe aus Massalia (Abb. 2–3), deren Scherbentyp („céramiques à pâte claire massaliètes") und technische Charakteristika durch die Arbeiten von F. Villard und anderer in Marseille tätiger

---

[35] Cabrera Bonet, 'El comercio foceo en Huelva', 59 Nr. 37–61 Abb. 4.

[36] Dupont, 'Trafics méditerranéens archaïques', 451f. Nicht folgen kann ich allerdings der dort geäußerten Hypothese, das 'centre "primordial" à l'origine de la diffusion généralisée des coupes ioniennes fines' liege im 'l'aire septentrionale de la Grèce de l'Est'.

[37] Schlotzhauer, 'Die südionischen Knickrandschalen' (Milet; eine Analyseserie von U. Schlotzhauer und Ü. Yalçın, die die Produktion einer Reihe von Typen der Knickrandschalen in Milet nachweist, ist noch unpubliziert); Kerschner, 'Ein stratifizierter Opferkomplex des 7. Jh.s v. Chr', 213 Abb. 43 (Ephesos); Akurgal, Kerschner, Mommsen, Niemeier, *Töpferzentren der Ostägäis* 51, Nr. 68, Taf. 5 (unbekannte mittel/südionisches Zentrum); 38 Nr. 97 Abb. 63 (Milet). Mehrere südionische Produktionsstätten nimmt bereits Dupont, *Dacia* 27 (1983), 40 an.

[38] Vgl. oben Anm. 22 sowie F. Villard in *Les céramiques de la Grèce de l'Est* (Naples, 1978), 324f. (Diskussionsbeitrag); D. Adamesteanu, in *Les céramiques de la Grèce de l'Est*, 314f. (Diskussionsbeitrag); Villard, 'La céramique archaïque de Marseille' (1992), 166; Boldrini, *Le ceramiche ioniche*, 221–234.

[39] Villard, 'La céramique archaïque de Marseille', 166.

Archäologen gut erforscht ist.[40] Der sicher nach Samos zuweisbare Anteil unter den Funden aus Huelva sinkt durch die inzwischen erkannte größere Zahl von Herkunftsmöglichkeiten der Knickrandschalen beträchtlich (Abb. 2–3),[41] denn die meisten der von Cabrera als samisch klassifizierten Gefäße sind Vertreter eben dieser Gattung.

Bei der zweiten Hauptgruppe ostgriechischer Keramik in Huelva, der mit einfachen Linienmustern verzierten Alltagskeramik (meist „Reifenware" oder „Wellenbandkeramik" genannt), liegt der Fall ähnlich. Typologisch lassen sich diese Gefäße keinem bestimmten Herkunftsort zuordnen, da reifenbemaltes Haushalts- und Vorratsgeschirr in der gesamten Ostägäis verbreitet war, entsprechende Untersuchungen zu den Produktionen der einzelnen Töpferzentren aber fehlen. Erschwerend kommt bei der Klassifizierung nach Gefäßform und Dekorsystemen noch der stark fragmentierte Erhaltungszustand der Stücke aus Huelva hinzu. So wie die zuvor besprochenen Knickrandschalen wurde „Reifenware" ebenso in den griechischen Kolonien des zentralen und westlichen Mittelmeerbereiches in großem Umfang hergestellt.[42] P. Cabrera konnte auch hier Importe aus Massalia identifizieren,[43] doch ist damit vermutlich nur die Spitze des Eisberges an kolonialgriechischer „Reifenware" erkannt. Wiederum kann ohne archäometrische Untersuchungen keine nähere Zuordnung dieser Gefäßgruppe[44] getroffen werden, was ein Blick auf die Graphiken Abb. 2 und Abb. 3 verdeutlicht. Viele Fragmente, die P. Cabrera bestimmten Töpferzentren oder Regionen wie Samos, Milet, Äolis/Phokaia oder Nordionien zuzuordnen versuchte, können nach heutigem Forschungsstand nur ganz allgemein im Verbreitungsgebiet von

---

[40] Cabrera Bonet, 'El comercio foceo en Huelva', 63. 84 Nr. 79–87 Abb. 5. Vgl. Villard, *La céramique grecque de Marseille*, 58–68; J.C. Sourisseau 'Céramiques à pâte claire massaliètes'.

[41] Die Knickrandschalen fallen bei Cabrera Bonet, 'El comercio foceo en Huelva',—hier Abb. 2—vor allem unter Samos, wo sie einen Großteil des Segmentes ausmachen, daneben unter Nordionien, Ionien und Äolis/Phokaia. Bei der Abb. 3 finden sich die Knickrandschalen in den Segmenten Südionien, Südionien/Mittelionien und Südionien/Mittelionien/westl. Kolonien.

[42] In Massalia wird der Fortschritt der Forschung auf diesem Gebiet besonders deutlich: Galten für Villard, *La céramique grecque de Marseille*, 43–49. 54f. reifenbemalte Gefäße noch entweder als samisch oder phokäisch, so hat man inzwischen erkannt, daß es sich dabei fast ausschließlich um lokale bzw. regionale Erzeugnisse handelt: Sourisseau 'Céramiques à pâte claire massaliètes', 28. Zur vergleichbaren Situation in Elea s. Gassner, *Materielle Kultur und kulturelle Identität Eleas*, 75f. 94–96.

[43] Cabrera Bonet, 'El comercio foceo en Huelva', 63. 85 Nr. 99–100 Abb. 6.

[44] Zu archäometrisch nachgewiesenen Produktionen in Milet und Ephesos: Akurgal, Kerschner, Mommsen, Niemeier, *Töpferzentren der Ostägäis* 38.48 Abb. 59 Taf. 4–5.

Keramik ostgriechischen Typs angesiedelt werden, zudem sowohl die Ostägäis als auch der kolonialgriechische Bereich zählen.

Cabreras Vorschlag, in einer bestimmten, durch den gemeinsamen Scherbentyp definierten Warengruppe von reifenverzierter Alltagskeramik Importe aus „Eolia/Focea“ zu sehen (Abb. 2), kann methodisch nicht überzeugen.[45] Eindeutige Parallelen aus Phokaia selbst sind, wie noch zu zeigen sein wird, nicht bekannt. Die Bemalung zweier Amphoren aus dieser Gruppe mit konzentrischen Kreisen[46] kann nicht als Hinweis auf eine Herkunft aus dem nordionisch-äolischen Raum gewertet werden.[47] Hingegen finden sich gute Vergleiche für die Bemalung in der massaliotischen Keramik des 6. Jhs. v. Chr.[48] Cabreras Hauptargument für die Lokalisierung ihrer Gruppe „Eolia/Focea“ ist die Prämisse, daß sich die aus der antiken Überlieferung abgeleitete Vorstellung von einer „talasocracia focea“[49] im Vorherrschen phokäischer Keramik ausdrücken müsse: „siendo como es el grupo más numeroso . . . de las importaciones de Grecia del Este en Huelva, nos perguntamos si no estaremos frente a una producción de la misma Focea“.[50] Vom Standpunkt der Archäologie jedoch gibt es keinen positiven Hinweis für eine Lokalisierung dieser Warengruppe in Phokaia oder der Äolis. Vielmehr haben die archäometrischen Untersuchungen sowohl von P. Dupont als auch von H. Mommsen und mir gezeigt, daß mit keiner bedeutenden Keramikproduktion während der archaischen Epoche in Phokaia zu rechnen ist.[51]

---

[45] Cabrera Bonet, ‘El comercio foceo en Huelva’, 61f. Abb. 5 Nr. 76–78; Abb. 6 Nr. 103. 107–108. 110–111. 113–115; Abb. 7 Nr. 125; Abb. 8 Nr. 137–144; Abb. 9 Nr. 149. 153–158. 159. 162; Abb. 12 Nr. 208–212. 220; Abb. 13 Nr. 233–236. 242–243. 245–247. 250. 252–256 (Lokalisierung: ‘Eolia/Focea’).

[46] Cabrera Bonet, ‘El comercio foceo en Huelva’, 62 Nr. 137–138 Abb. 8.

[47] Eine von Cabrera Bonet, ‘El comercio foceo en Huelva’, 62 vorgeschlagene Verbindung zur sogenannten ‘G 2–3 Ware’, die übrigens nicht im äolischen oder nordionischen Festland heimisch ist, sondern in den nordwestlich angrenzenden Regionen, kann nicht aufrechterhalten werden. Vgl. zu dieser Gattung: P. Bernard, ‘Céramique de la première moitié du VII^e siècle à Thasos’, *BCH* 88 (1964) 88–105; S. McMuller Fisher, ‘Troian ‘G 2/3 Ware’ revisited, Studia Troica 6. Mainz: Ph. von Zabern, 1996, 119–132; Cook, Dupont, *East Greek Pottery*, 1998, 25 m. Anm. 19.

[48] Villard, *La céramique grecque de Marseille*, 62 Taf. 30,2; 30,5.

[49] Olmos, ‘Los griegos en Tartessos’, 500.

[50] Cabrera Bonet, ‘El comercio foceo en Huelva’, 62.

[51] Dupont, ‘Classification et détermination de provenance des céramiques grecques’, 22f.; Akurgal, Kerschner, Mommsen, Niemeier, *Töpferzentren der Ostägäis* 89f. Dieses Ergebnis wurde mittlerweile durch umfangreichere archäometrische Analysen bestätigt.

Was für die reifenbemalte Gebrauchskeramik gilt, trifft auch auf die sogenannte „Graue Ware" zu. Gefäße mit grauem Scherben, die man im vermuteten Einflußbereich des „comercio foceo" fand, wurden früher allgemein als phokäische Erzeugnisse und damit als Belege für die Präsenz phokäischer Händler angesehen.[52] „Graue Ware" jedoch ist keine regional auf die Äolis begrenzte Gattung, sondern das Produkt einer bestimmter Töpfertechnik, die sowohl in der Ostägäis[53] als auch im westmediterranen Raum[54] und auch darüberhinaus weit verbreitet war. Wie im Falle von Knickrandschalen und reifenbemalter Alltagskeramik sind sichere Aussagen über die Herkunft auch bei der Grauen Ware nur durch archäometrische Analysereihen möglich.[55] Der Vergleich von Beschreibungen des Scherbentyps[56] reicht für eine Zuordnung nicht aus. Damit aber können die wenigen Beispiele von Grauer Ware aus Huelva nicht mehr mit Gewißheit als „bucchero eolio" angesprochen werden und ebensowenig als Belege

[52] Z. B. Villard, *La céramique grecque de Marseille*, 51–53. 55; E. Langlotz, *Die kulturelle und künstlerische Hellenisierung der Küsten des Mittelmeeres durch die Stadt Phokaia* (Köln, 1966), 34. 36; Cabrera – Olmos, *Madrider Mitteilungen* 26 (1985), 64f.; N. Bayne, *The Grey Wares of North-West Anatolia in the Middle and Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age and their Relation to the Early Greek Settlements* (Bonn, 2000), 185.

[53] Äolis: W. Lamb. 'Grey Wares from Lesbos', *JHS* 52, 1932, 1–12 Taf. 1; J. Boehlau – K. Schefold, *Die Kleinfunde, Larisa am Hermos. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1902–1934 III* (Berlin, 1942), 99–128 Taf. 44–48; J. Gebauer, 'Verschiedene Graue Waren', in Ü. Serdaroğlu – R. Stupperich, eds., *Ausgrabungen in Assos 1991, Asia Minor Studien* 10 (Bonn, 1993), 73–100 Taf. 18 (mit Literatur); M. Frasca, 'Osservazioni preliminari sulla ceramica protoarcaica ed arcaica di Kyme eolida', in *Studi su Kyme eolica* (1993) 52f. Abb. 2–7; Bayne, *The Grey Wares of North-West Anatolia.* Ionien: Furtwängler *Heraion von Samos,* 174 Abb. 23 (Samos); V. von Graeve, 'Grabung auf dem Kalabaktepe', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 37 (1987) 28 Nr. 71–72 Taf. 17; Schlotzhauer, 'Die südionischen Knickrandschalen', 412 (Milet); Kerschner, 'Ein stratifizierter Opferkomplex', 209f. Abb. 19 Taf. 2,8; 4,21; 13,103; 17,134 (Ephesos). Zur Problematik des 'Bucchero ionico' mit ausführlicher Literatur: Boldrini, Le ceramiche ioniche, 75–79. Lydien: N.H. Ramage, 'Pactolus Cliff: An Iron Age Site at Sardis and its Pottery', in A. Çilingiroğlu, D.H. French, ed., *Anatolian Iron Ages 3, The Proceedings of the Third Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium* (Ankara, 1994), 173 Taf. 15.3.

[54] A. Nickels, 'Contribution à l'étude de la céramique grise archaïque en Languedoc-Roussillon', in *Les céramiques de la Grèce de l'Est*, 248–267 Taf. 114–118; C. Arcelin-Pradelle, La céramique grise monochrome en Provence, *Supplement à Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 10 (Paris, 1984); Villard 'La céramique archaïque de Marseille', 164; Villard 'Céramiques à pâte claire massaliètes', 30.

[55] Archäometrische Untersuchungen zur äolischen Grauen Ware werden von D. Hertel (München) und H. Mommsen (Bonn) durchgeführt: H. Mommsen, D. Hertel, P.A. Mountjoy, 'Neutron activation analysis of the pottery from Troy in the Berlin Schliemann collection', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (2001, 199f. Abb. 45–60).

[56] Cabrera, Olmos, *Madrider Mitteilungen* 26 (1985) 65 m. Anm. 18.

für Handelskontakte mit der Region um Phokaia gelten.[57] Die Erkenntnisse aus den Untersuchungen in Massalia und anderen Verbreitungsgebieten der Grauen Ware in Südfrankreich mahnen auch hier zur Vorsicht: „Longtemps considérées comme des productions orientales, les céramiques grises à décor ondé retrouvées à Marseille sont en fait des fabrications massaliètes et régionales“.[58]

Insgesamt ergab die neuerliche Betrachtung der Keramikfunde aus Huelva im Lichte jüngster Forschungen aus der Ostägäis und dem zentralen Mittelmeerraum, daß viele der Herkunftszuweisungen in dieser Form heute nicht mehr aufrechterhalten werden können (Abb. 2–3). Es sind nun eingehende Vergleiche mit den neuveröffentlichten Keramikfunden aus ostägäischen Töpferzentren und vor allem archäometrische Analyseserien notwendig, um zu genauen Lokalisierungen zu kommen, die dann als archäologische Grundlage für eine Neubewertung des „comercio foceo“ nach seiner „fisionomía“ dienen könnten, wie sie P. Cabrera Bonet im Jahr 1989 versuchte. Beim heutigen Stand der Forschung kann in den südspanischen Keramikfunden nicht länger eine materielle Bestätigung (einer bestimmten Interpretation) der herodoteischen Überlieferung zu den Phokäern und Tartessos gesehen werden, wie sie R. Olmos in einer ersten Reaktion nach der Entdeckung formulierte: „la existencia de una facies ‘norjonia-eolia’, junto a otro bloque de materiales samios—es lógico pensar en la vericidad de las fuentes herodoteas“.[59] Denn wie die Neubewertung der archäologischen Evidenz gezeigt hat, sind keine bedeutenden Anteile von Importen aus Samos oder Äolis/Phokaia in Huelva nachweisbar (Abb. 2–3). Stattdessen muß mit einem hohen Anteil kolonialgriechischer Waren gerechnet werden, so daß vermutlich auch für Huelva gilt, was die Archäologen in Massalia feststellen konnten: „. . . la part des importations de la Grèce de l’Est tend à se réduire très sensiblement“.[60] So stellt sich sogar die Frage, ob

---

[57] Cabrera Bonet, ‘El comercio foceo en Huelva’, 51. 84 Nr. 5–7 Abb. 1; P. Cabrera, ‘Los primeros viajes al Extremo Occidente: Tartessos y la fundación de Ampurias’ in *Los Griegos en España*, 77; Aranegui Gascó, ed., *Argantonio* 2000, 231 Nr. 48.

[58] Sourrisseau ‘Céramiques à pâte claire massaliètes’, 30. Vgl. Villard ‘La céramique archaïque de Marseille’ 164: ‘. . . le bucchero gris est desormais presque inexistant en tant qu’importation.’

[59] Olmos, ‘Los griegos en Tartessos’, 500. Vgl. Cabrera, Olmos, *Madrider Mitteilungen* 26 (1985) 61.

[60] Villard, ‘La céramique archaïque de Marseille’, 164.

nicht im 6. Jh. v. Chr. der kolonialgriechische Handel mit Tartessos den phokäischen an Volumen deutlich übertraf. Jedenfalls bestätigt sich, was H.G. Niemeyer bereits 1990 aussprach: „Hätten wir nicht die von Herodot (und anderen) überlieferte Nachricht über den phokäischen Fernhandel bis nach Tartessos . . ., nichts, aber auch garnichts würde uns einen Hinweis in diese Richtung geben . . .“[61]

Nach der Analyse der archäologischen Zeugnisse ist es nun an der Zeit, die historische Überlieferung näher zu betrachten. Nach Aussage der erhaltenen Erwähnungen bei antiken Autoren war Phokaia eine treibende Kraft bei der Erschließung des westlichen Mittelmeeres für den Handel der Griechen. Kronzeuge ist Herodot (I 163), der berichtet, die Phokäer wären „die ersten Griechen, die weite Seefahrten unternahmen und so die Adria, Etrurien, Iberien und Tartessos entdeckten“, worauf er die anekdotenhafte Episode von ihren freundschaftlichen Beziehungen mit dem tartessischen König Arganthonios anschließt.[62] Mehrere antike Autoren erwähnen phokäische Kolonien: Massalia, Elea, Emporion sowie einige archäologisch nicht faßbare Niederlassungen an der spanischen Mittelmeerküste.[63]

Auf der Grundlage der antiken Überlieferung wurde ungeachtet der Spärlichkeit der Quellen und mancher Unstimmigkeiten unter ihnen die „Vorstellung von der dominierenden Rolle der Phokäer als Kolonisatoren und Kulturträger im fernen Westen des Mittelmeerraumes“ entwickelt.[64] Die Ausschnitthaftigkeit der kurzen Nachricht bei Herodot führte überraschenderweise zu keiner kritischen Hinterfragung dieser einzigen konkreten Quelle zu den phokäischen Verbindungen mit Tartessos.[65] Dabei ist kaum anzunehmen, daß sie den

---

[61] Niemeyer, ‘Die Griechen und die iberische Halbinsel’, 291.

[62] Herodot 1.163 (Übersetzung J. Feix).

[63] Zusammenfassend: F. Bilabel, *Die ionische Kolonisation. Untersuchungen über die Gründungen der Ionier, deren staatliche und kultliche Organisation und Beziehungen zu den Mutterstädten* (Leipzig, 1920), 238–243; Niemeyer, ‘Die Griechen und die iberische Halbinsel’, 274–280 (mit Literatur). Zu den nicht lokalisierbaren Kolonien: H.G. Niemeyer, ‘Auf der Suche nach Mainake: der Konflikt zwischen literarischer und archäologischer Überlieferung’, *Historia* 29 (1980) 165–189. Auffällig ist, daß Herodot selbst nur von den Gründungen Elea und Alalia spricht.

[64] Niemeyer, ‘Die Griechen und die iberische Halbinsel’, 270. Zur Forschungsgeschichte über die Phokäer auf der iberischen Halbinsel: J.-P. Morel, ‘Les Phocéens en occident: certitudes et hypothèses’, *PP* 108–110 (1966) 390–392; T. Chapa Brunet, *La Escultura Ibérica zoomorfa* (Madrid, 1985), 11–23 (mit Literatur); Olmos, ‘Los griegos en Tartessos’, 495–500; Niemeyer, ‘Die Griechen und die iberische Halbinsel’, 269–274.

[65] Zu weiteren meist kurzen Erwähnungen von Tartessos in der antiken Literatur, die häufig legendäre Züge tragen: Olmos, ‘Los griegos en Tartessos’, 503–512.

frühen griechischen Iberienhandel in seiner Gesamtheit und der zu vermutenden Komplexität widerspiegelt. Denn es war nicht Herodots Absicht, einen Überblick über die Entwicklung der griechischen Beziehungen zum äußersten Westen Europas zu geben, und ebensowenig schrieb er eine Geschichte von Tartessos. Es ging ihm vielmehr um eine bewegende Schilderung der Bedrängnis der Ionier durch die Perser, der Eroberung Phokaias und des weiteren Geschickes ihrer Bewohner. Herodot schiebt die Tartessos-Episode in seine Erzählung ein, um die Entstehung der phokäischen Stadtmauer zu erklären, die bei der Belagerung durch Harpagos eine wichtige Rolle spielt.[66] Dabei schwingt jedoch die Absicht des Autors mit, die Bedeutung und Blüte dieser ionischen Polis vor der persischen Unterwerfung hervorzuheben. Die Errungenschaften des „freien Ioniertums" sind als Kontrapunkt dem Bild vom fatalen „persischen Joch" gegenübergestellt.[67] Die Entdeckung des sagenumwobenen Reiches von Tartessos am anderen Ende der den Griechen bekannten Welt ist als besonderer Glanzpunkt unter den Taten der Ionier in die Erzählung eingeflochten. Dabei fließen Übertreibungen ein wie das mythische Alter des Königs Arganthonios und wohl auch die Aufforderung an die Phokäer, nach Tartessos überzusiedeln.[68]

Es ist bemerkenswert, wie einhellig und ungebrochen sich in der Forschung das Bild von einer phokäischen Vorherrschaft im griechischen Handel mit Tartessos etablieren konnte, obwohl Herodot von einer solchen nirgendwo spricht, sondern nur von einer zeitlichen Priorität der Phokäer unter den Griechen. Und selbst dieser Punkt ist unklar, denn an anderer Stelle (IV 152) schreibt Herodot, der Samier Kolaios habe, als er von der vorgesehenen Route abgetrieben und durch Zufall an die atlantische Küste Iberiens verschlagen worden war, Tartessos als „ἐμπόριον ἀκήρατον" vorgefunden—als einen „den Griechen unbekannten Handelsplatz", der nur von den Phöniziern eingerichtet worden sein kann.[69] Dieser Widerspruch in

---

66 Herodot 1.164 beendet den Exkurs mit dem Satz: 'So waren die Phokaier zu ihrer Stadtmauer gekommen.' (Übersetzung J. Feix).

67 Explizit ausgedrückt im folgenden Abschnitt Herodot 1.164: 'Aber die Phokaier haßten die Knechtschaft ingrimmig' (Übersetzung J. Feix).

68 Der Gedanke, durch Auswanderung der persischen Herrschaft zu entgehen, findet sich mehrmals bei Herodot. Als Rat an die Ionier wird er außer Arganthonios auch dem Bias von Priene zugeschrieben (Hdt. 1.170).

69 B. Freyer-Schauenburg, 'Kolaios und die Westphönizischen Elfenbeine', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 7 (1966) 91 mit Diskussion der Übersetzung.

unserem einzigen expliziten Zeugnis für den Tartessos-Handel der Phokäer wird von den meisten Altertumswissenschaftlern durch die Annahme eines Wesensunterschiedes zwischen den samischen und phokäischen Iberienfahrten erklärt, sodaß beide Angaben bei Herodot ihre Berechtigung hätten: Die Fahrt des Kolaios sei eine Einzelepisode, aus der sich kein regelmäßiger Handel zwischen Samos und Tartessos entwickelt habe.[70] Um einen solchen handle es sich nur beim phokäischen Iberienhandel, der allgemein als konkurrenzlos dargestellt wird, obgleich keine Quelle dies ausspricht. Es handelt sich bei dieser Forschungshypothese um eine indirekte Ableitung aus der Arganthonios-Episode bei Herodot (I 163), die aber offenkundig starke legendäre Züge trägt. Den meisten antiken Autoren galt Arganthonios vor allem als Inbegriff eines „biblisch“ hohen Lebensalters, und zwar schon vor Herodot.[71] Seine von Herodot überlieferte Freundschaft und Bewunderung für die Griechen (προσφιλέες οἱ Φωκαιέες)[72] steht in eigenartigem Widerspruch zur archäologischen Evidenz, wie B. Shefton hervorhob: die tartessische Kultur zeigt nämlich keine Anzeichen einer Hellenisierung, sondern orientiert sich an phönizischen Traditionen.[73] Dies gilt gerade für die Selbstdarstellung der tartessischen Elite, mit denen der phokäische Handel stattgefunden haben soll.[74]

---

[70] Z. B. W. How, J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* I³ (Oxford, 1936), 127; Freyer-Schauenburg, ‘Kolaios und die Westphönizischen Elfenbeine’, 91f.; Shefton, ‘Greeks and Greek Imports in the South of the Iberian Peninsula, 343f.: ‘So far there is nothing in the Far West which can be claimed to be connected with Kolaios’ visit. Nor would we expect to find any evidence for an isolated visit.” Olmos, ‘Los griegos en Tartessos’, 500f. 507; Rouillard *Les Grecs de la peninsule Iberique*, 97f.; M. Tiverios, ‘Hallazgos tartésicos en el Hereo de Samos’, in Cabrera Bonet, Sánchez Fernández, *Los Griegos en España*, 63.

[71] Anacreon, fr. 8D erwähnt einen König von Tartessos, der 150 Jahre lang regierte; dieser wird von Strabon (3.51) und Plinius (*NH* 7.154) mit Arganthonios identifiziert. Die literarischen Quellen zu Arganthonios sind zusammengestellt bei: F. Cauer, ‘Arganthonios’, in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* II (Stuttgart, 1896), 686; weiters: A. Schulten, *Tartessos. Ein Beitrag zur ältesten Geschichte des Westens*² (Hamburg, 1950), 54; Olmos, ‘Los griegos en Tartessos’, 510f. (mit Literatur).

[72] Hdt. 1.163.3.

[73] B.B. Shefton, ‘Greeks and Greek Imports in the South of the Iberian Peninsula. The archaeological evidence’, in *Phönizier im Westen*, 363f.; Shefton, *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 22 (1989) 212: ‘Tartessos despite king Arganthonios never took to the Greeks.’ Zur Frage vereinzelter hellenisierender Tendenzen in der tartessischen Keramik: T.G. Schattner, ‘Ostgriechisches in der ‚tartessischen’ Keramik’, in *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer*, 435–440.

[74] M.E. Aubet Semmler, ‘Zur Problematik des orientalisierenden Horizontes auf der Iberischen Halbinsel’, in *Symposium Köln* 1982, 309–335.

Aus Herodots „Historien" geht nicht hervor, ob—entgegen der verbreiteten Forschungsmeinung—die erfolgreiche Entdeckungsfahrt des Kolaios nicht doch Nachahmer unter seinen samischen Landsleuten fand. Dies scheint mir durchaus wahrscheinlich, denn der Reichtum, den sich der samische Kapitän durch seine ruhmreiche Iberienfahrt erwarb, war noch über ein Jahrhundert später sprichwörtlich und wurde jedem Besucher des Heraheiligtums von Samos durch die aufwendigen Weihungen des Kolaios eindrucksvoll ins Gedächtnis gerufen.[75] Angesichts der seefahrerischen Unternehmungen der Samier, die Kolonien gründeten und im ägyptischen Emporion von Naukratis ein eigenes Heraheiligtum besaßen, fragt man sich, weshalb ausgerechnet sie im Unterschied zu den Phokäern „trotz des Gewinnes diese gefahrvolle weite Fahrt nicht allzu oft wiederholt haben" sollten?[76] Für B. Freyer-Schauenburg war dies jedenfalls Anlaß, vier im Heraion von Samos gefundene Elfenbeinkämme westphönizischer Provenienz direkt mit der überlieferten Fahrt des Kolaios zu verbinden.[77] Könnte man in ihnen nicht genausogut Dankesvotive von mehreren Tartessosfahrern und damit archäologische Zeugnisse für einen sich etablierenden samischen Iberienhandel sehen?[78] Ebenso denkbar ist die Erklärung von P. Cabrera und R. Olmos, die die Schmuckstücke als Weihungen von Phöniziern interpretierten.[79] Bezogen auf den Widerspruch bei Herodot scheint mir daher das Erklärungsmodell von U. Täckholm am plausibelsten, wonach der Historiker zwei voneinander abweichende lokale Versionen von der Entdeckungsfahrt

[75] Herodot 4.152.

[76] Freyer-Schauenburg, 'Kolaios und die Westphönizischen Elfenbeine', 92.

[77] Freyer-Schauenburg, 'Kolaios und die Westphönizischen Elfenbeine', 99. Ebenso M. Tiverios, 'Hallazgos tartésicos en el Hereo de Samos' in Cabrera Bonet, Sánchez Fernández, *Los Griegos en España*, 57f.

[78] Freyer-Schauenburg, 'Kolaios und die Westphönizischen Elfenbeine', 100 räumt ein, daß einer der Kämme ihrer Meinung nach 'theoretisch einer späteren Expedition samischer Kaufleute verdankt werden' könne. Ihre Argumentation beruht auf einem postulierten Synchronismus der—durchaus umstrittenen—Datierung der Kolaios-Fahrt und der—ebenfalls nicht genau eingrenzbaren—Datierung der Elfenbeinkämme anhand ihrer Fundlage. Die Datierung der Tartessos-Fahrt des Kolaios nach dem nicht erhaltenen Bronzekessel, worin sie U. Jantzen, *Griechische Greifenkessel* (Berlin, 1955), 67f. folgt, und jener der Kämme unter Zuhilfenahme einer 'allgemeinen Faustregel' über die Aufbewahrungsdauer von Votiven in einem Heiligtum ist höchst unsicher. Zur Datierung des Kolaios bei Herodot durch einen 'vagen Synchronismus' vgl. R. Bichler, R. Rollinger, *Herodot* (Hildesheim, 2000), 41.

[79] Cabrera, Olmos, 'Die Griechen in Huelva', 64; Olmos, 'Los griegos en Tartessos', 506; Cabrera, 'Los primeros viajes al Extremo Occidente', 74.

nach Tartessos unkommentiert wiedergebe, in denen sich sowohl Samos als auch Phokaia ein und derselben Pionierleistung rühmten.[80]

Es ist ein eigentümliches Phänomen, daß sich Ideen und Hypothesen, wenn sie oft genug wiederholt werden, im Denken der Menschen festsetzen, als wären sie erwiesene Wahrheiten. Durch das oftmalige Hören entsteht eine Vertrautheit, die die ursprünglich mitschwingenden Vorbehalte und Zweifel schwinden läßt. Letztendlich hat man sich an ein Modell so sehr gewöhnt, daß es schwer fällt, sich ganz davon zu lösen, selbst wenn man die Schwachpunkte erkennt. Das Konzept vom „comercio foceo", aus der Interpretation Herodots in Kombination mit anderen Schriftquellen entstanden, später mit unterschiedlichen archäologischen Evidenzen verknüpft, ist zum „Selbstläufer" geworden.[81] Gelegentliche Mahnungen, wie jene von A. Furtwängler, der auf „das Fehlen gesicherter phokäischer Handelserzeugnisse" hinwies,[82] fanden wenig Widerhall.

Seit langem sucht man nach archäologischen Funden, die das von der „arqueología filológica"[83] entworfene Modell einer phokäischen Handelsvorherrschaft im westlichen Mittelmeer belegen könnten. Dabei stößt man jedoch auf ein unüberwindliches Problem, das J.-P. Morel einmal als „vide phocéen" bezeichnete:[84] unsere weitgehende Unkenntnis über Kunst, Handwerk und Alltagskultur der Stadt Phokaia mit Ausnahme der Münzprägung.[85] Diese Forschungslücke betrifft auch die Tongefäße, denen in frühgriechischer Zeit als am besten belegte Denkmälergruppe bei der Bestimmung des kulturellen Profils eines Fundortes der größte Aussagewert zukommt. Zur Zeit läßt sich weder die Frage beantworten, welche Keramikgattungen

[80] U. Täckholm, 'Neue Studien zum Tarsis-Tartessosproblem', *Opuscula romana* 10 (1975) 56f.

[81] Vgl. Niemeyer, 'Die Griechen und die iberische Halbinsel', 290–292; Gassner, *Materielle Kultur und kulturelle Identität Eleas*, 261–74.

[82] Furtwängler, 'Auf den Spuren eines ionischen Tartessos-Besuchers', 62. Ebenso Niemeyer, 'Die Griechen und die iberische Halbinsel', 290: 'Doch zurück zum Kern der Phokäer-Frage: Methodisch müßte ja zunächst einmal die Frage nach Struktur, Stil und Charakter der phokäischen Kunst selbst gestellt werden.'

[83] Olmos, 'Los griegos en Tartessos', 497.

[84] Morel, 'L'expansion phocéenne en Occident', 856. Vgl. auch Villard, *La céramique grecque de Marseille*, 36f.; Furtwängler, 'Auf den Spuren eines ionischen Tartessos-Besuchers', 62; Niemeyer, 'Die Griechen und die iberische Halbinsel', 290; Cook, Dupont, *East Greek Pottery*, 5. 56f. 112; A.J. Domínguez, 'Phoceans and other Ionians in Western Mediterranean' in *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer*, 509.

[85] F. Bodenstedt, *Die Elektronmünzen von Phokaia und Mytilene* (Tübingen, 1981).

in welchen Quantitäten im archaischen Phokaia Verwendung fanden, noch jene, ob es an diesem Ort in vorhellenistischer Zeit überhaupt ein lokales Töpferhandwerk von Bedeutung gab.[86]

Die Frage nach der „faciès" von Phokaia, der charakteristischen Ausprägung der materiellen Kultur, ging von den Forschungen im Bereich der phokäischen Kolonien aus und wurde seitdem vor allem von französischen, spanischen und italienischen Forschern intensiv diskutiert. Bahnbrechend war die Arbeit von F. Villard „La céramique grecque de Marseille".[87] Er stieß bei dieser monographischen Studie auf das Problem, „que l'exploration archéologique de l'Ionie est seulement en train de commencer" und daß es daher oft schwierig sei, „d'identifier les différentes fabriques de la Grèce de l'Est et d'en dater les produits".[88] Dies betraf vor allem die Alltagskeramik, sowohl die reifenbemalte als auch die Graue Ware, die „la quasi totalité des trouvailles" aus Massalia bildete.[89] Die Bestimmung ihrer Herkunft war daher für die wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Fragestellung des Autors grundlegend. Da kaum publiziertes Vergleichsmaterial von ostägäischen Fundorten zu Verfügung stand, entschloß sich Villard zu dem Umweg, aus der materiellen Kultur der Kolonien auf diejenige der Metropolis Phokaia zurückzuschließen.[90] Methodische Voraussetzung war dafür die—unbewiesene—Prämisse, daß eine Kolonie einen großen Teil ihres Keramikbedarfes lange Jahre hindurch aus ihrer Mutterstadt decke: „On peut présumer naturellement qu'une part importante de la céramique commune de type ionien importée à Marseille vient

[86] Anders ist dies für die römische Kaiserzeit, in der Phokaia ein wichtiger Produzent und Exporteur von Feinkeramik (Terra Sigillata der Klasse 'Late Roman C') und Küchengeschirr war. Vgl. J.W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (London, 1972), 323–369; ders., *A Supplement to Late Roman Pottery* (London, 1980), 525–527 (Umbenennung in 'Phocaean Red Slip Ware'). E. Langlotz, 'Beobachtungen in Phokaia', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1969, 379f. Abb. 4–6 veröffentlichte einen Fehlbrand römischer Feinkeramik, den P. Dupont analysierte (Dupont, 'Classification et détermination de provenance des céramiques grecques', 22). Ö. Özyiğit entdeckte und erforschte eine kaiserzeitliche Töpferei und das Gefäßspektrum aus deren Abraumhalde: Ö. Özyiğit, '1989 yılı Phokaia kazı çalışmaları', in *XII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı Ankara 1990 I* (Ankara, 1991), 137–139 Zeichnungen 1–2. 7–15 Abb. 1–2. 7–10; ders. '1990 yılı Phokaia kazı çalışmaları', in *XIII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı Ankara 1991 II* (Ankara, 1992), 102–104 Abb. 3–16.

[87] Villard, *La céramique grecque de Marseille*.

[88] Villard, *La céramique grecque de Marseille*, 36.

[89] ebenda.

[90] Diesen Weg beschritt auch Cabrera Bonet, 'El comercio foceo en Huelva', 62: '. . . que pudieramos definir una cerámica focea por primera vez desde Huelva no desde alguna de sus colonias'.

de la mère patrie, c'est-à-dire de Phocée ou de la région de Phocée: mais ce n'est qu'une hypothèse, encore invérifiable".[91] Durch Beobachtung des Scherbentyps und der Töpfertechnik gelangte F. Villard aber bereits 1960 zu der Erkenntnis, daß von der Zeit der Koloniegründung an die Massalioten selbst Alltagskeramik und Tafelgeschirr töpferten, die sich in Form und Dekor an ostionische Vorbilder anlehnten.[92] Mit dem Fortschritt der Forschungen in Massalia, aber auch an anderen Fundorten im westlichen und zentralen Mittelmeer stellte sich immer deutlicher heraus, daß der Anteil der tatsächlichen ostägäischen Importe anfangs entschieden überschätzt worden war.[93] Einen wichtigen methodischen Fortschritt bei der Herkunftsbestimmung brachte der Einsatz archäometrischer Keramikanalysen.

Welche Entwicklung aber nahmen die Forschungen zur Ostägäis, vor allem zu Phokaia selbst? E. Langlotz setzte sich als erster intensiv mit Kunst und Kunsthandwerk von Phokaia auseinander.[94] Mangels archäologischer Evidenz aus der Stadt selbst stützte er sich auf die Münzbilder und auf Funde aus anderen Gebieten, die er aufgrund stilistischer Erwägungen mit Phokaia verband—eine Methode, die zurecht auf Kritik stieß.[95] Sah Langlotz in Phokaia das Zentrum einer nordionischen Kunstlandschaft, so kam E. Walter-Karydi zu dem Schluß, daß „die phokäische Kunst . . ., nach dem wenigen Erhaltenen zu urteilen, vorwiegend äolischen Charakter" habe, obwohl die Polis zu Ionien zählte.[96] Da sie andererseits davon ausging, daß die „Stammesbezeichnungen dorisch, ionisch, äolisch in Ostgriechenland etwas Wahres bezeichnen", erklärte sie die Abweichung von diesem Schema als „seltsame Wahlverwandtschaft".[97] Walter-Karydi ging

---

[91] Villard, *La céramique grecque de Marseille*, 37.

[92] Villard, *La céramique grecque de Marseille*, 58–68.

[93] Z.B. Villard 'La céramique archaïque de Marseille', 164–168; Gantès, 'L'apport des fouilles récentes à l'étude quantitative de l'économie massaliète'; ders., 'La physionomie de la vaiselle tournée importée à Marseille au VI^{e} siècle av. J.-C.', in M.-C. Villanueva Puig, F. Lissarrague, P. Rouillard, A. Rouveret, Céramique et peinture grecques. Modes d'emploi (Paris, 1999), 365–380; Sourisseau 'Céramiques à pâte claire massaliètes'; V. Gassner, 'Produktionsstätten westmediterraner Amphoren im 6. und 5. Jh. v. Chr.', *Laverna* 11 (2000) 106–137; Gassner, *Materielle Kultur und kulturelle Identität Eleas* 220–29.

[94] Langlotz, *Die kulturelle und künstlerische Hellenisierung*; E. Langlotz, *Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst* (Mainz, 1975).

[95] A.E. Furtwängler, 'Rezension zu Langlotz, *Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst*', *Gnomon* 51 (1979) 469–477.

[96] Walter-Karydi 'Äolische Kunst', 6.

[97] Walter-Karydi 'Äolische Kunst', 6.

aber noch weiter und stellte, auf einer Vermutung K. Schefolds aufbauend,[98] die Hypothese auf, Phokaia sei als eines der „Zentren äolischer Kunst . . . an der kleinasiatisch-äolischen Küste führend gewesen".[99] Diese Annahme kann bis heute nicht überprüft werden, da von den elf bei Herodot (I 149) genannten Poleis des äolischen Festlandes mit Ausnahme des provinziellen Binnenstädtchens Larisa keine ausreichend bekannt ist, um ihr kulturelles Profil in archaischer Zeit zu bestimmen. Es ist daher nicht möglich auszuschließen, daß eine der äolischen Küstenstädte ein bedeutendes Kunst- und Töpferzentrum war, ebenso wie das frühe Phokaia keine archäologische Evidenz als Handwerksstätte aufzuweisen hat.[100] So gelangte R.M. Cook zu der Einschätzung: "In what place or places this Aeolian pottery was made is not yet known; . . . claims for Phocaea are based mainly on its having been Ionian and therefore progressive, though analyses suggest that the local Phocaean clay was not used for Archaic painted pottery".[101]

Das Argument, das E. Walter-Karydi gegen die bedeutendste der äolischen Hafenstädte, Kyme,[102] und für das nordionische Phokaia in der Frage nach dem „führenden Kunstzentrum" der Äolis vorbringt, ist kein archäologisches, sondern ein historisches: „Kyme, eine andere reiche äolische Stadt, ist in ihrer Kunst noch unbekannt, aber sie war wohl weniger bedeutend. Sie war auch weder im Seehandel noch kolonial tätig wie Phokäa".[103] Hier stellt sich die Frage, ob dieser Rückschluß von ökonomischer auf künstlerische Kapazität als zwingend angesehen werden kann. Denn einerseits gibt es herausragende Töpferzentren wie Athen und Sparta, die nur wenige Kolonien gründeten, andererseits erzeugten wichtige Handelsstädte (z. B. Aigina)

---

[98] K. Schefold, 'Knidische Vasen und Verwandtes', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 57 (1942) 132.

[99] Walter-Karydi 'Äolische Kunst', 10.

[100] Stoffe, die als Erzeugnis angeführt werden—Cabrera, 'Los primeros viajes al Extremo Occidente', 78—sind in der archäologischen Hinterlassenschaft nicht erhalten.

[101] Cook, Dupont, *East Greek Pottery*, 56f. Vgl. R.M. Cook, 'The Wild Goat and Fikellura Styles: Some Speculations', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 11 (1992) 265 Anm. 31: 'The scraps from Phocaea . . . do not suggest anything better there.' Zu den archäometrischen Analysen s. Dupont, *Dacia* 27 (1983) 22f.; Akurgal, Kerschner, Mommsen, Niemeier, *Töpferzentren der Ostägäis*, 22f. 89.

[102] Die Quellen zusammengefaßt bei G.L. Huxley, *The Early Ionians* (Shannon, 1966), 52; S. Lagona, 'Kyme eolica: fonti, storia, topografia' in *Studi su Kyme eolica. Atti della giornata di studio della Scuola di specializzazione in archeologia dell' Università di Catania, Catania 16 maggio 1990*, *Cronache di archeologia* 32 (1993) 19–33.

[103] Walter-Karydi 'Äolische Kunst', 10.

und Metropoleis (z. B. Megara) keine eigene bemalte Feinkeramik. Es läßt sich demnach keine Regel aufstellen, daß Töpferzentren, die für den Export produzierten, ihre Ware auch selbst auf überseeischen Märkten verkauften. Vielmehr gibt es nachweisbare Fälle von Poleis, die sich mangels anderer Ressourcen wie fruchtbaren Ackerlandes oder Bodenschätze auf den Handel spezialisierten.[104] In Phokaia scheint genau dies der Fall gewesen zu sein, wie das Zeugnis des Pompeius Trogus belegt.[105]

Stellen wir nun die hypothetische Konstruktion der materiellen Kultur von Phokaia dem tatsächlich Bekannten gegenüber. Aus den archäologischen Grabungen in Phokaia, die seit 1913 in drei Etappen von F. Sartiaux, E. Akurgal und Ö. Özyiğit durchgeführt wurden,[106] sind ungefähr hundert Keramikfragmente veröffentlicht. Der Großteil von ihnen aber ist wenig aussagekräftig, da es sich zumeist um kleine, schlecht erhaltene Bruchstücke handelt, die ohne ausreichende Dokumentation vorgelegt wurden. Eine monographische Studie zu den Keramikfunden aus Phokaia gibt es nicht. Im Folgenden wird anhand der publizierten Abbildungen eine grobe Klassifizierung der Bruchstücke versucht, wobei ich mich wegen des Fehlens von Einzelbeschreibungen und Profilzeichnungen hauptsächlich an den Bemalungsresten orientiere. Die Fehlerquellen sind dementsprechend hoch. Es bleibt unklar, wie repräsentativ die Auswahl der von den Ausgräbern abgebildeten Fragmente für das Keramikbild des archaischen Phokaia ist. Die meisten der aufgelisteten Gefäßfragmente stammen von zwei Fundplätzen: zum einen aus nicht näher lokalisierten Sondagen, die F. Sartiaux 1920 auf der Halbinsel anlegte, zum anderen aus den Grabungen von Ö. Özyiğit 1992 am Maltepe-Tor der archaischen Stadtmauer, wo eine Auffüllung des mittleren 6. Jhs. v. Chr. angetroffen wurde.[107]

---

[104] Z.B. Aigina; zusammenfassend St. Hiller, 'Die Handelsbeziehungen Äginas mit Italien' in *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer,* 461–469.

[105] Pompeius Trogus bei Iustinus 43.3.5.

[106] Eine Übersicht über die einzelnen Grabungsplätze und wichtige Fundstücke (jedoch nicht zur frühen Keramik) gibt S. Özyiğit, *Foça—Phokaia* (İzmir, 1998).

[107] P. Jacobsthal, E. Neuffer, 'Gallia Graeca. Recherches sur l'hellénisation de la Provence', *Préhistoire* 2 (1933) 1–64; Ö. Özyiğit, 'The city walls of Phokaia', in P. Debord and R. Descat, ed., *Fortifications et défense du territoire en Asie Mineure occidentale et méridionale* (Bordeaux, 1994), 77–109. Zu den Grabungen: F. Sartiaux, 'Nouvelles recherches sur le site de Phocée', *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1921*, 119–129, bes. 122; Ö. Özyiğit, '1992 yılı Phokaia kazı çalışmaları', in *XV. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı Ankara 1993 II* (Ankara, 1995), 11–35.

- 1 Fragment einer spätgeometrischen nordionischen Vogelkotyle oder eines verwandten Gefäßes.[108]
- 3 Fragmente mit spät/subgeometrischem Dekor: eine Schüssel oder große Schale mit Schmetterlingsmotiv und vertikaler Winkelreihe; ein Wandfragment mit Metopengliederung;[109] Wandfragment mit Gittermuster.[110]
- 2 (sub)geometrische Fragmente mit konzentrischen Kreisen auf hellem Überzug (?).[111]
- 1 Fragment eines geschlossenen Gefäßes mit subgeometrischem Dekor (Zickzacklinie).[112]
- 2 Fragmente von Knickrandskyphoi mit spät/subgeometrischem Dekor (Zickzackmetopenskyphoi).[113]
- 2 Fragmente nordionischer Vogelschalen aus dem späten 7. Jh. v. Chr.[114]
- 1 früh(?)-orientalisierendes Fragment mit punktierter Volute.[115]
- 5 orientalisierende Fragmente mit figürlichem Dekor: Wandfragment eines Dinos oder Kraters mit Flechtband und Tierfries;[116] Wandfragment eines Dinos (?) mit einem Tierfries (?) und einer Figurenszene, die von E. Akurgal als Parisurteil gedeutet wird;[117] drei

[108] Özyiğit, 'The city walls of Phokaia', 92 Ph. 35 (links unten).

[109] Jacobsthal, Neuffer, 'Gallia Graeca', 14 Abb. 6b, e.

[110] Özyiğit, 'The city walls of Phokaia', 92 Ph. 35 (rechts unten).

[111] Ö. Özyiğit, '1991 yılı Phokaia kazı çalışmaları', in *XIV. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara, 1993), 5 Abb. 13 (2. Reihe von oben).

[112] Akurgal, Kerschner, Mommsen, Niemeier, *Töpferzentren der Ostägäis*, 92.109 Nr. 70 Abb. 37 Taf. 6.

[113] Jacobsthal, Neuffer, 'Gallia Graeca', 14 Abb. 6c, d. Diese Gattung ist in Südionien (Samos, Milet), im mittelionischen Ephesos und auf der nordionischen Insel Chios verbreitet.

[114] Özyiğit, 'The city walls of Phokaia', 92 Ph. 40 (1. Reihe, die ersten beiden Stücke von links). Das linke der beiden Randfragmente vertritt einen seltenen Sondertyus, bei dem vertikale Zickzacklinien die in den flankierenden Metopen üblichen Gitterrauten ersetzen, vgl. M. Martelli Cristofani, 'La ceramica greco-orientale in Etruria', in *Les céramiques de la Grèce de l'Est*, 157 Nr. 19 Taf. 76,7–8.

[115] Özyiğit, 'The city walls of Phokaia', 92 Ph. 36 (links unten).

[116] Jacobsthal, Neuffer, 'Gallia Graeca', 14f. Abb. 6a; H. Walter, *Frühe samische Gefäße. Chronologie und Landschaftsstile ostgriechischer Gefäße, Samos V* (Bonn, 1968), 79. 128 Nr. 628 Taf. 130 ('Amphora [?] . . . Phokäisch'); Walter-Karydi 'Äolische Kunst', 3 Nr. 13 Taf. 4,5 ('Dinos').

[117] E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander* (Berlin, 1961), 180 Abb. 128 = ders., *Griechische und römische Kunst in der Türkei* (München, 1987), 25 Taf. 3b = Akurgal *Eski çağda Ege ve İzmir* (İzmir, 1993), Abb. 103a = *Phocée et la fondation de Marseille, Catalogue du Musée d'Histoire de Marseille* (Marseille, 1995), 38. Von Walter-Karydi 'Äolische Kunst', 7 Taf. 8,3 fälschlich der von ihr postulierten Gattung 'äolischer Kelche' zugewiesen, die im bisher bekannten Fundbestand nicht nachgewiesen ist. Die darunter subsumierten Stücke sind entweder keine Kelche oder nicht äolisch.

Wandfragmente eines Dinos (?) mit einem Mädchenreigen unter einem Spiral- und einem Mäanderband;[118] zwei Fragmente mit Tierfries.[119]

- 5 orientalisierende Fragmente mit ornamentalem Dekor: ein Teller mit Blattstab; ein Teller mit Strahlenkranz um den Fußansatz; ein Teller mit zentraler Blattrosette; ein Teller mit Mäander am Rand; ein nordionischer Metopenteller.[120]
- 12 Fragmente von Rosettenschalen des frühen und mittleren 6. Jhs. v. Chr.[121]
- 5 Fragmente chiotischer Gefäße, darunter mindestens zwei Kelche.[122]
- 1 spätarchaischer Amphoriskos mit Schuppendekor.[123]
- 1 spätarchaischer schwarzfiguriger Ständer[124]
- 39 Fragmente linear verzierter Alltagskeramik („ionische Reifenware“).[125]
- 36 Fragmente Grauer Ware.[126]
- 1 ganz erhaltenes Stück sowie 9 Fragmente von Transportamphoren lesbischen Typs rötlichen Fabrikats, wie sie in Phokaia in großer Anzahl vorkommen.[127]

---

[118] Akurgal 'Die Kunst Anatoliens', 180 Abb. 129–130 = Akurgal *Eski Çağda Ege ve Izmir*, Abb. 103a–c = *Catalogue Marseille*, 38; von Langlotz, *Die kulturelle und künstlerische Hellenisierung*, 27 Abb. 25. 27; E. Langlotz, 'Beobachtungen in Phokaia', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1969, 381; Langlotz, *Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst*, 197 Taf. 63,3 und Walter-Karydi 'Äolische Kunst', 7 Taf. 8,5 fälschlich für Bruchstücke eines chiotischen bzw. äolischen Kelches gehalten.

[119] Ö. Özyiğit, '1991 yılı Phokaia kazı çalışmaları', in *XIV. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara, 1993), 5 Abb. 13 (2. Reihe rechts außen); Özyiğit, 'The city walls of Phokaia', 92 Ph. 36 (links oben).

[120] Jacobsthal, Neuffer, 'Gallia Graeca', 15 Abb. 7a, b, d, e; Özyiğit, 'The city walls of Phokaia', 92 Ph. 37 (rechts oben).

[121] Özyiğit, 'The city walls of Phokaia', 92 Ph. 40.

[122] Özyiğit, 'The city walls of Phokaia', 92 Ph. 41 (links); weitere Fragmente sah Langlotz, *Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst*, 197.

[123] Akurgal, Kerschner, Mommsen, Niemeier, *Töpferzentren der Ostägäis*, Nr. 86 Abb. 56 Taf. 8.

[124] Langlotz, *Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst*, 197f. Taf. 68.

[125] Jacobsthal, Neuffer, 'Gallia Graeca', 14f. Abb. 6f., g, h, 7f.; Ö. Özyiğit, '1991 yılı Phokaia kazı çalışmaları', in *XIV. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara, 1993), 5 Abb. 13; Özyiğit, 'The city walls of Phokaia', 90 Abb. 6 Ph. 31. 37–39.

[126] Özyiğit, 'The city walls of Phokaia', 92 Ph. 42; *Phocée et la fondation de Marseille*, 41; Bayne, *The Grey Wares of North-West Anatolia*, 185–190 Abb. 51–53; vgl. Langlotz, *Die kulturelle und künstlerische Hellenisierung*, 27; Langlotz, *Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst*, 197; Morel, 'L'expansion phocéenne en Occident', 855.

[127] Özyiğit, 'The city walls of Phokaia', 88–90. 92 Abb. 5 Ph. 29–30. 44. Özyiğit nimmt an, daß es sich dabei um eine phokäische Produktion handelt. Zur 'roten

Unter den Importen ist ein subprotogeometrischer Skyphos mit hängenden Halbkreisen („pendant semi-circle skyphos") bemerkenswert, der auf frühe Kontakte zum euböisch-kykladischen Raum hinweist.[128] Vom griechischen Festland kommen einige Stücke aus Korinth[129] sowie eine Reihe attisch-schwarzfiguriger Gefäße, die als bisher einzige Fundgruppe ausführlich vorgelegt wurden.[130]

Was aber können wir nun aus dem wenigen Bekannten herauslesen? Ist es möglich, typisch phokäische Züge in diesem mehr als fragmentarischen Keramikbild zu erkennen? Beginnen wir mit den häufigsten Fundgattungen. Die reifenverzierte Alltagskeramik kommt nicht nur in Phokaia, sondern—wie oben gezeigt wurde—in der gesamten Ostägäis und auch im kolonialgriechischen Bereich vor. Um typologische Besonderheiten einer zu vermutenden phokäischen Produktion zu erkennen, bedürfte es einer eingehenden Untersuchung der Gefäßformen und Dekorsysteme in ihrer diachronen Entwicklung. Das Gleiche gilt für die Graue Ware, bei der aufgrund der hohen Fundfrequenz eine lokale Erzeugung sehr wahrscheinlich ist. In Phokaia stellen Gefäße mit grauem Scherben „in the 8th and 7th century levels . . . about half the total" des Keramikspektrums.[131] Damit zählt die nördlichste der ionischen Poleis, deren Chora direkt an die Äolis grenzt, noch zum Hauptverbreitungsgebiet der Grauen Ware, das sich im 7. Jh. v. Chr. noch weiter nach Süden bis nach Smyrna erstreckte.[132]

Serie' der lesbischen Amphoren und ihrer vermutlichen Herkunft von Lesbos bzw. seiner Peraia: Cook, Dupont, *East Greek Pottery,* 156–163 Abb. 23.5 ('Zeest's "tumbler-bottomed" amphoras').

[128] Özyiğit, 'The city walls of Phokaia', 92 Ph. 35 oben. Zur Gattung: R. Kearsley, *The Pendent Semi-Circle Skyphos*, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London Supplement* 44 (London, 1989). Das Vorkommen von PSC-Skyphoi in Phokaia unter den Funden aus den Grabungen E. Akurgals erwähnt bei J. Boardman, *Excavations in Chios, 1952–1955. Greek Emporio* (London, 1967), 117.

[129] Özyiğit, 'The city walls of Phokaia', 92 Ph. 41.

[130] Ausführlich vorgelegt wurde bisher nur die attische Importkeramik: Y. Tuna-Nörling, 'Phokaia Attika seramiğinden seçmeler', *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 59, 1993, 16–27; dies., *Die Ausgrabungen von Alt-Smyrna und Pitane. Die attisch-schwarzfigurige Keramik und der attische Keramikexport nach Kleinasien*, Istanbuler Forschungen 41 (Tübingen, 1995), 106f. 136–145 Tab. 2. 9; dies., 'Attic Black—Figure Export to the East: The 'Tyrrhenian Group' in Ionia', in J.H. Oakley, W.D.E. Coulson, O. Palagia, ed., *Athenian Potters and Painters. The Conference Proceedings* (Oxford, 1997), 435–446. Vgl. auch *Phocée et la fondation de Marseille*, 43–45.

[131] Bayne, *The Grey Wares of North-West Anatolia*, 185. Vgl. J.-P. Morel, 'L'expansion phocéenne en Occident: Dix années de recherches (1966–1975)', *BCH* 99 (1975) 855.

[132] Bayne, *The Grey Wares of North-West Anatolia*, 157–173.

Unter den Trinkgefäßen herrscht die nordionische Form der Kalottenschale vor: Vogelkotyle, Vogelschale und Rosettenschale sind belegt. Der weitaus größte Teil aller Vogelkotylen und—schalen stammt aus einem bedeutenden nordionischen Töpferzentrum, das bisher noch nicht genau lokalisiert werden konnte.[133] Während des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. erzeugte und exportierte es diese Trinkgefäße in großen Mengen. Später konnte es seinen Markterfolg mit Rosettenschalen, Mäanderhakentellern und im „Late Wild Goat style" bemalten Gefäßen fortsetzen. Besonders häufig sind in Phokaia, soweit sich bisher absehen läßt, die Rosettenschalen,[134] für die außer den „Vogelschalen-Werkstätten" noch eine weitere Produktionsstätte in Nordionien und eine in der Äolis nachgewiesen werden konnten.[135] Knickrandschalen sind unter den bisher publizierten Stücken selten;[136] vertreten sind nur zwei frühe Skyphoi mit Zickzackmetopendekor, bei denen es sich möglicherweise um Importe handelt. Damit entsprechen die Trinkgefäße aus Phokaia dem auf dem nordionischen Festland üblichen Spektrum.

Unter den bemalten archaischen Fragmenten sind die beiden qualitätvollen Dinoi mit Menschendarstellungen am bemerkenswertesten. Stilistisch werden sie zumeist dem äolischen Kunstkreis zugeordnet.[137] Da unmittelbare Vergleiche fehlen, können sie jedoch mit keinem bestimmten Töpferzentrum verbunden werden. Auf dreien der Tierfriesfragmente aus Phokaia sind als Füllornamente Kreuze mit mehrfach ineinandergeschachtelten Winkeln eingefügt, wie sie sich auf den

[133] M. Kerschner, H. Mommsen, T. Beier, D. Heimermann, A. Hein, 'Neutron Activation Analysis of Bird Bowls and Related Archaic Ceramics from Miletus', *Archaeometry* 35 (1993) 197–210; Akurgal, Kerschner, Mommsen, Niemeier, *Töpferzentren der Ostägäis* 63–72. Hier Gruppe B/C auf Abb. 1. Die nordionische Herkunft wurde erstmals festgestellt von Dupont, 'Classification et détermination de provenance des céramiques grecques', 40f.

[134] Vgl. Morel 'L'expansion phocéenne en Occident', 855: '. . . les coupes les plus courantes de la première moitié du VI^e^ siècle sont des bols à anses, sans lèvre, dérivés probablement des bols à oiseaux'. Hierbei handelt es sich vermutlich hauptsächlich um Rosetten- und Reifenschalen.

[135] Akurgal, Kerschner, Mommsen, Niemeier, *Töpferzentren der Ostägäis* 71f.; Rosettenschalen kommen in den Gruppen B/C, E (beide Nordionien) und G (Äolis) auf Abb. 1 vor.

[136] Morel, 'L'expansion phocéenne en Occident', 855: 'la relative rareté des coupes ioniennes'; Langlotz, Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst, 197 erwähnt 'ionische Schalen' als Streufunde.

[137] Walter-Karydi 'Äolische Kunst', 12; Akurgal, *Eski çağda Ege ve İzmir*, Taf. 103; anders nur Langlotz, *Die kulturelle und künstlerische Hellenisierung*, 27 (nordostionisch).

Kesseln der „London Dinos group" wiederfinden.[138] Die archäometrische Analyse zweier in Smyrna gefundener Vertreter dieser Dinoi ergab die Zuordnung zu einer äolischen Herkunftsgruppe.[139] Da sich deren chemisches Elementmuster deutlich von Fehlbränden römischer Zeit unterscheidet, die mit Sicherheit in Phokaia getöpfert wurden, ist eine phokäische Herkunft der Gefäße rund um den Londoner Dinos sehr unwahrscheinlich.[140] Vermutlich handelt es sich bei den Fundstücken aus Phokaia und Smyrna um Importe aus einer benachbarten äolischen Polis. Die meisten veröffentlichten Fragmente orientalisierender Teller zeigen einfache, wenig signifikante Muster. Ein Stück gehört zu einem Teller mit ornamentalem Metopenfries, dessen Trennbalken die für Nordionien und die Äolis charakteristische Form mit abgerundeten Enden aufweisen.[141] Metopenteller dieser Art konnten in der nordionischen „Vogelschalen-Werkstätten" und in einer äolischen Produktionsstätte nachgewiesen werden.[142] Insgesamt gewinnt das Bild der ostgriechischen Feinkeramik aus Phokaia aus den bisher veröffentlichten Bruchstücken noch keine klaren Konturen.

Nach kritischer Durchsicht der archäologischen und literarischen Evidenz zeigt sich, daß noch eine Menge von Grundlagenarbeit zu leisten ist, bevor ein fundiertes und umfassendes Bild vom Handel zwischen der Ägäis und der iberischen Halbinsel während der archaischen Epoche gezeichnet werden kann. Die Angaben bei Herodot sind zu knapp und uneindeutig, um daraus die differenzierten ökonomischen Beziehungen zwischen den Tartessiern, Phöniziern und den Griechen aus unterschiedlichen Heimatstädten rekonstruieren zu können. Die Keramik ostgriechischer und kolonialgriechischer Provenienz, die die Hauptmasse unserer archäologischen Zeugnisse aus Südspanien ausmacht, ist wiederum noch zu wenig erforscht, um

[138] S. oben Anm. 29.

[139] Akurgal, Kerschner, Mommsen, Niemeier, *Töpferzentren der Ostägäis*, 87–90 Abb. 40.55; 87 Anm. 549. Vgl. Gruppe G auf Abb. 1. Zur Verbreitung der 'London Dinos group' Walter-Karydi, 'Äolische Kunst', 3f.; eine Vervollständigung der Liste bei Akurgal, Kerschner, Mommsen, Niemeier 'Töpferzentren der Ostägäis', 87 Anm. 549.

[140] Akurgal, Kerschner, Mommsen, Niemeier, *Töpferzentren der Ostägäis*, 89. Vgl. Dupont, 'Classification et détermination de provenance des céramiques grecques', 22f.

[141] Vgl. E. Walter-Karydi, *Samische* Gefäße, Taf. 122, 1004; 123, 1001–1002.

[142] Akurgal, Kerschner, Mommsen, Niemeier, *Töpferzentren der Ostägäis*, 73–5. 91f. Abb. 44.50.77. Gruppe B/C (Nordionien) und G (Äolis) auf Abb. 1.

daraus präzise Schlüsse zu ziehen. Zielführend ist daher eine Neubewertung der frühen griechischen Keramikimporte auf der iberischen Halbinsel ohne historiographische Prämissen. Dabei sollten die neuen Forschungsergebnisse aus der Ostägäis und dem kolonialgriechischen Bereich miteinbezogen und archäometrische Methoden zur Herkunftsbestimmung eingesetzt werden. Es sind eine Reihe von Detailarbeiten notwendig, die vermutlich noch zu überraschenden Ergebnissen führen werden. In welcher Richtung diese zu erwarten sind, sollte hier kurz skizziert werden. Einstweilen gelten für die Interpretation der griechischen Keramikfunde im tartessischen Bereich immer noch die mahnenden Worte B. Sheftons: 'We must bear in mind . . . that the material is very fragmentary and often not very diagnostic. Caution, therefore, and fairly wide chronological margins are called for!'[143]

Bibliography

AAVV *Les céramiques de la Grèce de l'Est et leur diffusion en occident, Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique N. 569, Centre Jean Bérard*, Paris and Naples: Centre Jean Bérard, 1978

AAVV *Phocée et la fondation de Marseille, Catalogue du Musée d'Histoire de Marseille*. Marseille: Musée d'Histoire de Marseille, 1995

Akurgal, E. *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1961

——. *Eski Çağda Ege ve Izmir*. Izmir: Net Turistik Yayınlar Sanayi A.S., 1993

Akurgal, Kerschner, Mommsen, Niemeier is: "Akurgal, M., Kerschner, M., Mommsen, H., Niemeier, W.-D., *Töpferzentren der Ostägäis. Archäometrische und archäologische Untersuchungen zur mykenischen, geometrischen und archaischen Keramik aus Fundorten in Westkleinasien, 3*. Ergänzungsheft zu den Jahresheften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes, Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 2002

Aranegui Gascó, C., ed., *Argantonio, Rey de Tartessos, Katalog der Ausstellung in Sevilla – Madrid – Alicante*. Madrid: Fundación El Monte, 2000

Arcelin-Pradelle, C. *La céramique grise monochrome en Provence*, Supplement à Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise 10. Paris: De Boccard, 1984

Aubet Semmler, M.E. 'Zur Problematik des orientalisierenden Horizontes auf der Iberischen Halbinsel', in H.G. Niemeyer, ed., *Phönizier im Westen*, 309–335

——, ed., *Tartessos. Arqueología protohistórica del Bajo Guadalquivir*. Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, 1989

Bats, M., Bertucchi, G., Conges, G., Tréziny, H., ed., *Marseille grecque et la Gaule. Actes du Colloque international d'Histoire et d'Archéologie et du Ve Congrès archéologique de Gaule méridionale*. Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1992

Bayne, N. *The Grey Wares of North-West Anatolia in the Middle and Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age and their Relation to the Early Greek Settlements*, Asia Minor Studien 37. Bonn: R. Habelt, 2000

[143] Shefton, B.B. 'Greeks and Greek Imports in the South of the Iberian Peninsula' *Phönizier im Westen*, 339.

Bernard, P. 'Céramique de la première moitié du VII^{e} siècle à Thasos', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 88 (1964) 88–105
Bichler, R., Rollinger, R. *Herodot.* Hildesheim: Olms, 2000
Bilabel, F. *Die ionische Kolonisation. Untersuchungen über die Gründungen der Ionier, deren staatliche und kultliche Organisation und Beziehungen zu den Mutterstädten*, Philologus Supplement. XIV 1. Leipzig Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung m.b.H., 1920
Boardman, J. *Excavations in Chios, 1952–1955. Greek Emporio* (British School at Athens Supp. 6). London: British School at Athens, 1967
Bodenstedt, F. *Die Elektronmünzen von Phokaia und Mytilene.* Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1981
Boehlau, J., Schefold, K. *Die Klainfunde, Larisa am Hermos. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1902–1934 III.* Berlin: de Gruyter, 1942
Boldrini, S. *Le ceramiche ioniche* (*Gravisca. Scavi nel santuario greco* 4). Bari: Edipuglia, 1994
Cabrera Bonet, P., 'Nuevos fragmentos de cerámica griega de Huelva' in M. Picazo, E. Sanmartí, ed., *Ceràmiques gregues i helenístiques a la Península Ibèrica*, 43–57
——. 'El comercio foceo en Huelva: cronología y fisionomía' in J. Fernández Jurado, ed., *Tartessos y Huelva. Huelva Arqueologica* 10–11.3 (1988/89) 41–100
——, Sánchez Fernández, C., ed., *Los Griegos en España. Tras las huellas de Heracles.* Madrid: Museo Arqueológico National, 2000
——, Santos Rebolaza, M., ed. *Ceràmiques jònies d'època arcaica: centres de producció i comercialització al mediterrani occidental. Actes de la Taula Rodona celebrada a Empúries els dies 26 al 28 de maig de 1999*, Monografies emporitanes 11. Barcelona: Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya, 2000
Cabrera, P., Olmos, R. 'Die Griechen in Huelva. Zum Stand der Diskussion', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 26 (1985) 61–74
Chapa Brunet, T. *La Escultura Ibérica zoomorfa.* Madrid: Editorial de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1985
Cook, R.M. 'The Wild Goat and Fikellura Styles: Some Speculations', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 11 (1992)
——, Dupont, P. *East Greek Pottery.* London and New York: Routledge, 1998
Dehl-von Kaenel, C. *Die archaische Keramik aus dem Malophoros-Heiligtum in Selinunt. Die korinthischen lakonischen, ostgriechischen, etruskischen und megarischen Importe sowie die 'argivisch-monochrome' und lokale Keramik aus den alten Grabungen.* Berlin: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1995
Domínguez, A.J., Sánchez, C. *Greek Pottery from the Iberian Peninsula. Archaic and Classical Periods.* Leiden: Brill, 2001
Dupont, P. 'Classification et détermination de provenance des céramiques grecques orientales archaïques d'Istros. Rapport préliminaire', *Dacia* 27 (1983) 19–46
——. 'Trafics méditerranéens archaïques: quelques aspects', in F. Krinzinger, ed., *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer*, 445–460
Ersoy, Y.E. *Clazomenae: The Archaic Settlement*, Diss. Bryn Mawr 1993. Ann Arbor. UMI, 1996
——. 'East Greek Pottery Groups of the 7th and 6th Centuries B.C. from Clazomenae', in F. Krinzinger, ed., *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer*, 399–406
Fernández Jurado, J. 'Die Phönizier in Huelva', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 26 (1985) 49–60
——, ed., *Tartessos y Huelva. Huelva Arqueologica* 10–11.3 (1988/89)
Frasca, M. 'Osservazioni preliminari sulla ceramica protoarcaica ed arcaica di Kyme eolida', in *Studi su Kyme eolica, Atti della giornata di studio della Scuola di specializzazione in archeologia dell' Università di Catania, Cronache di archeologia* 32 (1993) 51–70
Frasca M. 'Ceramiche Tardo Geometriche a Kyme Eolica', in F. Krinzinger, ed., *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer*, 393–398
Freyer-Schauenburg, B. 'Kolaios und die Westphönizischen Elfenbeine', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 7 (1966) 89–108

Furtwängler, A.E. 'Auf den Spuren eines ionischen Tartessos-Besuchers: Bemerkungen zu einem Neufund', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 92 (1977) 61–70

——. 'Rezension zu Langlotz, E., Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst', *Gnomon* 51 (1979) 469–477

——. 'Heraion von Samos: Grabungen im Südtemenos 1977, I. Schicht- und Baubefund, Keramik', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 95 (1980) 149–224

Gantès, L.-F. 'L'apport des fouilles récentes à l'étude quantitative de l'économie massaliète', in M. Bats *et al.*, ed., *Marseille grecque et la Gaule*, 171–178

Gantès, F. 'La physionomie de la vaisselle tournée importée à Marseille au VI[e] siècle av. J.-C.', in M.-C. Villanueva Puig, F. Lissarrague, P. Rouillard, A. Rouveret, ed., *Céramique et peinture grecques. Modes d'emploi, Actes du colloque internationale École du Louvre*, Paris: Documentation française, 1999, 365–380

Gassner, V. 'Überlegungen zur Entstehung von Amphorentypen im östlichen und westlichen Mittelmeerraum', in F. Krinzinger, ed., *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer*, 493–496

——. 'Produktionsstätten westmediterraner Amphoren im 6. und 5. Jh. v. Chr.', *Laverna* 11 (2000) 106–137

Gassner, V., Groh, St., Jilek, S., u. a., Das Kastell Mautern – Favianis, Der römische Limes in Österreich 39. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000

Gassner, V. *Materielle Kultur und kulturelle Identität Eleas in spätarchaisch-frühklassischer Zeit. Untersuchungen zur Gefäß- und Baukeramik aus der Unterstadt (Grabungen 1987–1994)*, Velia-Studien 2, Archäologische Forschungen 8, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften philosophisch-historische Klasse Denkschriften 313. Band. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003

Gebauer, J. 'Verschiedene Graue Waren', Ü. Serdaroğlu, R. Stupperich, ed., *Ausgrabungen in Assos 1991*, Asia Minor Studien 10. Bonn: R. Habelt, 1993, 73–100

Gran-Aymerich, J.M. 'Cerámicas griegas y etruscas de Málaga. Excavciones de 1980 a 1986', *Archivo español de arqueología* 61 (1988) 201–21

Hayes, J.W. *Late Roman Pottery*, London: British School at Rome, 1972

——. *A Supplement to Late Roman* Pottery, London: British School at Rome, 1980

Hiller, S. 'Die Handelsbeziehungen Äginas mit Italien' in F. Krinzinger, ed., *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer*, 461–469

How, W., Wells, J. *A Commentary on Herodotus* I[3]. Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1936

Huxley, G.L. *The Early Ionians*. London: Faber, 1966

Jacobsthal, P. and Neuffer, E. 'Gallia Graeca. Recherches sur l'hellénisation de la Provence', *Préhistoire* 2 (1933) 1–64

Jantzen, U. *Griechische Greifenkessel*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1955

Kardara, C. *Rhodiaki Aggeiographia*, Athens: Athenais Archaiologikes Hetaireias, 1963

Kearsley, R. *The Pendent Semi-Circle Skyphos*, Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London Supplement 44. London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1989

Kerschner, M., Mommsen, H., Beier, T., Heimermann, D., Hein, A. 'Neutron Activation Analysis of Bird Bowls and Related Archaic Ceramics from Miletus', *Archaeometry* 35 (1993) 197–210

——. 'Ein stratifizierter Opferkomplex des 7. Jh.s v. Chr. aus dem Artemision von Ephesos', *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 66, Beiblatt (1997) 85–226

——, Lawall, M., Scherrer, P., Trinkl, E. 'Ephesos in archaischer und klassischer Zeit. Die Ausgrabungen in der Siedlung Smyrna', in F. Krinzinger, ed., *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer*, 45–54

——. 'Die bemalte ostgriechische Keramik auf Sizilien und ihr Zeugniswert für den archaischen Handel', in F. Krinzinger, ed., *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer*, 487–491

——. 'Perspektiven der Keramikforschung in Naukratis 75 Jahre nach Elinor Price', in U. Höckmann, D. Kreikenbom, ed., *Naukratis. Die Beziehungen zu Ostgriechenland, Ägypten und Zypern in archaischer Zeit*. Möhnesee: Bibliopolis, 2001, 69–94

Krinzinger, F., ed. *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer. Beziehungen und Wechselwirkungen 8. bis 5. Jh. v. Chr., Akten des Symposions Wien 1999*, Archäologische Forschungen 4, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften philosophisch-historische Klasse Denkschriften 288. Band. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000

Lagona, S. 'Kyme eolica: fonti, storia, topografia' in *Studi su Kyme eolica, Atti della giornata di studio della Scuola di specializzazione in archeologia dell' Università di Catania, Cronache di archeologia* 32 (1993) 19–33

Lamb, W. 'Grey Wares from Lesbos', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 52 (1932) 1–12

Langlotz, E. *Die kulturelle und künstlerische Hellenisierung der Küsten des Mittelmeeres durch die Stadt Phokaia*. Köln and Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1966

——. 'Beobachtungen in Phokaia', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1969) 379–381

——. *Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst*. Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1975

Martelli Cristofani, M. 'La ceramica greco-orientale in Etruria', in *Les céramiques de la Grèce de l'Est et leur diffusion en occident*, 157–160

McMuller Fisher, S. *Troian 'G 2/3 Ware' revisited*, Studia Troica 6. Mainz: Ph. von Zabern, 1996, 119–132

Mommsen, H., Hertel, D., Mountjoy, P.A. 'Neutron activation analysis of the pottery from Troy in the Berlin Schliemann collection', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (2001) 169–211

Morel, J.-P. 'Les Phocéens en occident: certitudes et hypothèses', *La Parola del Passato* 108–110 (1966) 390–392

——. 'L'expansion phocéenne en Occident: Dix années de recherches (1966–1975)', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 99 (1975) 853–896

Nickels, A. 'Contribution à l'étude de la céramique grise archaïque en Languedoc-Rousillon', in *Les céramiques de la Grèce de l'Est et leur diffusion en occident*, 248–267

Niemeyer, H.G. 'Auf der Suche nach Mainake: der Konflikt zwischen literarischer und archäologischer Überlieferung', *Historia* 29 (1980) 165–189

——, ed., *Phönizier im Westen, Die Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums über ‚Die phönizische Expansion im westlichen Mittelmeerraum' in Köln vom 24.–27. April 1979*, Madrider Beiträge 8, Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1982

——. 'Die Griechen und die iberische Halbinsel. Zur historischen Deutung der archäologischen Zeugnisse', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 15/17 (1988/1990) 269–306

Olmos, R. 'Los griegos en Tartessos: una nueva contrastación entre las fuentes arqueológicas y las literarias' in M.E. Aubet Semmler, ed., *Tartessos. Arqueología protohistórica del Bajo Guadalquivir*, 495–521

Özyiğit, Ö. '1989 yılı Phokaia kazı çalışmaları', in *XII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı Ankara 1990 I* (Ankara, 1991) 137–139

——. '1990 yılı Phokaia kazı çalışmaları', in *XIII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı Ankara 1991 II* (Ankara, 1992) 102–104

——. '1991 yılı Phokaia kazı çalışmaları', in *XIV. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı Ankara 1992 II* (Ankara, 1993)

——. '1991 yılı Phokaia kazı çalışmaları', in *XIV. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı Ankara 1992 II* (Ankara, 1993)

——. 'The city walls of Phokaia', in P. Debord, R. Descat, ed., *Fortifications et défense du territoire en Asie Mineure occidentale et méridionale, table ronde CNRS Istanbul 20–27 mai 1993*, Revue des études anciennes 96, (Bordeaux, 1994) 77–109

Özyiğit, S. *Foça—Phokaia*. Izmir: Arkadaş Matbaacılık Ltd. Şti., 1998

Picazo, M., Sanmartí, E., ed. *Ceràmiques gregues i helenístiques a la Península Ibèrica, Taula Rodona amb motiu del 75è. Aniversari de les excavacions d'Empúries*. Barcelona: Diputació de Barcelona, Institut de Prehistòria y Arqueologia, 1985

Ramage, N.H. 'Pactolus Cliff: An Iron Age Site at Sardis and its Pottery', in A. Çilingiroğlu, D.H. French, ed., *Anatolian Iron Ages 3. The Proceedings of the Third Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium*. Ankara: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1994

Rouillard, P. 'Fragmentos griegos de estilo geométrico y Corintio Medio en Huelva', *Huelva Arqueologica* 3 (1977) 395–401

——. *Les Grecs et la peninsule ibérique du VIII^e au IV^e siècle avant Jésus-Christ*. Paris: De Boccard, 1991

——. 'Un vase archaïque de Ionie du Nord a La Luz (Murcie, Espagne)', *Anales de prehistoria y arqueología. Universidad de Murcia* 11–12 (1995–1996) 91–94

Sartiaux, F. 'Nouvelles recherches sur le site de Phocée', *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes rendus* (1921) 119–129

Schattner, T.G. 'Die Fundkeramik', in K. Tuchelt, ed., *Ein Kultbezirk an der Heiligen Straße von Milet nach Didyma, Didyma III 1*. Mainz: P von Zabern, 1996

——. 'Ostgriechisches in der "tartessischen" Keramik', in F. Krinzinger, ed., *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer*, 435–440

Schefold, K. 'Knidische Vasen und Verwandtes', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 57 (1942) 124–220

Schlotzhauer, U. 'Die südionischen Knickrandschalen: Formen und Entwicklung der sog. Ionischen Schalen in archaischer Zeit', in F. Krinzinger, ed., *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer*, 407–416

——. 'Zum Verhältnis zwischen dem sog. Tierfries- und Fikellurastil in Milet, in J. Cobet, V. von Graeve, W.-D. Niemeier, K. Zimmermann, ed., *Frühes Ionien: Eine Bestandsaufnahme, Akten des Symposions am Panionion 26.9.–1.10. 1999*, Milesische Forschungen 4 (in press)

Shefton, B.B. 'Greeks and Greek Imports in the South of the Iberian Peninsula. The archaeological evidence', in H.G. Niemeyer, ed., *Phönizier im Westen*, 337–370

——. 'Zum Import und Einfluß mediterraner Güter in Alteuropa', *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 22 (1989) 207–220

Sourisseau, J.-C. 'Céramiques à pâte claire massaliètes', in A. Hesnard, M. Moliner, F. Conche, M. Bouiron, ed., *Parcours de villes. Marseille: 10 ans d'archéologie, 2600 ans d'histoire*. Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1999, 28–30

Täckholm, U. 'Neue Studien zum Tarsis-Tartessosproblem', *Opuscula romana* 10 (1975) 41–57

Tiverios, M. 'Hallazgos tartésicos en el Hereo de Samos' in P. Cabrera Bonet, C. Sánchez Fernández, ed., *Los Griegos en España*

Tuna-Nörling, Y. 'Phokaia Attika seramiğinden seçmeler', *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 59 (1993) 16–27

——. *Die Ausgrabungen von Alt-Smyrna und Pitane. Die attisch-schwarzfigurige Keramik und der attische Keramikexport nach Kleinasien*. Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1995

——. 'Attic Black—Figure Export to the East: The 'Tyrrhenian Group' in Ionia', in H. Oakley, W.D.E. Coulson, O. Palagia, ed., *Athenian Potters and Painters. The Conference Proceedings*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997, 435–446

Utili, F. *Die archaische Nekropole von Assos*, Asia Minor Studien 31. Bonn: R. Habelt, 1999

Van Compernolle, T. 'Da Otranto a Sibari: un primo studio pluridisciplinare delle produzioni magno-greche di coppe ioniche', in F. Burragato, L. Lazzarini, ed., *Proceedings of the 1st European Workshop on Archaeological Ceramics*. Rome: Università degli studi di Roma, 1994, 343–48

——. 'Coppe di tipo ionico', in E. Lippolis, ed., *Arte e artiginato in Magna Grecia*, Napoli: Electa, 1996, 299–302

Villard, F., Vallet, G. 'Megara Hyblaea V. Lampes du VII^{e} siècle et chronologie des coupes ioniennes', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 67 (1955) 7–34
Villard, F. La céramique grecque de Marseille (VI^{e}–IV^{e} siècle). Essai d'histoire économique. Paris: De Boccard, 1960
——. 'La céramique archaïque de Marseille', in M. Bats *et al.*, ed., *Marseille grecque et la Gaule*, 163–170
von Graeve, V. 'Grabung auf dem Kalabaktepe', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 37 (1987)
——. Milet 1996–1997, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1999) 1–472
Walter, H. *Frühe samische Gefäße. Chronologie und Landschaftsstile ostgriechischer Gefäße. Samos V.* Bonn: R. Habelt, 1968
Walter-Karydi, E. 'Äolische Kunst' in *Studien zur griechischen Vasenmalerei, 7. Beiheft zur Halbjahresschrift Antike Kunst.* Bern: Franke 1970, 3–18
Walter, H., Frühe samische Gefäße. Chronologie und Landschaftsstile ostgriechischer Gefäße, Samos V. Bonn: R. Habelt, 1968
Walter-Karydi, E. 'Äolische Kunst' in *Studien zur griechischen Vasenmalerei, 7. Beiheft zur Halbjahresschrift Antike Kunst.* Bern: Franke 1970, 3–18
——. *Samische Gefäße des 6. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Samos VI 1, Bonn: R. Habelt, 1973

COPIES OF POTTERY: BY AND FOR WHOM?

John Boardman
University of Oxford

My subject indulges speculation in several interests shared with our honorand, who has been a close friend since student days in Greece over fifty years ago. It is one which perforce takes us east as well as west, since the phenomenon of copying pottery shapes and decoration is not an exclusively western one in the early period that is our concern, and very similar circumstances may be involved in widely separated places. I have no intention to propose a theory of copying; far from it, since it will appear that every case has to be treated on its merits, and the different factors involved may suggest different plausible explanations, or sometimes none at all. This is very much a problem for close analysis of the material surviving, and adequate assessment of the circumstances, historical, cultural and material, in which it arises; but some patterns may emerge.

There is a tendency nowadays to dissociate pots from people, a reaction against former assumptions that pottery could explain everything, but a reaction that has gone too far. Pottery is the most functional of all artefacts still available for an archaeologist to study. Most was in daily use and not tied to specific trades or social classes. Its forms and decoration are wholly determined by and for the society for which it was made, and differences in shapes indicate differences in the needs of the people using it. So, in our context, it would be fair to suppose that you do not copy forms and decoration in pottery unless you want to use them, or can sell them to people who want to use them; nor do you copy forms and decoration which are useless or positively undesirable to potential users. There are no serious problems, for example, in understanding the readiness of Euboeans to copy certain Corinthian shapes, with their decoration, at an early date, given their ubiquity in the Greek world. The problem for the archaeologist, where there is one, resolves itself largely into a matter of identifying motivation.

Why copy? Not, usually, because the model is prettier than any more familiar product, though this will operate in periods later than

that with which we are dealing, which is mainly the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. But even at an early date decorators, and to a lesser degree potters, may be inspired by the products of others. Copies may serve a new need which has been generated by familiarity with and use of their models; if the models had not been useful they would not have been copied, and I take it as axiomatic that one did not copy anything that was meaningless, useless or positively alien to current usage. Commercial competition could be a motive, though perhaps not a strong one for the early period, and only effective if there was access to both the market and, if it was involved, the product being marketed in or with the pottery. It would be possible to prolong such speculation about appropriate circumstances for copying, but I prefer to turn to examples, and this prologue serves mainly to insist that pottery was neither used nor made mindlessly in antiquity, and that it remains a very important indicator of the people by whom it was made, and for whom it was made, or who came to use it. 'Pots are for People' should be the slogan. The makers' intentions and the users' expectations are more important even than the activity of any traders, carriers or other middlemen. After all, there would be no trade if there was no one to produce and no one to buy.

The most interesting instances occur not between ethnically related neighbours, like Greek states, but between the ethnically and sometimes socially unrelated. In our case this means Greeks on the one hand, at home or in colonies, and non-Greeks—either the populations of colonized regions, or more often, the Levantine colleagues or competitors, Phoenician or other.

I start in the east with three examples which are not without relevance in the west as well. There are in Cyprus and on the Levant coast opposite examples of Euboean dishes (or plates), decorated with pendant semicircles, which are not very conspicuous among finds in Euboea itself, but which copy closely a Cypriot shape (Fig. 1). This seems a clear case of production to satisfy a particular market in Cyprus which had taken note of Euboean sub-Protogeometric decoration and fancied it enough to use it. But the shape would not have been useless in Greece itself, where flat dishes of very similar proportions were known. Coldstream takes them to be rare early examples of pottery for eating rather than drinking, and that such usage was eastern only in early days. This may be so; I am not sure; not sure either about any pottery for eating from, rather than dis-

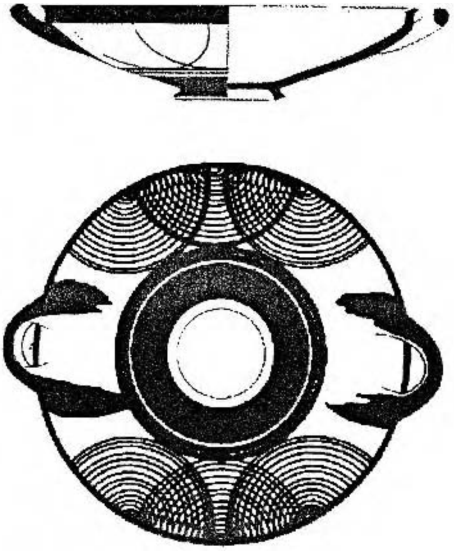


Fig. 1: Euboean Sub-protogeometric plate (Eretria Museum; Lefkandi, Toumba grave 42).

play of food on the table, but this is another question. I take it that most such plate-like vessels, for a long time, were for serving food such as bread or fruit to tables, which is how they appear in later archaic representations. They were not eaten from, as are plates today. The earliest for the Greek world, latest Attic Middle Geometric II, are probably inspired by little wicker platters with a twist of straw for the handles.[1]

Secondly, there is a class of Late Geometric skyphoi distributed mainly in the north-east corner of the Mediterranean, with finds in Cyprus, Cilicia, and a little way down the Levantine coast, but exceptionally numerous in Syria in proportion to other pottery. The shapes are close to Euboean Late Geometric, and so is most of their decoration; not, however, all of it. Many of the cups have plain interiors with bands of multiple stripes, and some are decorated in red and black bichrome, both of these being Cypriot features (Fig. 2).

---

[1] J.N. Coldstream, 'Drinking and eating in Euboean Pithekoussai' in M. Bats, B. d'Agostino, ed., *Euboica* (Naples, 1998), 303–310; his Fig. 2 (from *Lefkandi* III) is our Fig. 1. I explore the use of plates in *Greek Vases* (London, 2000) ch. 7.

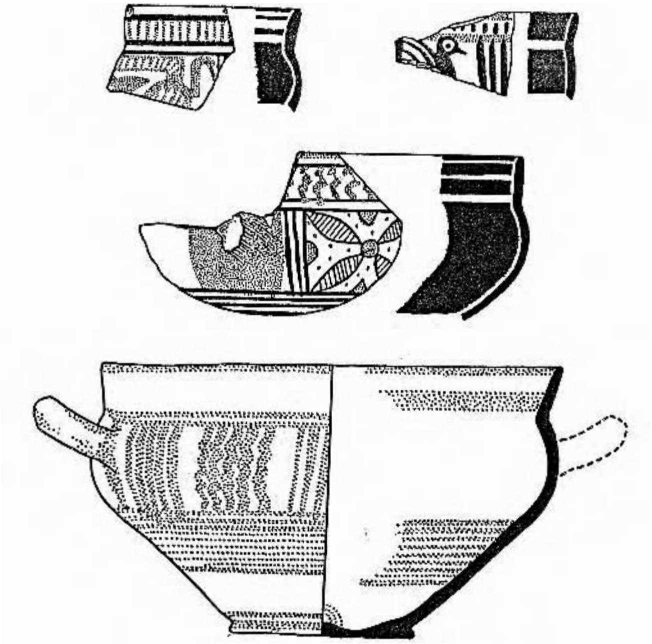


Fig. 2: Euboea-Levantine cups from Al Mina (London, Institute of Archaeology 55.1793); Oxford 1954.371, 514 and 1937.409, the last two from levels 8 and 9).

The potting is very fine-walled and declares a Greek hand, not Cypriot or Syrian, but the combination of decoration and the non-Greek fabric suggests an eastern source, manned by Greeks. One fragment (Fig. 2, top left) has a purely Euboean type of Geometric bird, with the raised angular wing.

In the first generation of Al Mina, at the Orontes mouth and at the threshold of Syria, twenty percent of the pottery is of this class and virtually all the rest Greek, Euboean or related import. So I call it Euboeo-Levantine now. I once thought it could have been made in Al Mina, and Dr Kearsley still thinks so. Somewhere else in Syria is possible, after all there may have been other Al Minas, unidentified or washed away by the Orontes, as Al Mina itself nearly was, and possibly earlier than Al Mina. Cyprus is the other possibility, but clay analysis has proved indecisive. Could there have been a Cypriot equivalent to Al Mina at the mouth of the Orontes? The Greek-speaking residents of Cyprus seem to have been numerous in

this period and influential, no doubt playing their part in non-Cypriot Greek, that is Euboean, investigation of the approach to Syria. But they had over the centuries adopted the living habits of the other islanders, distinctively Cypriot but more Levantine than Aegean in material matters.[2]

The reason for production of these skyphoi is easy to divine—it was to supply a required commodity locally without the need to import: a common enough phenomenon with the pottery on western colonial sites. For whom it was made is no more difficult a question in the light of the dominant Euboean finds in the site's earliest years, but this needs a slight digression. At its simplest, the decisive element is the simple fact that Greeks preferred to drink from cups with handles and feet, had long preferred to, back into the Bronze Age, and would long continue to. Cypriots had similar habits but their cups are generally bigger and thicker walled. Easterners—Syrians, Assyrians and Phoenicians—preferred to drink from handleless and often footless cups, smaller than the Greek ones; they had long preferred to, and would long continue to, down to Achaemenid Persian and Sasanian, even Muslim times. The absolutely different character of the different social and cultural habits surely meant that no easterner would have looked for or wanted to import in quantity Greek handled and footed cups, except as curiosities, and to élite easterners clay cups were probably regarded as somewhat squalid. They were not admitted in numbers until, with the fifth century, Greek habits were being consciously copied and the cups themselves might also appeal for their quality and decoration.

By the same token no Greek wanted a hemispherical bowl as a cup. Even when he copied the eastern phiale, which is handleless, he did not normally use it in the symposium, but retained it for ritual use in libation. He preferred to add handles and foot and so made the series of Little Master cups. So our Euboeo-Levantine cups must have been made for Greeks and by Greeks, for local use in areas where they were newly settled.[3]

---

[2] I discussed the class in 'Greek Potters at Al Mina?', *Anatolian Studies* 9 (1959) 163–169 (where part of fig. 1 is our Fig. 2), believing it to be locally made. Since then it has been declared for Cyprus itself, and again for Syria: discussion by the writer, in G. Tsetskhladze, ed., *Ancient Greeks. West and East* (Leiden, 1999), 148 ('The excavated history of Al Mina').

[3] I explore the question of Greek and eastern cups in G. Tsetskhladze and A.M.

Fig. 3: Rhodian (?) flask from Ischia (Ischia Museum, grave 159, 5).

The only exception to the Greek practice seems to point the rule. For a while at and after 600 B.C. wealthy Corinthians use deep semicircular bowls with wide flutes; these may seem eastern in spirit though they do not copy closely any eastern model and look most like half-melons. The prime example is the gold Cypselid bowl in Boston, and similar appear on a half dozen symposion tables on Corinthian craters, some beside ordinary Greek cup shapes with feet and handles, metal or clay. So perhaps here too, like the later phialai, they had a special function.[4]

The third eastern case is of the so-called spaghetti or KW flasks, made for oil, and very distinctively decorated (Fig. 3). The shape is Levantine, the decoration specifically Cypriot, with multiple-brush decoration used on and off the compass or pivot. There are many on Rhodes and they were well distributed in the west, notably to Ischia, in the later eighth and early seventh centuries, but not to the east. They were enough for Coldstream to postulate the presence of Phoenician perfumiers in Rhodes, which is presumed to be their place of production. That they are Rhodian is likely to be true but has yet to be proved analytically, and we have learned to be wary of calling too many things Rhodian. I would think that Greek potters, probably in Rhodes, perceived a market conditioned by Cypriot rather than Phoenician export, since the decoration is Cypriot, not Phoenician; this market they, and suppliers of perfumed oil, were able to exploit both at home and in the market to the west. The

Snodgrass, ed., *Greek Settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea* (Oxford, 2001).

[4] H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931), 211–212. J. Boardman, *Greek Vases* (London, 2000), ch. 7 and fig. 269, for discussion and illustration.

shapes are determined by the commodity, and by no means foreign to a Greek environment and behaviour with oil. The decoration proclaims a presumably desirable and prestigious source.[5]

We now turn west but have first to define an important eastern shape. The flat dish with a broad rim was one decorated in Red Slip all along the eastern coast, from Syria through Phoenicia to Palestine, and indiscriminate identification of all specimens as Phoenician is seriously misleading. Local sources can only be determined by clay analysis. It appears at Al Mina only in its second generation, in the last quarter of the eighth century, when half the pottery remains Greek, and the rest, with some Red Slip dishes, is broadly Cypro-Levantine, a class which presents a different problem which I cannot pursue here.[6]

Dishes of this shape are found in the Euboean Greek settlement and cemetery on Ischia in the west. There are few Red Slip imports, of uncertain origin. But there are several plain examples, said from their clay to have been made locally. One should assume perhaps that they are for the use of immigrant easterners, more probably Syrians than Phoenicians to judge from everything else found at Ischia, but we cannot be sure. We cannot however say categorically that they would have been useless to the Greeks, who were familiar with open dishes, though not quite of this shape but with broad sloping walls, and, of course, usually with handles, like those made for Cyprus which I have already remarked. But there could have been little reason for an Ischian potter to produce the shape if there were no buyers accustomed to the shape. The nationality of the potter is irrelevant and there seems nothing decisive in this respect in the making of them. The mere fact that he made them is enough to suggest that he had a conditioned market available already.

---

[5] For the KW flasks, J.N. Coldstream, 'The Phoenicians of Ialysos', *BICS* 16 (1969) 1–8; J. Boardman, 'Orientalia and Orientals on Ischia', *AION* n.s. 1 (1994) 97; A. Peserico, 'L'interazione culturale greco-fenicia' in *Alle Soglie della Classicità. Studi S. Moscati* (Pisa/Roma, 1996), II, 899–924. Coldstream has well explored other Greek imitations of eastern flasks in the Dodecanese and Crete; see V. Karageorghis, N. Stampolidis, ed., 'Crete and the Dodecanese' in *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete* (Athens, 1998) 255–263. Any specifically Phoenician element remains speculative, especially à-propos of KW flasks or any Black on Red wares which seem wholly Cypriot (I am indebted to Nicola Schreiber for some discussion of these). Our Fig. 3 is from G. Buchner and D. Ridgway, *Pithekoussai* I (Naples, 1993), pl. 61.

[6] J. Boardman, *op. cit.* (n. 2, 1999) 149–150.

However, the probable use of the shape by Greeks is equally demonstrated by the fact that it was also made locally with purely Euboean Greek geometric decoration. These must be made by Greek potter-painters. For their customers we have to choose between non-Greeks who were used to the shape but seduced by Greek pattern, or by Greeks who had good use for the shape as we have seen. Their existence, however, seems to me enough to prove the presence of some non-Greek customers who favoured the shape and encouraged the production.[7] There are similar dishes and alleged local copies at Zancle in Sicily.[8]

Further problems with the dishes cannot be pursued here, or must at best be hinted at. The nearest Greek shape appeared before the end of Middle Geometric II in Attica, and its shape and wickerwork origins have been discussed above. It is notable that virtually all Greek dishes and plates have a pair of holes bored in their rims; the Phoenician have none. We assume the holes are for hanging up and any decoration is more commonly on the 'outside'. Could any be lids for containers of perishable material, since this is the way to fasten lids? Are any of them exclusively 'eating vessels'? Indeed, are there any 'eating vessels' in the early period?

We turn now to the seventh century in the west, and imitations of Greek cups which appear to have been made in western Phoenician settlements. The complex from Toscanos in south Spain has been well published by Briese and Docter, after several discussions by Niemeyer (Fig. 4).[9] We cannot tell what proportion they represent of all pottery finds of the same period on the site, which is a pity. They must be a minority, yet substantial enough, it seems, for production to be maintained, perhaps for a century. The kotyle (Fig. 5) is approaching 6th-century proportions with its inturned lip, yet retains the earlier style of decoration which had become a workshop habit, not seriously updated with reference to Corinthian production. The shapes are purely Corinthian or of the Thapsos class,

---

[7] For the Ischia plates, G. Buchner, in H.G. Niemeyer, ed., *Phönizier im Westen* (Mainz, 1982), 288–290; D. Ridgway, *The First Western Greeks* (Cambridge, 1992), 88–89, 116–118.

[8] G.M. Bacci, 'Zancle: un aggiornamento', in *Euboica* (see n. 1) 387–390.

[9] C. Briese and R. Docter, 'Der phönizische Skyphos', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 33 (1992) 25–69. Our Fig. 4 is their fig. 3, Fig. 5 their fig. 1a, Fig. 6 their fig. 12. For the Phoenician model for our Fig. 6, their fig. 2e.

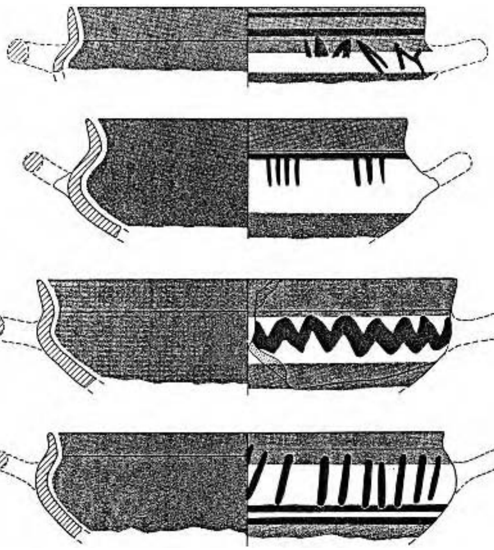


Fig. 4: Cups from Toscanos.

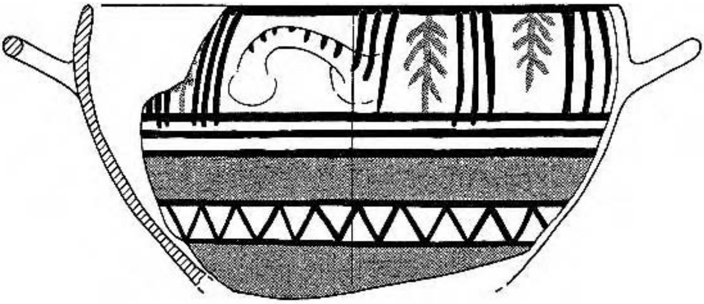


Fig. 5: Kotyle from Toscanos.

which for present purposes can be considered with Corinthian, though some of us still doubt whether they were made in Corinth. The overall painted decoration is in red or brown but with reserved bands at lip or handle zone. This is not especially Greek at all, but the overlying linear decoration certainly is. It is very simple, not a straight copy of Greek styles, and comes closest to the Greek where there are no more than striped lips and handle zones. I find it very difficult to believe that such cups were made in the first place for use by

easterners whose drinking gear was, as we have seen, totally alien. If they had been, it would mean that something was happening on a western Phoenician site that never happened on an eastern Phoenician one. Moreover, the record of the Greek-style cups at each western site is different, and I cannot believe that only a small proportion of the Phoenician population was attracted to Greek cup shapes, and over generations. The obvious answer should be that the cups were made locally for Greek use. Recent views about Greeks in the Mediterranean allow them no foothold in Spain so early, but I do not see any other reasonable answer, and our honorand has been instructing us often in the evidence for Greek interests even in the south of Spain at an early date, even if not settlement. Kolaios was surely real enough.

The situation which it suggests is not at all alarming. We have found the locally made dishes of Ischia to be adequate indication of the presence of easterners there, folk who knew how to use them and were used to them. I find no difficulty in a Greek element in Phoenician western settlements, since the Greek-Phoenician rivalry is historically a matter for a much later period, or a phantom conjured by much modern scholarship.[10] There is no justification whatever to look for it in our period. Consider only the amount of Greek pottery, probably from Ischia, found in the earliest levels of western Phoenician sites, from Carthage to Sardinia.[11]

We need not therefore be especially surprised when at Toscanos we also find a small group of cups in the same technique and style as those which copy Corinth, but which rather copy a Phoenician shape, the so-called *vase à chardon* (Fig. 6). But instead of just copying the shape and decoration, the potter has added handles, as would be done for any Greek cup, not an oriental one. So we have in effect what seem to be local copies of purely Greek cups, but also a Phoenician cup shape hellenized for production in the same workshop, and, it could be argued, hellenized in the first place for Hellenes, hardly for Phoenicians.

There remains a problem. Production of hellenizing cups for a

---

[10] The writer in *Greek Settlements* . . . (above, n. 3). H.G. Niemeyer in *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 15/17 (1988/90) 273–274 recognizes the 'hellenizing horizon' in south-east Span.

[11] Generally, on 'nationality' at these early sites, D. Ridgway in A.M. Snodgrass *et al.*, ed., *Periplous* (London, 2000), 235–242.

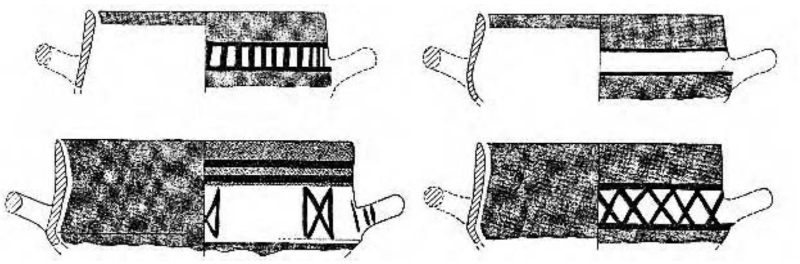


Fig. 6: Cups from Toscanos.

Greek element in the early population at Toscanos is one thing. That the continued production of these cups for a century meant a continuing Greek element there is another matter. It is not altogether impossible, but we would need some Greek-looking tomb groups to prove it. Not that even these need be decisive, since after a generation or so of living side by side it is very likely that burial customs would have adapted too; they were not so dissimilar. But it would be wrong to assign to casual Phoenician taste such a drastic yet selective change of behaviour, in what was after all a very basic social activity—drinking.

A comparable phenomenon may be observed at other western Phoenician sites, with some differences. We need comprehensive clay analyses to determine whether we are dealing with local production, or import from other Phoenician centres; to be sure, for instance, that the Toscanos material did not come from elsewhere, because there was a perceived specialist, that is Greek, local market for it. Thus, at Carthage, we have both imported Greek pottery from the earliest years, and locally made imitations not unlike the Toscanos material. There are especially among the early pieces copies of the Thapsos cup shape.[12] An early Greek interest in the Carthage area is highly probable at any rate, before it became clear that this was to be a Phoenician preserve. The presence of Euboean place names in the area (Euboea, Naxian islands, Pithekoussai) which could hardly have been given except at a very early date, seems nowadays overlooked by historians.[13] At Motya in east Sicily the imitations are

[12] Briese and Docter, *op. cit.* 58–61.

[13] Attention was drawn to them by H. Treidler, 'Eine alte ionische Kolonisation

mainly of the simpler Corinthian cup forms and relatively late, it seems. Moreover one such cup is a common presence in tomb groups beside other and Phoenician vases, so it seems that at Motya Phoenicians may have been prepared to change habits, at least when it came to tomb furniture.[14] We have no more right to think that one hellenized cup makes a grave for a Greek, than to hold that a minority of eastern goods, often of different origin, in a grave at Ischia, indicates the grave of a non-Greek, though this is an argument that can be heard. It has not always proved easy for some scholars to apply the same criteria on Greek sites as they do on non-Greek ones.

Greek cups were, of course, common imports from the very beginning on native Italian sites in central and southern Italy, and were copied early too. These did not present any problems of revised drinking behaviour, however, as they must have done for easterners, and we cannot say whether their popularity was due to their quality or some ritual connotation attached to them locally, which is what their excavator believes.[15]

I have dwelt on pottery, but the kotyle shape suggests a brief but perhaps revealing digression on metal vessels. Some six silver kotylai of the middle quarters of the seventh century have been found in Italy. The shape itself, deep and handled, could hardly be more Greek, but the silver examples were clearly decorated by easterners, probably Phoenicians, in the west. They are decorated, not in Greek style but in eastern, so this is a different phenomenon to that of the Greek shape in clay being copied together with its Greek decoration. But the explanation is basically the same. The eastern craftsman applies decoration familiar to him and, by then, to his customer, but in this case the customer is not a Greek, nor even a thoroughly hellenized easterner, but an Etruscan who has tasted both the Phoenician world of luxury objects and the Greek world of decoration and behaviour especially for drinking vessels. On more than

---

im numidischer Afrika', *Historia* 8 (1959) 257–283; Naxos was a Euboean colony in Sicily.

[14] F. Bevilacqua *et al.*, *Mozia* VII (Rome, 1972), pls. 91.1, 92.1–2. The Toscanos finds are not from tombs.

[15] As B. d'Agostino suggests in *Euboica* (above, n. 1), 365; they look too mean to me to be 'ceremonial gifts', which would be debased if copied.

one occasion the decoration was done before the silversmith was persuaded to add the handles.[16]

A way towards a solution or explanation for the phenomena I have just mentioned would be to look at all the rest of the material involved, not just a few metal kotylai, and not be too surprised at evidence for mixed tastes in any population aware of passing or adjacent foreigners. This might seem easier to explain in Ischia, but there is slight enough evidence for any very close relationship or common experience between the Greeks there and the Phoenicians of Sardinia in early years. Western Greek and Sardinian experiences of Greek goods in the eighth to seventh centuries are very different, and there are considerable differences too between Ischia and Sardinia in terms of eastern goods, pottery and other (notably the types of scarab imported).

There is a potentially nice case history in Sardinia itself. At the native site of Sant'Imbenia there is Phoenician and Euboean pottery, of the pendant-semicircle period and later. This seems to indicate a place for prospecting Greeks and Phoenicians to visit. The notion that all Greek pottery outside Ischia in the west has to be carried by Phoenicians is extreme. The Greeks had been far longer in this area than any easterner; it was on their doorstep. But there is report too at Sant'Imbenia of copies of both Greek and Phoenician pottery.[17] We would like to know who made them, where, and for whom; and I would like to think that science may some day help us to an answer.

Copying, like parody, is a form of compliment. For these early and relatively unsophisticated years better understanding of copying in such a popular and ubiquitous craft as pottery cannot fail to be revealing of much else of a social and historical character. It will require those qualities of observation and imagination of which Brian has shown himself a master.

---

[16] F.-W. von Hase, 'Ägaische, griechische und vorderorientalische Einflüsse . . .' *Beiträge RGZM* 35 (1995) 282 (fig. 36, Pontecagnano). G. Markoe suggests they may have been made in Campania, even Ischia: 'In pursuit of silver: Phoenicians in Central Italy', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 19/20 (1992/3) 11–31. For a less well known example, B. d'Agostino, 'La kotyle della Tomba Barberini', *Koina* (Miscellanea . . . Piero Orlandini, 1999), 73–86. I would expect production in the area in which they were used.

[17] D. Ridgway in *Euboica* (see n. 1), 316–320. The Euboean is 'pre-Ischia'.

Bibliography

Bacci, G.M. 'Zancle: un aggiornamento', in M. Bats, B. d'Agostino, ed., *Euboica*, 387–392

Bats, M., d'Agostino, B., ed., *Euboica. l'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente*. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard, 1998

Bevilacqua, F. *et al.*, *Mozia* VII. Rome: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, 1972

Boardman, J. 'Greek Potters at Al Mina?', *Anatolian Studies* 9 (1959) 163–169

——. 'Orientalia and Orientals on Ischia', *Annali, Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* n.s. 1 (1994) 95–100

——. 'The excavated history of Al Mina', in G. Tsetskhladze, ed., *Ancient Greeks. West and East*, Leiden: Brill, 1999, 135–63

——. *The history of Greek vases*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2000

Briese, C., Docter, R. 'Der phönizische Skyphos', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 33 (1992) 25–69

Buchner, G. 'Die Beziehungen zwischen der euböischen Kolonie Pithekoussai auf der Insel Ischia und dem nordwestsemitischen Mittelmeerraum in der zweiten Hälfte des 8. Jhs. v. Chr.', in H.G. Niemeyer, ed., *Phönizier im Westen*, Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1982, 277–306

——, Ridgway, D. *Pithekoussai* I. Roma: G. Bretschneider, 1993

Coldstream, J.N. 'The Phoenicians of Ialysos', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 16 (1969) 1–8

——. 'Crete and the Dodecanese', in V. Karageorghis, N. Stampolidis, ed., *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete*, Athens: A.G. Leventis Foundation, 1998, 255–263

——. 'Drinking and eating in Euboean Pithekoussai', in M. Bats, B. d'Agostino, ed., *Euboica*, 303–310

d'Agostino, B., Soteriou, A. 'Campania in the framework of the earliest Greek colonization in the West', in M. Bats, B. d'Agostino, ed., *Euboica*, 355–68

——. 'La kotyle della Tomba Barberini', in *Koina. Miscellanea di studi archeologici in onore di Piero Orlandini*. Milan: Edizioni ET, 1999, 73–86

Markoe, G. 'In pursuit of silver: Phoenicians in Central Italy', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 19/20 (1992/3) 11–31

Niemeyer, H.G. 'Die Griechen und die iberische Halbinsel: zur historischen Deutung der archäologischen Zeugnisse', *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 15/17 (1988/90) 269–306

Payne, H. *Necrocorinthia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931

Peserico, A. 'L'interazione culturale greco-fenicia', in *Alle Soglie della Classicità. il Mediterraneo tra tradizione e innovazione: studi in onore di Sabatino Moscati*. Pisa/Roma: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 1996, II, 899–924

Ridgway, D. *The First Western Greeks*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992

——. 'L'Eubea e l'Occidente: nuovi spunti sulle rotte dei metalli', in M. Bats, B. d'Agostino, ed., *Euboica*, 311–322

——. 'Seals, Scarabs and People in Pithekoussai', in A.M. Snodgrass *et al.*, ed., *Periplous. Papers on classical art and archaeology presented to Sir John Boardman*, London: Thames and Hudson, 2000, 235–242

Treidler, H. 'Eine alte ionische Kolonisation im numidischer Afrika', *Historia* 8 (1959) 257–283

von Hase, F.-W. 'Ägaische, griechische und vorderorientalische Einflüsse auf das tyrrhenische Mittelitalien', *Beiträge Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum* 35 (1995) 239–86

A SHORT HISTORY OF PYGMIES IN GREECE AND ITALY

Maurizio Harari
University of Pavia

I am that pygmy of the dances of god,
who diverts the god in front of his great throne!

(The *Pyramid Texts*)

A war-cry, a shriek of dying!
A rolling flap of agonizing wings!

(W. Goethe, *Faust*)

The imagery of Pygmies may give a good insight into Greek and non-Greek perception of ethnical and cultural identity, since Pygmies are surely a non-Greek anthropological phenomenon, just at the bounds or out of bounds of human nature (according to what the Greeks meant by human nature). On the other hand—we will discuss that—this same imagery could be assimilated also by non-Greek cultures and in particular by the Etruscans, with a range of new functions, which we should assume different from its original ones.

Since I first became interested in this topic (especially in the Etruscan aspect) and mentioned it to Sir John Boardman ten years ago, on the occasion of my visit to the Beazley Archive, meantime, the publication of some excellent papers by Véronique Dasen[1] and one of the last contributions by the late Professor Cristofani, prior to his untimely death,[2] opened up new routes of interpretation, within a wide and nearly complete catalogue of images. My attempt at saying something new about this very old story is today dedicated to

[1] V. Dasen, 'Dwarfs in Athens', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 9.2 (1990) 191–207; *Ead.*, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (Oxford, 1993); Ead., 'Pygmaioi', in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* 7 (1994) 594–601.

[2] M. Cristofani, 'Itinerari iconografici nella ceramografia volterrana', in *Aspetti della cultura di Volterra etrusca fra l'età del Ferro e l'età ellenistica . . . Atti del XIX Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici* (Firenze, 1997), 175–192.

Prof. Brian B. Shefton, who has so often and so subtly investigated the processes of the iconographical transmission and the stylistic imitation or reinterpretation from Greece to Etruria.

The Pygmies I would like to deal with in this session are not the more recent and diffuse we usually find in Nilotic and grotesque imagery of the Hellenistic and Roman age; but the exotic, fierce protagonists of the Geranomachy, their mythical war against the cranes, who in Greek iconography—except for some asserted but maybe opinable anticipations—are documented since the first decades of the 6th century B.C., and in Etruria chiefly in the 4th and 3rd century B.C. These are the Pygmies who personify, in a very transparent way, a status of irreducible geographic, cultural, racial and anatomic alienism.

I emphasize that I entirely share the conclusion persuasively drawn by Pietro Janni,[3] looking at the seasonal war of these small warriors—mentioned by sources which go from Homer and Hesiod to Strabo and Pliny and others—as a myth common to many far off cultures, to be taken out of that exclusively African environment, which our experience of modern geographical explorations anachronistically believed obvious and implicit also in the testimony of ancient writers. On the other hand, I can not follow Alain Ballabriga,[4] in his attempt at again bringing geranomachy to 'matière d'Éthiopie', for all the famous dwarfs of the countries of Yam and Punt, quoted in a letter by Pharaoh Pepy II—who were not necessarily Pygmies—, and those of the much later Nilotic landscapes—according to Janni, a 'trasposizione caricaturale degli autentici cacciatori' of crocodiles. There is no sure proof, I think, that the Pygmies of the Greek legend correspond with any ethnographical reality, although misunderstood or deformed by epic poetry: as the hominids of prehistoric anthropology, they signified—but in a fabulous dimension—a status of an extreme chronological and geographical distance, a sort of prehistoric premise to the human condition.

According to Hesiod[5] they are issue of both Gaea (the Earth) and Poseidon (the Sea), therefore elementary and primary creatures—in

[3] P. Janni, *Etnografia e mito. La storia dei Pigmei* (Rome-Bari, 1978).

[4] A. Ballabriga, 'Le malheur des Nains. Quelques aspects du combat des grues contre les Pygmées dans la littérature grecque', *RÉA* 83 (1981) 57–74, especially 60 note 19 and 72–73.

[5] Merkelbach-West, fr. 150, 9–12, 18–19.

the 17th century A.D. somebody perhaps would have called them 'pre-Adamites'—; according to Homer[6] they live on the bank of the Ocean river, that is to say at the borders of the world, as the worrying Cimmerians: liminal creatures, much closer to the dead than the living—but not so really 'inconsistantes, sans ardeur' and 'faibles', as Ballabriga likes to picture them[7], emphasizing too much perhaps Hesiod's epithet ἀμενηνοί. They subsist breeding small animals[8] and practising a scanty agriculture, always in danger because of the raids of the cranes;[9] they do not know, of course, either the πρῆξις or the ἐμπορίη and are excluded from any way of urbanized life—according to Aristotle,[10] they still lived in caves underground(!). They are obviously unable to train horses, therefore they ride rams, goats or partridges;[11] when they hunt or fight (but their fight was in practice a hunt) they use rustic, primitive weapons: they are quite good archers and try to rouse fear in the enemy by making a great fuss using castanets.[12] If we refer to the basic view of Thucydides and Aristotle—that urbanization is discriminative between history and prehistory, civilization and barbarity, and every man has a 'political' citizen's nature—, it becomes easy to realize that the Pygmies of literary tradition belonged to a space conceived as wholly extra-historical and extra-Greek, in spite of their originally non parodist connection with epic and the heroes.

As from Kleitias[13] (pl. 1) and Nearchos,[14] Greek archaic iconography exactly corresponds to the literary tradition. We may remark, first of all, the absence of any anatomical characterization or deformation, which could suggest a racial, negroid identity or a pathological dwarfism—from this point of view, it seems clear, the Athenian and East-Greek vase-painters prove to have been quite politically correct . . .—, but the Pygmies (black only because of the painting technique) are physically very well-proportioned, some have a pleasant, ephebic look; they accept, in a dignified way, a battle which is

---

[6] *Il.* 3, 3–7.
[7] Ballabriga, 'Le malheur' 61.
[8] Ctesias, *FGrH* 688 F45, 493–4; Arist., *Hist. An.* 8, 12, 597a.
[9] Hecataeus, *FGrH* 1 F328b; Ov., *Fast.* 6, 176; Pompon. Mela 3, 8, 81.
[10] *Loc. cit.*
[11] Basilis, *FGrH* 718 F1; Plin., *NH* 7, 26.
[12] Hecataeus, *loc. cit.*
[13] *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 1.
[14] *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 2.

Pl. 1: Florence 4209, from Chiusi, Attic black-figure volute-krater signed by Klitias and Ergotimos: detail, geranomachy [from Adolf Furtwängler & Karl Reichhold, Griechische Vasenmalerei 1 (München, 1904) pl. 3].

no laughing matter: 'men', Homer calls them, significantly.[15] Their difference from the major heroes—whom far more visible registers are reserved for, within the decorative system of the François krater[16] (but I would not attribute the deplacement of the geranomachy to its foot either to a sort of conceptual degradation or a parodical counterpoint, but to the expression of a topographic marginality)—the difference of the Pygmies is underlined, besides their obviously short stature, just by their pastoral and peasant arming (λαγωβόλα, clubs, slings). To quote John Beazley:[17] 'The weapons of the pygmies . . . are those used by the farmer . . . to protect the crops from birds, including cranes'. It is impressive to discover that both the

[15] *Il.* 3, 6.

[16] On the François krater, recently: C. Isler-Kerényi, 'Der François-Krater zwischen Athen und Chiusi', in J.H. Oakley, W.D.E. Coulson, and O. Palagia, eds., *Athenian Potters and Painters. The Conference Proceedings* (Oxford, 1997), 523–539 [Geranomachy: 530]; also T. Hölscher and M. Torelli, both forthcoming.

[17] J.D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-figure* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1951), 37.

Fig. 1: Lost, from Rhodes (Ialysos-Marmaro, tomb No. 10), golden diadem: geranomachy [drawing by Harari].

offensive use of the club and the defensive device of the left arm wrapped in a cloth have recurred, after a very long period of time, in the geranomachy painted eastward of the Caspian Sea in a map in the wonderful Catalan Atlas, at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (14th century A.D.!).[18]

The fragments of an Attic *Bandschale* in Berlin[19] and a Fikellura amphora at Münster[20] might seem to be exceptions to such a general rule of anatomical correctness. But the prominent bellies and glutei of the three Berlinese Pygmies point out rather some iconographic interference with images of komasts (if not even a possible theatrical context); whereas the rounded, nearly plump figures of the Münster Pygmies are due to a preference which is more stylistic than iconographic and quite typical of the East Greek archaic language.

I believe far more problematic the case of a golden embossed diadem (fig. 1), found in the tomb No. 10 at Marmaro (Ialysos, Rhodes) and probably lost, which was published more than sixty years ago by Luciano Laurenzi,[21] coming from a context dated to the third quarter of the 6th century B.C. (a Fikellura stamnos; some Attic black-figure vases: the eponymous kylix of the Marmaro Painter, an hydria by the Painter of Louvre F6, a mastoid skyphos; plus a seal-ring with the winged boar of Ialysos and Klazomenai).[22] The poor photographs do not prevent us from recognizing the skilful, humorous anatomical deformation of the eight Pygmies who are quarreling with

[18] Département des Manuscrits, MSS. ESP. 30 (*exposition virtuelle*: www.bnf.fr/web-bnf/expos/ciel/catalan/index.htm).

[19] *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 4.

[20] *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 7.

[21] *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 19.

[22] L. Laurenzi, 'Necropoli ialisie (scavi dell'anno MCMXXXIV–XII)', *Clara Rhodos* 8 (1936) 112–128 [the diadem: fig. 100–101]. In my opinion, the date suggested by Dasen, *loc. cit.* (1st quarter of the 6th century B.C.) is too early.

five cranes: the dwarfs show oblong, bald heads which are too big; short and fatty thighs; small, nearly non-existent calves. I admit the predilection of Ionian (and especially Samian) art for full anatomies at the bounds of obesity—and perhaps even beyond: look at some dressed kouros or the famous throned Branchidai series . . .—but I believe it impossible, however, to deny that the Ialysian Pygmies conform much earlier to that pathologically disproportioned type we know elsewhere, for instance in Athens, not before the 5th century B.C. On the other hand, Dasen properly pointed out a bizarre wooden kourotrophos figurine, from the Heraion at Samos,[23] which might go back to the 7th century and should prove the local reception of the type of the Egyptian achondroplasic Pataikos. Moreover, remember the extraordinary vitality, in the 6th century, of the Ionian scientific school, and therefore the highly probable contribution of medical experiences, too, to such a diagnostic reinterpretation of short stature.

In fact, achondroplasia is the main iconographic innovation of the 5th century Pygmies, since it perfectly answers the naturalistic necessity which rules all the development of Greek art: for the abnormal size of the small heroes is given a rational explanation—κατὰ φύσιν; I would say: scientific—; they were individuals clearly affected with dwarfism, just as that one depicted by the Clinic Painter, in about 470 B.C., gloomily waiting for his turn among other patients, on the unforgettable eponymous aryballos now at the Louvre.[24] Achondroplasia is very well documentated in Egyptian iconography, although it is not described in any medical papyrus, because it was not believed a true disease, but a sort of divine election;[25] in Greece, on the ground of the extant texts, we can firstly quote the *De genitura* in the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, at the end of the 5th century B.C., whereas later Aristotle touched, on several occasions, on the subject of dwarfism, underlining its main features (short intelligence, irrepressible δυναμις, an abnormal sexual power).[26] In some way, all this drew the dwarf

[23] Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt*, 200ff., pl. 79, fig. 1c.

[24] J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases. The Archaic Period: a handbook* (London, 1975) fig. 377.

[25] Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt*, 156ff.; R. Zacco, *La Cultura Medica Nell'Antico Eeitto* (Bologna, 2002), 108.

[26] Hippoc., *Genit.* 9ff. Arist., *Gen. An.* 2, 8, 749a; Hist. An. 6, 24, 577b; Part. An. 4, 10, 686b. *Cf.* Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt*, 216ff.

(and therefore the Pygmy, identified with a dwarf) near to the satyr, with whom he shared a misshapen forehead, a snub nose, frantic movements and an encumbering phallus: thus, also Dionysian iconography interfered with the naturalistic depiction of dwarfism and the influences from Egypto-Phenician imagery, inevitably bringing with it a part of its specific semantic values.

The most impressive and new example is undoubtedly a dog-head rhyton at the Hermitage in St Petersburg,[27] decorated by the Brygos Painter in about 480 B.C., where the Pygmies, stocky as the Japanese *sumo* wrestlers, have faces which might be described as nearly graceful versions of satyr-like masks, with flat turned-up noses and short close beards: I notice their unusual caps of the ἀλωπεκίς type and the spotted fur coat, which suggest the exotic country of this small people is situated in the North or the East, surely not in Africa. A variant of the deformed type is dated to the middle of the century, which was adopted by the painters of the Sotadean workshop and can be recognized by its even more savage and nearly apish features—I quote the Compiègne and Berlin rhyta and the really wonderful one (fig. 2), once in the Hamilton collection[28]—; but Sotades himself seems to aim, in contrast, at toning down the Pygmy's ferocious athleticism in his plastic version, adopted for some figure-vases now in Basle, Bonn, Boston and Erlangen[29] (they are true small sculptures and show the victorious survivor of the battle, with the dead crane painfully dragged by the neck): Enrico Paribeni once suggested, quite oddly but not entirely without foundation, that the mask, too, of a well-known plastic jug from Spina, usually attributed to Charun, could belong to a Sotadean Pygmy.[30]

This humanization process we may perceive in progress during the second half of the 5th century B.C. ends up in the 4th century

[27] *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 8.

[28] H. Hoffmann, *Attic Red-figured Rhyta* (Mainz, 1962) Nos 46 (= *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 11), 49, and 38. Also F. Giudice, *Vasi e frammenti 'Beazley' da Locri Epizefiri* . . . (Catania, 1989), 68 note 376, No. 4.

[29] Basle: K. Schefold and F. Jung, *Die Urkönige, Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles und Theseus in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (München, 1988) fig. 205. Bonn: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Deutschland* 1 (München, 1938), pl. 24, 2, 5. Boston: *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 35. Erlangen: E. Buschor, 'Das Krokodil des Sotades', *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 1919, 24–25, figs. 36–37. Also Giudice, *Vasi e frammenti* 68, note 377, No. 2.

[30] E. Paribeni, 'Di alcuni chiarimenti e di un quiz non risolto', *Numismatica e antichità classiche. Quaderni Ticinesi* 15 (1986) 46f.

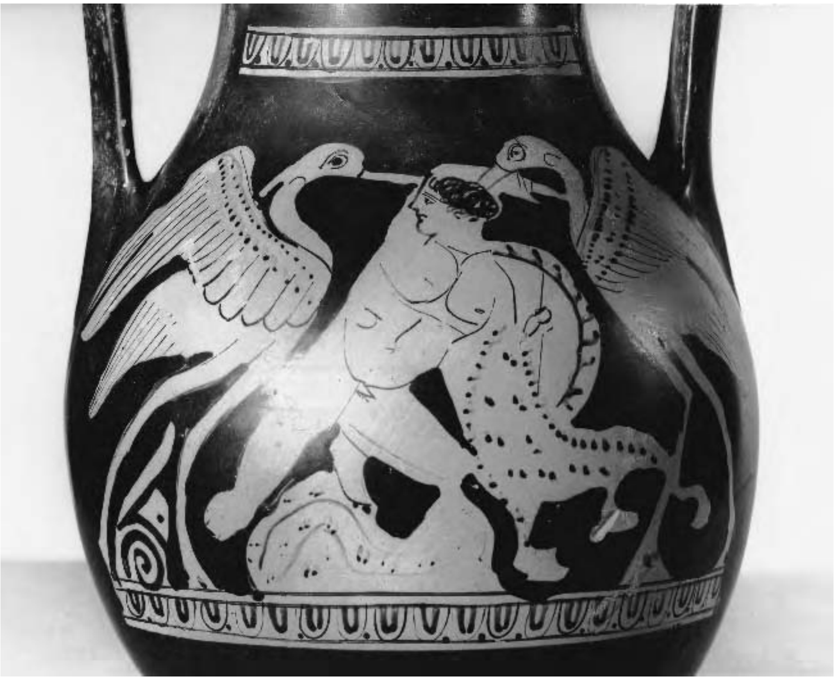
Fig. 2: Lost, once Hamilton collection, Attic red-figure rhyton, detail: geranomachy [from Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie 3, 2, ed. W.H. Roscher (Leipzig, 1902–9) 3295–6 fig. 6].

Attic vase-painting: on the pelikai of the so-called Kerch style,[31] especially intended—as everybody knows—for the Black Sea market, the abnormal anatomical features are disappearing, excepting some single details, which do not produce, however, that total disproportion worthy of an anatomy atlas, attained by the 5th century vase-painters (pl. 2). Weapons, too, so primitive formerly, become now in some way more heroic, sometimes approaching the real ones of the hoplites, although the favourite kind of shield depicted on the Kerch vases, the pelta, sets the small warriors—to quote Lissarrague—'aux marges de la cité'.[32] It is obvious, anyway, that renouncing the monstrosity and recovering the humanity of the Pygmies, in the context of the Kerch-style painting, involved also their conceptual equivalence to the Arimasps of the Pontic legend, who were exactly in the same way engaged in a fatal conflict against the Griffins: which, at this point of our survey, suggests some reflections on the function of such a system of images.

As usual, we have to deal, in general, with painted vases which come from funerary contexts, therefore with the usual question on the possible special funerary significance of their paintings. On the other hand, it is clear that also geranomachy belonged quite legitimately to the major mythological repertory, neither more nor less than amazonomachy, gigantomachy, or the deeds of Hercules, Perseus or Bellerophon; possibly, as several other myths, it had its literary codification, maybe epic, rather than theatrical—someone evoked a

[31] И.В. Штапь (= I.V. Štal), 'Мпф о пигмеях в Северном Причерноморье' (= 'The myth of Pygmies in the Black Sea region'), *Klio* 68 (1986) 2, 351–366. *Cf.* *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 15–16.

[32] F. Lissarrague, *L'autre guerrier: archers, peltastes, cavaliers dans l'imagerie attique* (Paris-Rome, 1990) 151–189.



Pl. 2: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, IV 3221, Attic red-figure pelike: Pygmy between two cranes [courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum: II 10.465].

poem like the *Batrachomyomachia*—; so, its proper function on vases intended for the symposium (before their ultimate consecration to the dead) must not be detached from that exemplary—in the sense of the Latin word *exemplum*—we recognize for many other heroic events. What is most intriguing, in my opinion, is the close contiguity, however, between the imagery of Pygmies (and cranes) and the various bestiary which is so common in Greek art since the beginning of the Orientalizing style: in fact, the cranes belong to the same exotic and worrying fauna as their short but unconquerable enemies. We have a clear evidence of it, exceptionnaly out of the pottery ambit (fig. 3): on a small Corinthian terracotta altar, dated to the second half of the 6th century,[33] the painted frieze links together

[33] *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 18.

Fig. 3: Corinth MF 8953, from Corinth, painted terracotta altar: Pygmy and crane [from M.H. Swindler, 'A terracotta altar in Corinth', *American Journal of Archaeology* 36 (1932) 512ff. pl. F].

the pictures of a lion and a Pygmy drubbing a crane—whereas on another specimen of the same series, almost certainly painted by the same hand, there are a swan and a siren.[34] Therefore—generally speaking—, just as all the Orientalizing bestiary, the Pygmies, too (and the cranes), seem to depict the irreducible distance of remote, barbaric landscapes, and to express with naive immediacy the xenophobic distress of the Greeks engaged in their colonial diaspora—I follow, on this point, the outcome of a brilliant paper by Tonio Hölscher.[35] The consistency of this iconological system is illustrated also in the 4th century B.C., by the remarkable success of this iconog-

[34] O. Broneer, 'The Corinthian Altar Painter', *Hesperia* 16 (1947) 214ff., pl. 50, 1–3.

[35] T. Hölscher, 'Immagini mitologiche e valori sociali nella Grecia arcaica', *in Im Spiegel des Mythos. Bilderwelt und Lebenswelt* (Wiesbaden, 1999), 11–30.

raphy in the Black Sea environment: an extreme landscape, where an often conflictual confrontation took place between the urban, Hellenized life of the farmers on the coast and the brutish nomadism practised by the barbarians living in the steppes—these latter could appear just as the cranes of the legend, because of their seasonal raids and ravages.

Let me look now at the fortunes of these images in Italy. We must notice, first of all, their relative scarcity—which indirectly confirms that they are more deeply rooted in Greek culture. As regards the Etruscan art—except for a precocious and isolated case in the Pontic (Ionizing) workshop of the Paris Painter[36]—, the geranomachy is depicted on a Tarquinian wall-painting,[37] dated (in my opinion) to the first quarter of the 4th century, and about fifteen Volaterran red-figure vases[38] at the end of the 4th—the beginnings of the 3rd century B.C.; if we cross the frontier to the Latium, we may add two more or less contemporary Praenestine cistae.[39] In the Italiote context, besides a plastic vase in Brussels,[40] on the true Sotadean model, I only know the Pygmies of an Apulian red-figure lekanis (belonging to a German private collection),[41] a Paestan painted slab[42] and a clay relief plaquette at Agrigento,[43] all dated to the last decades of the 4th cent B.C.

It seems better to start with the two examples from Magna Graecia, which raise minor problems. The Pygmy painted on the Apulian lekanis, which has been attributed by Güntner to the circle of the Baltimore Painter, faces the crane completely armed, as a true hoplite, in accordance with the prevailing iconographical trend of later Attic

---

[36] *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 20.

[37] *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 20 ter (according to Dasen, late 5th century B.C.).

[38] Several examples in *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 20 bis, 61, 62.

[39] G. Bordenache Battaglia and A. Emiliozzi, edds., *Le ciste prenestine* 1.1 (Roma, 1979), No. 27; 1.2 (Roma, 1990), No. 117.

[40] *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 36.

[41] G. Güntner, in E. Simon, ed., *Mythen und Menschen. Griechische Vasenkunst aus einer deutschen Privatsammlung* (Mainz, 1997), No. 44.

[42] A. Pontrandolfo and A. Rouveret, *Le tombe dipinte di Paestum* (Modena, 1992), 66, 274–276, 392, 464; A. Rouveret, 'Géranomachies et parodies guerrères en milieu italique et romain', in D. Mulliez, ed., *La transmission de l'image dans l'antiquité* (Lille, 1999), 59ff., fig. 1.

[43] *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 60. S. Steingräber, 'Caratteristiche del repertorio figurato della pittura funeraria in Italia meridionale dal IV al II secolo a. C.', in D. Scagliarini Corlàita, ed., *I temi figurativi nella pittura parietale antica (IV sec. a. C.–IV sec. d. C.)*. (Bologna, 1997), 126: 'Una geranomachia si trova anche su un vaso pestano a figure rosse sovraddipinte' (unpublished).

vase-painting: his anatomy is perfect and dwarfism only suggested by the enormous proportions of the crane, without any grotesque or caricatural feature (except the quite considerable and slightely cumbersome phallus, which transgresses a crucial aesthetic rule of Greek masculinity representation).

The Paestan Pygmy (pls. 3–4) is fighting his personal and bloody duel with a crane, on a painted slab coming from a chest-tomb, which was found more than thirty years ago in the small rural necropolis of Capaccio Scalo. The dwarf image looks quite different: his ruffled hair, tumid lips and monstrously swollen scrotum, are of the type we have called apish, invented in Athens by the vase-painters of Sotades'workshop and then introduced into Italy (not in geranomachy context) by the Apulian Felton Painter.[44] It is important to note that such an episode of geranomachy, which is totally isolated in the whole series of Paestan paintings, is linked just in the same tomb with the image of two fighting beasts (a lion and a wild boar), whereas the long slabs of the chest also show, besides several things seemingly suspended from the wall, two fiercely facing cocks: thus, in accordance with the same conceptual system we have recognized in Greek iconography, the Pygmy (and the crane) are confirmed as belonging to a wild fauna, aggressive and ungovernable. In the funeraray space, the worry inspired by these aggressive animals is literally projected on the wall, as on a sort of liminal screen.

The geranomachy of the Tomb 2957 at Tarquinia (fig. 4)—which might look inconsistent with the other painted friezes in the same hypogeum—, placed just on the architrave of the left loculus, lays out four pairs of duellists and a trio, which ends the sequence near a big calyx-krater. In spite of the extremely plain composition, it is likely to have derived from a rather well-known megalographic model, because one finds nearly identical figures also on a Kabeirion kantharos in Berlin[45]—a Pygmy out of balance, with a prominent stomach and short, unsteady legs; another who points the spear, riding a very small donkey; another prone on the ground, cruelly pecked at the backside: all three transposed from the right to the left or

[44] *Cf.* A. Cambitoglou, 'The Felton Painter in Sydney', in E. Böhr and W. Martini. ed., *Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei. K. Schauenburg zum 65. Geburtstag* (Mainz, 1986), 143ff., pl. 26, 5, 6.

[45] *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 17. *Cf.* C. Weber-Lehmann, 'Il periodo classico', in S. Steingräber, ed., *Catalogo ragionato della pittura etrusca* (Milano-Tokyo, 1984), 60.

Pl. 3: Paestum 31773, from Capaccio Scalo, painted slab: Pygmy [photograph by Harari].

Pl. 4: Paestum 31773, from Capaccio Scalo, painted slab: crane [photograph by Harari].

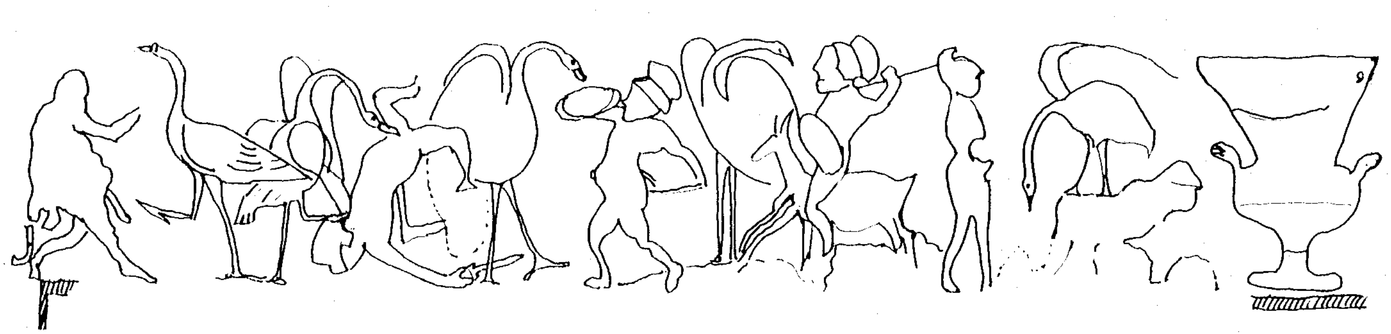


Fig. 4: Tarquinia, Monterozzi cemetery, tomb 2957 ('dei Pigmei'), detail of the fresco paintings: geranomachy [drawing by Harari].

vice versa. About four centuries later (!)—undoubtedly through the mediation of Alexandrian environment—we meet again the same prone, pecked Pygmy also in a picture of the Columbarium at Villa Pamphilj in Rome,[46] and the overturned Pygmy (just as in the Tarquinian fresco) on a wall of the Coloured Capitals (or Ariadne's) House at Pompeii.[47] This cartoon should not be dated after the middle of the 5th century B.C., as suggested by the persistence of some still archaic features: the choice for a battle scene (instead of a single duel), the only one supporting plane, the parataxis and the limited overlap of figures; look also at their still moderate anatomical distortion (except for the elderly Pygmy, on the left, so like a Papposilenus) and the just quoted image of the crane pecking the Pygmy, which had first appeared on the Rodhian golden diadem. At the same time, the equipment of heroic weapons seems more modern, with light cavalryman aspides and helmets which look vaguely Attic, but were intended probably to recall some earlier Italic types.

Enlightening examples of syntactic analysis given by Francesco Roncalli and Mario Torelli in their recent papers on Tarquinian funerary painting,[48] allow us to understand far better the conceptual relationship of our geranomachy with the rest of the figurative programme. It is quite clear that—if we assume that the ancestors (on the background) are banqueting in the Elysian Fields—the double procession which converges there, coming from the entrance along the two side walls (to the left, on horseback; to the right, on foot), was intended to depict the journey of the dead, with their suite, towards the borders of the beyond: significantly, on the sides of the symposium scene, two loculi are dug out—with the same function as the sarcophagi leaning against the walls in later tombs—; and the krater depicted just on the loculus, as in the earlier example of the Lionesses Tomb,[49] acts as the σῆμα of the grave below. The geranomachy, which is placed between the arriving procession of riders and the burial σῆμα, as an upper frame for the loculus, immediately

[46] *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 43: also *cf.* 53.
[47] *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 23.
[48] F. Roncalli, 'La definizione pittorica dello spazio tombale nella «età della crisi»', in *Crise et transformation des sociétés archaïques de l'Italie antique au* V*e siècle av. J.-C.* (Rome, 1990), 229–243; M. Torelli, *Il rango, il rito e l'immagine. Alle origini della rappresentazione storica romana* (Milano, 1997), 122–151.
[49] Torelli, *Il rango*, 136, fig. 111.

before the Elysian wall, visualizes a sort of liminal passageway: according to Homeric topography, as Cristofani underlined,[50] we are now on the bank of the Ocean, and this is precisely the abnormal fauna of that extreme landscape. The Pygmies and the cranes, in conclusion, were part of the same symbolic space, which in other painted tombs is assigned to sphinxes, chimerae, hippocampi and lions: in these Italic funerary contexts, the geographic and cultural paradigm of Greek bestiary seems to acquire nearly metaphysical features or, more exactly, aims to perceive or in some way understand and finally accept the ultimate removal of the dead person from his clan.

We meet again the type of the Papposilenus Pygmy in the singular frieze of the formerly Pasinati and Castellani cista, now at the Musée des Beaux Arts in Lyons,[51] where he is called by an inscription *pater.poimilionom*, 'father of the dwarfs' (fig. 5): his neglected look and disgustingly inflated stomach make him related to the Tarquinian file-leader—, but we might assume a common ancestor of both is an Attic later black-figure skyphos at the Louvre,[52] where an elderly dwarfish man, hunchbacked and corpulent, brandishes an enormous, disproportionate club. In spite of Menichetti's preference for a nuptial rather than funerary interpretation,[53] I find hard to avoid the impression that, on the Castellani cista, the group formed by the two Castors and the ragged, but very respectable founder of the Pygmies—all three, it is worth remarking, show the so-called κυνοδέσμη, certainly a sign, in this case, of a rigorous sexual self-control—is conceived to point out the entrance to the country of the dead, where the deceased wife seems to be turning her steps.

On the body of another Praenestine (the Bourguignon) cista, now kept at the Kestner Museum, Hannover,[54] the sequence of felines and griffins within the upper frame is unusually enriched with several pygmyish figures, who alternate—as if they are miniature πότνιοι—with young two-tailed tritons. This sort of Pygmy, too, belongs to a hybrid zoology, far away from everyday life; if we agree on the almost generally accepted idea that the friezes of animals (especially

[50] Cristofani, 'Itinerari', 185.
[51] *Le ciste prenestine*, 1.1, No. 27.
[52] Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt*, pl. 75.
[53] M. Menichetti, . . .*Quoius forma virtutei parisuma fuit . . . Ciste prenestine e cultura di Roma medio-repubblicana* (Roma, 1995), 102–103.
[54] *Le ciste prenestine*, 1.2, No. 117.

Fig. 5: Lyons E 154, Praenestine cista: incised frieze with the 'father of the dwarfs' [from *Le ciste Prenestine*, 1.1, pl. 133, No. 27e].

the ferocious, exotic and monstrous) had a funerary significance, we might believe them as iconic markers of liminality: the interface, in other words, between the dead and the living worlds.

But let me come finally to the point: the Pygmies on the Volaterran red-figure column kraters and stamnoi[55] (pls. 5–6). As everybody knows, they are cinerary vases, which are peculiar to the cemeteries at Volterra and its surrounding territory and were manufactured at the end of the 4th century B.C. and the first decades of the 3rd, following a traditional funerary custom, with North-Etruscan precedents which have been recognized by Cristofani already in late 6th and the 5th century B.C. One must remark that, outside Volterra, these vases may or may not preserve their original function as cinerary urns—more respected, it seems to me, at Aleria than at Spina—, but in any case and generally speaking a funerary character of the depicted subjects has to be assumed *a priori* as the basic principle for our reading.

If in the Volaterran series very stocky or even achondroplasic types of men are quite common, who have been too often and generically inserted by scholars in the Pygmies category, I must underline, however, that of Pygmies it is right to speak only in the definite context of geranomachy: there are no Pygmies, I mean, without cranes; only his fight against a crane can certainly characterize a person, although small-sized, as the protagonist of this exotic tale. On the ground of such a more correct and restrictive meaning, the Volaterran ascertained examples come down to about ten in all—which show, however, a remarkable local sensitivity of this subject—, equally subdivided into *excerpta* from battle friezes and the victorious *reditus* from the field.

When the crane is missing, neither a single short warrior is necessarily a Pygmy, nor the scene itself necessarily a battle scene: in some cases, the more likely hypothesis is of armed dances or military manoeuvres with a predominantly ceremonial character—for instance, on the wonderful Marsili kelebe at the Bologna Museum[56] (pl. 7), which must be compared with the great examples of Greek late-classical funerary wall-painting (obviously, I am thinking of the

[55] *Supra*, note 38.

[56] M. Montagna Pasquinucci, *Le kelebai volterrane* (Firenze, 1968) No. 55, figs. 83–84 (by the Hesione Painter).

Pl. 5: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, IV 2944, from Volterra, Etruscan red-figure stamnos: Pygmy and crane [courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum: I 10.407].

Pl. 6: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, IV 2944, from Volterra, Etruscan red-figure stamnos: dog (or possibly a pet griffin), Pygmy, and crane [courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum: I 10.408].

Lyson and Kallikles Tomb at Lefkadia,[57] as regards the trophies of war which frame the Phrygian protomes), the very excited Pygmies are almost certainly two armed dancers. When the arms are also missing and the dwarfs seem to be engaged in only musical and choreographic actions, one must avoid even more an improper use of the word Pygmies. We must consider also a general stylistic phenomenon, I mean the anatomical canon of the Volaterrae Group, which likes more developed thoraces, in comparison with the legs, as it is easy to see already in satyr and maenad figures on the not much earlier transitional vases of the Clusium Group.

If we look now at the true images of Volaterran Pygmies, especially on the best-quality vases—the krater 4084 at the Florence Museum, the Aleria and Vienna stamnoi or, absolutely at the height, the Cinci krater, also in Florence[58]—, we can realize their substantial

[57] S.G. Miller, *The Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles: A Painted Macedonian Tomb* (Mainz, 1993), pls. II a, III a or 13 a (the panoply in detail).
[58] *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 20 bis.

Pl. 7: Bologna 410, Etruscan red-figure column-krater: head with Phrygian cap between two cuirasses; small-sized armed dancer [courtesy Museo Civico Archeologico: F 353/3537].

independence from the cartoon of the above quoted Tarquinian tomb (2957—which is about seventy years earlier) and their not very close relationship with the Attic full 5th century achondroplasic pattern. Far more closer comparisons may be found—oddly, perhaps, but not too odd—within a number of documents of the Hellenistic glyptics and small sculpture, unfortunately devoid of any archaeological context: I quote, for example, the Towneley gem in the British Museum in London;[59] bronze figurines at Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen[60] (possibly coming from Etruria), at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston[61] and the Schimmel collection[62] (the latter ones strictly related), at the Albertinum in Dresden[63] (noticeable because of his youthful, beardless appearance); among the terracotta versions, the Leipzig University figurine,[64] bought in Smyrna; and finally the splendid ivory statuette of the Florence Archaeological Museum,[65] which represents a beardless Pygmy with a dead crane on his left shoulder. Moreover, I would emphasize again a comparison I proposed ten years ago, between the naked warrior, with a sword and an *umbo* shield, who is depicted on a Volaterran kelebe exported to Spina, and that represented by another perhaps Alexandrian bronze statuette in Copenhagen (Nationalmuseet).[66] All this evidence led me to conjecture the existence of an important geranomachy picture, which should have been created between 350 and 300 B.C.—so, after the Tarquinia Pygmies Tomb—, by a Greek late-classic master, just on the eve of the Alexandrian school: the name of Antiphilos, first recalled by Françoise-Hélène Pairault,[67] may biographically summarize, in some way, the international spreading of such novelties,

[59] G.M.A. Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Romans* (London-New York, 1971), 19 No. 23.

[60] M. Moltesen and M. Nielsen, *Catalogue Etruria and Central Italy 450–30 B.C.* (Copenhagen, 1996), No. 55.

[61] *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 64 b.

[62] H. Hoffmann, in O.W. Muscarella, ed., *Ancient Art. The N. Schimmel Collection*, (Mainz, 1974), No. 39.

[63] M. Raumschüssel, in *Die Antiken im Albertinum* (Mainz, 1993), No. 70.

[64] E. Paul, *Antike Welt in Ton* (Leipzig, 1959), No. 256.

[65] *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 39.

[66] M. Harari, 'Volterra e Alessandria. Riflessioni sul primo ellenismo in Etruria', in *Akten des XIII Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie* (Mainz, 1990), 371–372, pl. 54, 1–2.

[67] F.-H. Pairault-Massa, 'Réflexions sur un cratère du Musée de Volterra', *Rev. Arch.* (1980) 1, 94–95. *Cf.* Harari, 'Volterra e Alessandria' 372; Id., 'La preistoria degli Etruschi secondo Licofrone', *Ostraka. Rivista di antichità* 3.2 (1994) 265–267.

brought in by the great painting schools of the 4th century Greece.

Another possible echo of this same renowned model seems to keep the extraordinary depiction of a running achondroplasic dwarf, on the fragmentary relief of the above quoted Agrigento plaquette (pl. 8), which has been dated by Dasen to about 300 B.C.:[68] the hatchet, grasped by the right hand, and the cattle-bell hanging from the κρίκωσις of the pendulous phallus, which seems to refer to a distinctively noisy technique of fight,[69] clearly testify on the geranomachy interpretation.

Let me come now to the most relevant point. What was the conceptual function, I mean the significance, for these new images among the public of pre-Roman, especially Etruscan Italy? On this subject, the Volterra documentation is conclusive, because of its seriality, which allows, at least in theory, a non-episodical reading and the possibility of tracing out a proper iconological system. That has been attempted by Mauro Cristofani in the essay I quoted at the beginning of my speech: in his opinion, the Volaterran *putti* stage the various acts of a child's initiatory sequence, where geranomachy—with quite hoplitic, contemporary arms—should depict the heroic stage of a mythical adult age, never reached because of their immature death; and the taeniae dance should celebrate the already acquired Dionysian status of these young μύσται.[70] Such a suggestion is fascinating, even more so if you look at some Athenian evidence as the Laon pelike or the Dresden chous, in the light of Aristotle's well-known remark: 'all children are dwarfs'.[71]

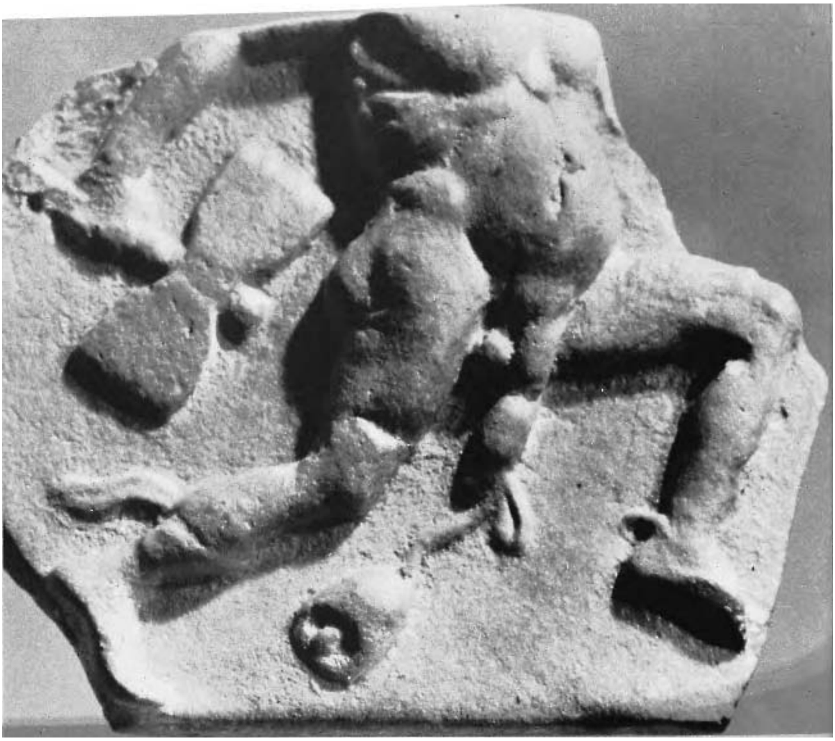
But there are some difficulties. In the first place, Cristofani's argument assumes that all the Volaterran kraters (or stamnoi) with *putti* (true Pygmies or other kinds of dwarfs) were used as cinerary urns exclusively for male children or youths, which I do not find unreasonable, but should be inspected in some way—supposing osteological data could be recovered from old or recent archaeological evidence—; on this matter, however, I believe the images of adult women on the reverses of two Florentine kelebai (a protome, with two boxing dwarfs; and a whole mantled figure, with a Pygmy, who

[68] *LIMC*, 'Pygmaioi' 60.

[69] Hecataeus, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, note 9).

[70] Cristofani, 'Itinerari' 183–185.

[71] *CVA, France* 20, pl. 33, 6; Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt*, G. 14. *Cf.* Arist. *Mem.* 453b.



Pl. 8: Agrigento C 299, from Agrigento, clay relief plaquette: Pygmy [from Pietro Griffo & Giovanni Zirretta, Il Museo Civico di Agrigento (Palermo, 1964) 72].

is returning from the battle-field, carrying the dead crane)[72] should be contradictory. Also it is difficult to recognize, within this group of vases, other images which could be referred, in the opposite way, to a parallel, exclusively female initiatory sequence. I also find difficult to accept the idea that the oversized penes of the putti were intended to replace their never accomplished masculine maturity by a sort of . . . sexual heroization, since this quite remarkable anatomic detail had been present already in Greek iconography, to point out, together with the obscenity of the freaks, their so brutish and useless vitality (which Aristotle significantly compared to that of the γίννος, the mule, sterile in spite of its sexual hypertrophy).[73]

[72] Montagna Pasquinucci, *Le kelebai* Nos. 74 and 77; *cf.* also Nos. 24 and 57.
[73] Arist., *Hist. An.* 6, 24, 577 b.

There is finally another and more important aspect. In the pictorial programme of the Pygmies Tomb at Tarquinia, as we have seen, the fighting dwarfs are present as inhabitants and φύλακες, sentries, of that no-man's-land which divides the dead from their relatives: they are different and distant from both the dead and the living. So, I confess to be a little baffled by the hypothesis that, on the Volterra cinerary vases, such a neat demarcation should have failed, and the Pygmy have left his marginal limbo, to overlap the dead person and to live, in his stead, through the whole initiatory course.

Our solution may look banal: if you leave to the true Pygmies their primary function in the geography of the beyond, and in particular you recognize in the subject of their *reditus* from the battlefield a sort of pedagogical *exemplum*—that might recall the much earlier hunters of the Campana Tomb at Veii[74] and, in a more pertinent chronological context, the Paestan horsemen[75]—, as regards the other kinds of Volaterran dwarfs I would subscribe to the comment note by Angela Pontrandolfo and Agnès Rouveret on this small armed phlyax, which is painted on a tomb of the Andriuolo necropolis: 'un importante elemento tecnico per superare la crisi del cordoglio'.[76] I would say, in other words, that these non-canonical human beings, loaded with the prophylactic sympathy they had inherited from the various Egypto-Phoenician Beses and Pataikoi (very well-known in Etruria since the Orientalizing age), and so deeply involved in the powerful interference from Dionysian imagery, seem to attend the funeral ceremonies just to relax the tension and remove, though temporarily, the horror of the death, claiming the peremptory reasons of life by their irresistible δύναμις. Music, dance (also with arms), racing, boxing and gladiator duels . . . these were recurrent activities, in the funeral ceremonies—as we can see in Tarquinian wall-painting—, and the fact that dwarfs are protagonists emphasizes their cathartic and apotropaic features: to quote this time J.-P. Thuillier,

---

[74] M. Harari, 'Mediterraneo arcaico: la fauna dell'alterità', in E. Kanceff, ed., *Lo sguardo che viene di lontano: l'alterità e le sue letture* (Montecalieri, 2001).

[75] Pontrandolfo-Rouveret, *Le tombe dipinte* 449–469, *passim*.

[76] A. Pontrandolfo, A. Rouveret, 'Riti funerary e credenze eschatologiche', in M. Cipriani, F. Longo and M. Viscione, ed., *Poseidonia e I Lucani* (Naples, 1996), 43. The Phylax tomb: Pontrandolfo and Rouveret, 'Le tombe dipinte 64, 137–42, 331–333, 464; *cf.* also *ibidem* 106, fig. 2.

'un mélange des genres . . . qui ne saurait surprendre qu'une mentalité moderne'.[77] The detail of infibulation, which only occurs in a couple of cases (dancing *putti*, notice, not true Pygmies), realistically shows a professional device of athletes, actors, dancers, musicians and other performers.[78] Particularly the dwarfs with fluttering taeniae or festoons show an impressive iconographic vitality: we shall meet them again as the twelve rickety *Stundenschutzgötter* in the alcove of the Labyrinth House at Pompeii;[79] as, later still, in the Carthage mosaic with four Dionysian dancers wreathing a tholos:[80] dated to late Constantine's reign).

I realize I have deviated too much from the main point. Pygmies and Greek identity: this was the subject to deal with, this is the subject on which to conclude. We might say, therefore, that this exotic story has been conceived (and illustrated by images) to tell so distant and different landscapes and men; it has followed the Greeks in their great adventure on the seas of the ancient globe, accustoming them to the relativity of things—even a bird inoffensive at home could become a deadly enemy abroad, in the remote space and time of barbarity—, but also confirming the absolute value of heroism. The perception of an environment such as Etruria, peripherical although deeply Hellenized, transferred this special kind of semantics to the reflection on death, which also dramatically involves identity and puts it in an irreversible crisis: not the ethnic and cultural identity of a whole people, of course, but the exclusive identity of the individual who no longer exists and the family who declares and mourns his loss.

Acknowledgments

A. Bernhard-Walcher (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna); G. Bailo Modesti (Istituto Orientale, Naples); G. Castellana (Museo Archeologico Regionale, Agrigento); M. Cipriani (Museo Archeologico Nazionale,

[77] J.-P. Thuillier, *Les jeux athléthiques dans la civilisation étrusque* (Rome, 1985), 593.
[78] *Cf.* Thuillier, *Les jeux* 374ff., 579–581.
[79] I. Wintzer, 'Diesmal keine Pygmäen. Die Zwergfiguren und ihre Partnerdarstellungen in der Casa del Labirinto', *Rivista di studi pompeiani* 1 (1987) 51–73.
[80] K.M.D. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa. Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (Oxford, 1978), 142–144, pl. 55.

Paestum); M.E. Gorrini (Scuola Archeologica Italiana, Athens); Ch. Labò Harris; J. Meddemmen (Università di Pavia); C. Morigi Govi (Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna); A. Pontrandolfo (Università di Salerno), G. Rocco (Scuola Archeologica Italiana, Athens).

Bibliography

Ballabriga, A. 'Le malheur des Nains. Quelques aspects du combat des grues contre les Pygmées dans la littérature grecque', *Revue des études anciennes* 83 (1981) 57–74

Beazley, J.D. *The Development of Attic Black-figure*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 1951

Boardman, J. *Athenian Red Figure Vases. The Archaic Period: a handbook*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1975

Bordenache Battaglia, G., Emiliozzi, A., ed., *Le ciste prenestine* 1.1. Rome: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, 1979; 1.2, 1990

Broneer, O. 'The Corinthian Altar Painter', *Hesperia* 16 (1947) 214–223

Buschor, E. 'Das Krokodil des Sotades', *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 11 (1919) 1–43

Cambitoglou, A. 'The Felton Painter in Sydney', in E. Böhr, W. Martini, ed., *Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei. K. Schauenburg zum 65. Geburtstag*. Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1986, 143–147

Cristofani M., 'Itinerari iconografici nella ceramografia volterrana', in *Aspetti della cultura di Volterra etrusca fra l'età del Ferro e l'età ellenistica e contributi della ricerca antropologica alla conoscenza del popolo etrusco. Atti del XIX Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici*. Firenze: Olschki, 1997, 175–192

Dasen, V. 'Dwarfs in Athens', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 9.2 (1990) 191–207

——. *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993

——. 'Pygmaioi', in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* 7 (1994) 594–601

Dunbabin, K.M.D. *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa. Studies in Iconography and Patronage*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978

Freyer-Schauenburg B. 'Die Geranomachie in der archaischen Vasenmalerei. Zu einem pontischen Kelch in Kiel', in *Wandlungen. Studien zur antiken und neueren Kunst Ernst Homann-Wedeking gewidmet*. Waldsassen-Bayern: Stiftland, 1975, 76–83

Giudice, F. *Vasi e frammenti 'Beazley' da Locri Epizefiri e ruolo di questa città lungo le rotte verso l'Occidente*. Catania: Università di Catania, 1989

Harari, M. 'Volterra e Alessandria. Riflessioni sul primo ellenismo in Etruria', in *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie Berlin 1988*. Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1990, 371–372

——. 'La preistoria degli Etruschi secondo Licofrone', *Ostraka. Rivista di antichità* 3.2 (1994), 259–75

——. 'Mediterraneo arcaico: la fauna dell'alterità', in E. Kanceff, *Lo sguardo che viene di lontano: l'alterità e le sue letture*. ed., Montecaliere, Cirvi, 2001, 317–336

——. 'Pigmei in Grecia: eroismo e patologia' in G. Cajani, D. Lanza, ed., *L'antico degli antichi*. Palerma: Palumbo, 2001, 155–168

Hoffmann, H. *Attic Red-figured Rhyta*. Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1962

Hölscher, T. 'Immagini mitologiche e valori sociali nella Grecia arcaica', in *Im Spiegel des Mythos. Bilderwelt und Lebenswelt*. Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1999, 11–30

Isler-Kerényi, C. 'Der François-Krater zwischen Athen und Chiusi', in J.H. Oakley, W.D.E. Coulson, O. Palagia, ed., *Athenian Potters and Painters. The Conference Proceedings*. Oxford: Oxbow, 1997, 523–539

Janni P., *Etnografia e mito. La storia dei Pigmei*. Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo & Bizzarri, 1978 [chapter 1 reprinted in F. Prontera, ed., *Geografia e geografi nel mondo antico. Guida storica e critica*, Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1983, 135–171]
Laurenzi, L. 'Necropoli ialisie (scavi dell'anno MCMXXXIV–XII)', *Clara Rhodos* 8 (1936) 7–207
Lissarrague, F. *L'autre guerrier: archers, peltastes, cavaliers dans l'imagerie attique*. Paris-Rome: École Français de Rome, 1990
Menichetti, M. . . . *Quoius forma virtutei parisuma fuit . . . Ciste prenestine e cultura di Roma medio-repubblicana*. Rome: G. Bretschneider, 1995
Miller, S.G. *The Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles: A Painted Macedonian Tomb*. Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1993
Moltesen, M., Nielsen, M. *Catalogue Etruria and Central Italy 450–30 B.C.* Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, 1996
Montagna Pasquinucci M., *Le kelebai volterrane*. Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1968
Muscarella, O.W., ed., *Ancient Art. The N. Schimmel Collection*, Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1974
Pairault-Massa, F.-H. 'Réflexions sur un cratère du Musée de Volterra', *Revue archéologique*, 1 (1980) 63–96
Paribeni, E. 'Di alcuni chiarimenti e di un quiz non risolto, *Numismatica e antichità classiche, Quaderni Ticinesi* 15 (1986) 43–53
Paul, E. *Antike Welt in Ton*. Leipzig: Seemann, 1959
Pontrandolfo, A., Rouveret, A. *Le tombe dipinte di Paestum* Modena: F.C. Panini, 1992
——. 'Riti funerari e credenze escatologiche', in M. Cipriani, F. Longo, M. Viscione, ed., *Poseidonia e i Lucani*, Napoli: Electa, 1996, 243f.
Raumschüssel, M. in *Die Antiken im Albertinum*. Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1993
Richter, G.M.A. *Engraved Gems of the Romans*. London-New York: Phaidon, 1971
Roncalli, F. 'La definizione pittorica dello spazio tombale nella «età della crisi»', in *Crise et transformation des sociétés archaïques de l'Italie antique au* V*e* *siècle av. J.-C.* Rome: École Française de Rome, 1990, 229–243
Rouveret, A. 'Géranomachies et parodies guerières en milieu italique et romain', in D. Mulliez, ed., *La transmission de l'image dans l'antiquité*, Lille: Université Charles-de-Gaule, 1999, 54–64
Schefold, K., Jung, F. *Die Urkönige, Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles und Theseus in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst*. München: Hirmer, 1988
Simon, E., ed., *Mythen und Menschen. Griechische Vasenkunst aus einer deutschen Privatsammlung*, Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1997
Štal, I.V. 'Мпф о пигмеях в Северном Причерноморье' ('The myth of Pygmies in the Black Sea region'), *Klio* 68 (1986) 351–366
Steingräber, S. 'Caratteristiche del repertorio figurato della pittura funeraria in Italia meridionale dal IV al II secolo a. C.', in D. Scagliarini Corlàita, ed., *I temi figurativi nella pittura parietale antica (IV sec. a. C.–IV sec. d. C.)*, Bologna: University of Bologna, 1997, 125–127
——. 'Zum ikonographischen und hermeneutischen Wandel von Pygmäen- und speziell Geranomachiedarstellungen in vorhellenistischer Zeit (6.–4./3. jh. v. Chr.)' *Mediterranean Archaeology* 12 (1999), 29–41
Thuillier, J.-P. *Les jeux athlétiques dans la civilisation étrusque*. Rome: École Française de Rome, 1985
Torelli, M. *Il rango, il rito e l'immagine. Alle origini della rappresentazione storica romana*. Milano: Electa, 1997, 122–151
Weber-Lehmann, C. 'Il periodo classico', in S. Steingräber, ed., *Catalogo ragionato della pittura etrusca*, Milano-Tokyo: Jaca, 1984, 56–61
Wintzer, I. 'Diesmal keine Pygmäen. Die Zwergfiguren und ihre Partnerdarstellungen in der Casa del Labirinto', *Rivista di studi pompeiani* 1 (1987) 51–73
Zacco, R., *Le Cultura Medica Nell'Antico Egitto*, Bologna: Martina, 2002

PURLOINED LETTERS: THE ARISTONOTHOS INSCRIPTION AND KRATER

Vedia Izzet
Christ's College, Cambridge

I. *Introduction*

As a product of Etruscan and Greek interaction, the so-called Aristonothos Krater is unique. Dating from the first half of the seventh century, it features the first Greek artist's signature known, and the earliest representation of a scene featured in Homeric epic.[1] The vessel was found in one of the Etruscan cemeteries at Cerveteri towards the end of the nineteenth century, and it is now in the Capitoline Museum.[2]

The vase is 36 cm high, and 40 cm in diameter at its widest point, just beneath the handles. The decoration on the pot is made up of both figured and abstract ornamentation, painted in a very fine red-brown slip. Around the lip are 17 regularly spaced groups of eight vertical lines. Below the lip the figured decoration, comprising two scenes separated by the pot's handles, covers the main body of the pot. Side B contains an image of a sea battle between an oared ship, on the left, and a sailing ship on the right.

Side A contains the signature of the potter, Aristonothos. In addition, it depicts the mythical scene of the blinding of the Cyclops,

---

[1] Though the inscription is not the first instance of the signing of a vase by a painter: this belongs to a Late Geometric krater from Pithekoussai, see D. Ridgway, *The First Western Greeks* (Cambridge, 1992), 94. Anthony Snodgrass has raised convincing doubts over the specifically Homeric depiction on the vase: A.M Snodgrass, *Homer and the Artists* (Cambridge, 1998).

[2] First published by R. Förster ('Vaso Ceretano con rapresentazione dell' Accamento di Polifemo', *Annali dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza archeologica* 4 (1869) 157–172); for the Capitoline Museum see G.Q. Giglioli and V. Bianco *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Italia, Musei Capitolini di Roma* (Rome, 1965). For the best summary of the literature on the vase see M. Martelli (ed.), *La Ceramica degli Etruschi. La pittura vascolare* (Novara, 1987) no. 40. There have been two major investigations of the pot: P. Ducati, 'Sul Kratere di Artistonous', *MEFRA* 31 (1911) 33–74; B. Schweitzer, 'Zum Krater des Aristonothos', *MDAI(R)* 62 (1955) 78–106.

Polyphemus, by Odysseus and his companions. The Homeric version of the story is familiar: instead of offering suitable hospitality to the newly arrived Odysseus and his men, Polyphemus had imprisoned them and had begun to eat them, two at a time, killing them by picking them up and slapping them against the ground, spilling their brains on the floor of his cave. By the second evening of their imprisonment the cunning Odysseus had a plan for their escape. When Polyphemus came back to his cave with his flock of sheep, Odysseus gave him undiluted wine, in order to intoxicate him. When asked his name, Odysseus answered "Outis", or "No one", and the Cyclops took it to be a proper name. The Cyclops soon fell into a drunken sleep and the Greek adventurers took their chance to thrust a large olive stake into the single eye of the Cyclops, blinding him. When Polyphemus, in agony, calls for help, he tells the concerned Cyclopes who come to his aid that "No one" is attacking him, so they leave him alone. Once blinded, Polyphemus was unable to see the Greeks hidden under the bellies of his sheep as he counted them out of the cave. What we see on the Aristonothos krater is the moment of the blinding. From the left, Odysseus and his men push a beam into the single eye of the drunken Polyphemus, who tries to push it away.[3]

Two horizontal lines form the ground line for the scenes, and separate them from two rows of simple, dramatic chequers, which run, below the handles, all the way round the pot. These are bounded by two horizontal lines, below which is a series of eight alternating triangles and buds, probably Lotus. The stem of the vase is decorated with two narrow, and two wider lines; the foot is entirely painted.

The nineteenth-century reports of the finding of the vase give no other information than that it was found in a tomb in Cerveteri.[4] The lack of a more precise archaeological context limits the types of enquiry to which the pot can be subjected. All that remains is the shape of the pot itself, and its surface decoration: the inscription and the painted scenes. This we have to set within the broader

---

[3] Homer *Od.* 9. 193–end. For discussion of *outis*, and the use of names for disguise, see S. Goldhill *The Poet's Voice: essays on Poetics and Greek Literature* (Cambridge, 1992), 24–36, esp. 32–6; see below note 44.

[4] See Förster, 'Vaso Ceretano con rapresentazione dell' Accamento di Polifemo'; Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 'Demokratia der attischen Metoeken' *Hermes* (1887) 107–128, esp. 118–9.

cultural context of early interaction between Greeks and Etruscans.

Since the discovery of the krater, it has been incorporated into almost every account of early Greek and Etruscan history.[5] Scholarly debate has focused around two main areas. First the origin of the maker of this extraordinary testament of early Greco-Etruscan contact, and second the extent of Etruscan comprehension of Greek myth.[6] Investigation of the possible meanings of the vase has not been a major feature of analyses of this unique artefact. One notable exception is that of Mario Torelli, who has suggested that the vase expresses contemporary Etruscan aspirations to thalassocracy, both directly and symbolically. This he sees directly in the confrontation between the Etruscan and Greek ships. In the scene of the blinding of Polyphemus, Torelli sees Odysseus as the pot's Etruscan owner, and the Cyclops as Sicilian Greeks in a speculative battle in which the pot's owner/Odysseus is victorious.[7] Marina Martelli proposes that the scene is, similarly, one of a battle between Greeks and non-Greeks, though she sees Odysseus and his companions as Greeks, and the Cyclops as non-Greek.[8] Such symbolic and metaphoric readings of vases are

[5] For instance, M. Cristofani, *Gli Etruschi del Mare* (Milan, 1983): *passim*; M. Gras, *Trafics Tyrrhéniens archaïques* (Athens and Rome, 1985), 523–4; M. Torelli, 'The encounter with the Etruscans', in G. Pugliese Carratelli, ed., *The Western Greeks. Classical civilisation in the Western Mediterranean* (London, 1996), 568.

[6] Suggested origins include East Greek, Argive, Cumaean, Euboean, Ionian, and Attic. The controversy centers around the inscription, in Euboean script but with peculiarities, though comprisons with other ceramics has also played a part. For a summary of, and accompanying biblioraphy for, the early debate on the origin of the artist see Ducati 'Sul Kratere di Artistonous', 36–55; Giglioli and Bianco (*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Italia, Musei Capitolini di Rome*, 4) present a comprehensive bibliography for the individual cases. Schweitzer ('Zum Krater des Aristonothos') presented a conciliating case which encompassed many of the previous suggestions. More recently, the evidence for several of the suggestions has been rejected (C. Gallavolti, 'La firma di Aristonothos e alcuni problemi di fonetica greca', in *Philias Charin. Miscellanea di studi in onore di Eugenio Manni* (Rome, 1980); M. Martelli, 'Prima di Aristonothos', *Prospettiva*. 37 (1984) 2–15). On knowledge of Greek myth in Etruria: N. Spivey and S. Stoddart, *Etruscan Italy. An Archaeological History* (London, 1990), 97–98; N. Spivey, *Etruscan Art* (London, 1997), 55–58. More recently, the pot has been incorporated into an analysis of the representation of Homeric myth (or not) in early Greek pottery (Snodgrass, *Homer and the Artists*).

[7] Torelli, *La Società etrusca. L'età arcaica, l'età classica* (Rome, 1987), 20–23; *id.* 'The encounter with the Etruscans', 568. See also Torelli, *L'Arte degli Etruschi* (Roma-Bari, 1992), 60. Similarly Pairault-Massa a link between the owner of the pot and Odysseus (*Iconologia e politica nell'Italia antica. Roma, Lazio, Etruria dal VII al I secolo a. C.* (Milan, 1992), 19).

[8] Martelli, *La Ceramica degli Etruschi*, 264. See also Cristofani, *Gli Etruschi del Mare*, 29.

rare for the Etruscan context. They are not so rare in Hellenic studies, though, ironically, the vases discussed usually survived as a result of their Etruscan burial context.[9]

The potential for the symbolic exploitation of myth cannot be underestimated. The complex sets of interweaving narratives which have survived from antiquity provide a rich source from which to draw. According to certain structuralist approaches, *all* myths are symbolic narratives, deployed in explaining both the past, and the present. A dense web of meaning and association surrounds mythical characters, and this is played upon whenever the myth is retold, verbally or in imagery. Although controversy still surrounds the exact date and nature of the writing of Homer, and whatever the pre-existing means of diffusion and transmission, the cultural significance of the *myths* is undeniable.[10]

Torelli's symbolic reading has great appeal, and it opens the way to further analysis, though the specificity of the individual commission and execution needs more justification. The status of the Etruscan client and commissioner, and the personal history of his battle with Sicilian Greeks, demands a very specific time and place of the vase. The broader background of cultural contact, which lies behind the readings of both Torelli and Martelli, has greater potential. This is a framework of interactions between Greeks and Etruscans, and here the Aristonothos krater provides much for us to consider.

II. *The Inscription*

One aspect of the Aristonothos krater which Torelli did not examine in detail is the placing of this inscription on the pot.[11] Though it could have been placed anywhere on the krater, Aristonothos has

[9] For example, F. Lissarrague, '*Epiktetos egraphsen*: the writing on the cup', in S. Goldhill, R. Osborne, ed., *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture* (Cambridge, 1994), esp. p. 24, and note 23.

[10] Snodgrass, *Homer and the Artists*; Spivey, *Etruscan Art*, 56.

[11] For a very fruitful similar analysis, see Lissarrague, '*Epiktetos egraphsen*: the writing on the cup', 25: "the way that the writing is organised, so that it guides the spectator's eye, . . .". See also p. 15. Similarly, J. Henderson, '*Timeo Danaos*: Amazons in early Greek art and poetry', in S. Goldhill, R. Osborne, ed., *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture* (Cambridge, 1994), 90. On inscriptions on Attic pottery see Snodgrass, 'The uses of writing on early Greek painted pottery', in N.K. Rutter, B.A. Sparkes, ed., *Word and Image in Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh, 2000).

inscribed his name not just on, but *into* the mythical scene of blinding. In fact, he signs his name in the narrative centre of the blinding scene. At this point, according to the story, Polyphemus is already drunk and has asked Odysseus his name, and Odysseus has replied that he is called "Outis": "No-one", or "No-name". Thus, the point at which the onomastic inscription is inserted is that at which Odysseus' namelessness is crucial for the outcome of the story. The scene of the myth onto which Aristonothos writes his name is one in which names deceive, and cannot be taken at face value. When Odysseus gives his name to the barbarian Cyclops, the latter, not being Greek, thinks it is a real name. When, at precisely the same point, the painter gives us, or his Etruscan client, his name, we too, believe him.

The inscription interrupts the image at the moment that the stake blinds the eye of the Cyclops. The deliberate penetration of the scene by the inscription is emphasised by the bend it takes at its midpoint: the inscription does not continue above the heads of the protagonists, in a manner detached from them; instead, it is deliberately diverted to enter the scene and thus becomes a protagonist itself. If we were to read a parallel between the scene and the inscription, the inscription itself should be read as an act of blinding, and, paradoxically the act of reading the inscription blinds the reader.[12]

The location of the inscription thus reveals uncertainties about how we should read what is before our eyes. The way that the inscription is written, and the mythical scene into which it is inserted, alerts us to the importance of naming, and the caution with which we must approach such names. The emphasis on names, which is set within a scene of blinding warns us not to read these things at face value. The painter gives the pot a name, thus, in a sense,

[12] For a parallel "symbol of absence" (J. Lacan 'Seminar on "The Purloined Letter"', (Trans. J. Mehlman), in J.P. Muller, W.J. Richardson, ed., *The Purloined Poe. Lacan, Derrida, and Psychoanalytic Reading.* (Baltimore and London, 1988), 39) see Edgar Allan Poe's *The Purloined Letter* (T.O. Mabbott, Text of "The Purloined Letter" with notes, in Muller and Richardson, *The Purloined Poe*) in which an object, a letter to the Queen, is hidden by its location in the most obvious place for it: a letter rack. As Lacan has noted, it is the minister's (the hider of the letter) prescience of the meticulous police search which disguises the object: "The minister acts as a man who realises that the police's search is his own defence, since we are told he allows them total access by his absence: he none the less fails to recognise that outside the search he is no longer defended" (Lacan 'Seminar on "The Purloined Letter"', 44).

legitimising the pot; yet simultaneously this calls into question the legitimacy of the very name given.

The inscription itself is an extraordinary one: *Aristonothos epoisen.*[13] The second word is relatively unproblematic: *epoisen* is the usual form for indicating the maker of a pot.[14] The actual name of the maker, however, is not so common. In fact it is unique: the krater contains the only known instance of the name Aristonothos.[15] This in itself is not sufficient to raise doubts over its legitimacy as a name (there are many names with a single known citation). However, the absence of comparanda does allow the possibility that there is more here than meets the eye.

There are other ways in which the name Aristonothos is peculiar. The prefix Aristo- ("best" or "noble") is a very common one in Greek personal names, and I have counted some 267 in total.[16] However, in all these instances save one, the word which follows to make up the compound name carries positive connotations. Names such as Aristo-demos (best tribe) and Aristo-kleia (best repute) make up 266 of the names we know;[17] Aristonothos is the only Aristo-name to contain a word like *nothos*, "bastard".[18] The name is therefore not only exceptional in terms of its frequency, but also in its composition.[19]

In addition to being unique, the name is also strikingly oxymoronic. The juxtaposition of the words Aristo- and -nothos, "noble bastard",

---

[13] For the establishment of "theta" for "phi" see Gallavolti 'La firma di Aristonothos e alcuni problemi di fonetica greca', 1013; M. Guarducci *Epigrafia greca* (Rome, 1969), 477–8; L.H. Jeffery *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford, 1985), 235–241.

[14] This is the only instance of this spelling of the more usual epoiesen, Gallavolti 'La firma di Aristonothos e alcuni problemi di fonetica greca', 1030.

[15] See P. Fraser, E. Matthews, ed., *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Volume I* (Oxford, 1987); *id. A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Volume* II (Oxford, 1994); *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Volume IIIA* (Oxford, 1997).

[16] *LGPN I–IIIA*. The 267 includes only those names with the full Aristo- prefix, and would be greater if Arist- names were included.

[17] It must be stressed that these names are from a wide chronological range; the interesting stress on civic connotations in the other Aristo- names must be seen in the context of the fourth century B.C.

[18] For a discussion of the word *nothos* see Patterson 1990 and D. Ogden, *Greek Bastardy in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods* (Oxford, 1996). For the use of the word in Homer: Ogden, *Greek Bastardy*, 21–25.

[19] It must be noted that there are other *nothos* compounds (for instance, from Euboia: Nothippos and Timonothos; from Ios: Kleinothos; from Attica: Nothos, Kleinothos, Philonothos, Demonothos, Timonothos) but in none of these is the opposition of terms so direct.

is a contradiction in terms.[20] In this name, the incompatible are joined, and things which do not fit together are mixed. In this sense, the name itself is a bastard: elements which should not be joined are united. This is underlined by the fact that one of these elements in the name is the word bastard itself. The name refers explicitly to its own questionable nature. The incongruity of this aspect of the Aristonothos inscription is startling, and it is this incongruity which draws us to examine it further. The scene of blinding acts as a warning that there may be something hidden here, in front of our eyes, and it invites us to look beyond the first glance.

On the one hand, the Aristonothos inscription is unproblematic: the maker's signature on the vase. On the other hand, when we read the inscription literally, questions arise about the meaning not only of the inscription, but of the entire pot. Furthermore, when we take account of the Etruscan owner of the vessel, Polyphemus may not be the only one blinded. The possibility of the artist's intent to pull the wool over our eyes, and over those of the pot's Etruscan owner, is raised by the reading of the inscription.[21] If it is the case

---

[20] J. Boardman, *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity* (London, 1994), 230 for this translation. Torelli suggests that this might be crude self-irony on the part of a painter characterising himself as "il migliore dei mezzo sangue" (Torelli, *Storia degli Etruschi*, 134). Similarly it has been hypothesised that the name indicates the servile origins of the painter (J.N. Coldstream, 'Mixed marriages at the frontiers of the early Greek world', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 12 (1993) 89–108; Pairault-Massa, *Iconologia e politica nell'Italia antica*, 19; Spivey, *Etruscan Art*, 56; though *contra* Gras, *Trafics Tyrrhéniens archaïques*, 525 (after Colonna)). There is no reason for such hypotheses to exclude the possibility of yet more self-irony in very knowing play by the artist on his name, if it were his real name, in placing it in a scene which plays explicitly with the ambiguities of naming.

[21] Perhaps this lies behind Boardman's choice of words to describe the scene on the krater: "the first substantial Greek mythological subject introduced to Etruscan eyes, the blinding of Polyphemus by Odysseus and his companions" (Boardman, *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity*, 230). This is not the first time that the use of inscriptions on pots has been put forward as Greek teasing of an Etruscan audience: the argument was used to explain the "nonsense" inscriptions on the so-called Tyrrhenian amphorae (Snodgrass, 'The uses of writing on early Greek painted pottery', 30). Nor is it the first instance of self referential humour on a pot: the inscription on the self-proclaimed Nestor's cup from Pithekoussai has a self-deprecating joke scratched onto its suface (I. Malkin, *The Returns of Odysseus. Colonization and Ethnicity* (Berkeley, 1998), 157; B.B. Powell, *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet* (Cambridge, 1991), 163–6; Ridgway, *The First Western Greeks*, 55; though *contra* C.A. Faraone, 'Taking the "Nestor's Cup Inscription" seriously: erotic magic and conditional curses in the earliest inscribed hexameters', *Classical Antiquity* 15 (1996) 77–112, 78–9, notes 3 and 4).

that the inscription is hiding within itself a joke by the potter against his patron,[22] it is necessary to examine the different elements of the pot in order to see whether such a meaning is corroborated elsewhere.[23] We must examine the pot and the scenes on it for parallels.

III. *Side A*

The problems raised by the questioning of the name of the artist reverberate through the rest of the pot. As we have seen, the possibilities of trickery through names is played out mythologically in the scene of Odysseus and Polyphemus. The incongruously joined components of the name Aristonothos are surrounded by uncertainty, and this uncertainty extends beyond the inscription, questioning ideas of juxtaposition more generally. The elements of illegitimacy raised in the name and inscription, are imposed, in the pictorial scenes, on a set of characters whose own status is uncertain and questionable. These in turn become drawn into a debate over the combination of elements which were previously separate. As we shall see, the question "who is Aristonothos?" has many possible answers: the painter, Odysseus, Polyphemus, and even the Etruscan owner of the pot. But this question leads to many more, such as who is legitimate? Who is barbarian, and who is civilised?

The scene of the blinding of Polyphemus on the Aristonothos krater is often cited as one of the most accurate depictions of the Homeric version of the myth. This is principally due to the number of Polyphemus' attackers: Odysseus, followed by his four companions.[24] Polyphemus is shown on the floor of his cave, leaning back on one arm as he tries to push away the blinding stake with the other. His attackers are aligned along the stake which they are

[22] The parallel with Homer's Odysseus is striking:

> and the heart within me laughed over how my name and my perfect planning had fooled him *Od.* 9. 413–4 (trans. Lattimore).

[23] For the deliberate and meaningful juxtapositions of thematically united scenes, see Lissarrague, '*Epiktetos egraphsen*: the writing on the cup', 18 and 23.

[24] Homeric accuracy is posited on the grounds not only of the five assailants, but also of the cheese rack behind Polyphemus, features which are not present on other early vascular depictions of the scene (the Eleusis Amphora, Eleusis; and an Argive krater fragment, Argos Museum). However Snodgrass raises doubts over the stake, and the sitting position of Polyphemus (Snodgrass, *Homer and the Artists*, 94).

driving into his eye.[25] They are all in the same position, except the last man, who's body turns backwards as he pushes off the wall of the cave with one leg. The torsion in his torso is evinced by the direction of his sword, which is in the opposite way round form those of his companions. All are on the tips of their toes as they stealthily approach their victim. Between the figures, in three rows, are lines of small circles containing a point. In a scene of blinding, the background is made up of single, staring eyes.

In the sense that Polyphemus is not doing anything in this scene, the name seems inapplicable to him. However, in at least two ways the name Aristonothos applies to Polyphemus very well. First, he is *nothos* in may ways: Poseidon is known to be his father, and though his mother is not mentioned, his divine father gives the Cyclops at least half divine parentage.[26] In this sense, uncertain parentage leaves him a bastard. Similarly, his hybrid nature, as a giant, human in form but with the deformity of a single eye, also emphasises the mixtures and contradictions which he embodies. This, in conjunction with his mixed ancestry, would make the word *nothos* describe him well. His behaviour adds a further element of difficulty because he is known to eat human flesh, an inherently inhuman act, and to Greeks a common *topos* for barbarian or savage behaviour.[27] Polyphemus' barbarity is compounded by the fact that he eats his guests, an extreme flouting of the usual rules of guest-friendship.[28] At the same time, his supreme status (aristo-) as a bastard (-nothos) is emphasised in his semi divine parentage (he is superior to other bastards) and in his behaviour (which is particularly barbaric through its cannibalism). The name Aristonothos would fit him well. In another

---

[25] It has been suggested that they are on alternating sides of the staff (Ducati, 'Sul Kratere di Artistonous', 42), but Martelli disputes this (Martelli, *La Ceramica degli Etruschi*, 264).

[26] Homer *Od*. 9. 411.

[27] For instance P. Cartledge, *The Greeks* (Oxford, 1993), 60. Interestingly, the late, and equally unreliable, Hyginus describes Tyrrhenian pirates as cannibals (Hyg. *Fab*. 274. 20). For Etruscan piracy see M. Giuffrida Ientile, *La pirateria tirrenica. Momente e fortuna* (Rome, 1983).

[28] In the Homeric version this is referred to explicitly in Polyphemus' hubristic utterance: "the Cyclopes do not concern themselves with Zeus of the aegis" after Odysseus had called for a guest-present, his right as a stranger, with "Zeus the guest god" backing him. (Hom. *Od*. 9. 266–279). For guest-friendship in Greece see Herman 1987, and p. 124 for the hubristic nature of flouting these rules. Polyphemus is enacting the old joke of having people for dinner.

sense, too, Polyphemus is best bastard: his Homeric pedigree making him the foremost (aristo-), or prototypical, bastard.

This would seem to be in direct contradiction to Odysseus, who attacks Polyphemus precisely because of his barbaric behaviour towards him and his men. In the scene Polyphemus and Odysseus (and his companions) are set up as adversaries in the battle between, consecutively, the barbarous and the civilised. In contrast to Polyphemus, who is aristo-nothos, Odysseus would be Aristo-aristos, because he is not only of noble birth, but also, in his battle against barbarism, of noble deed. However, his deeds may not be exemplary: the act of blinding, and the problematic nature of the trickery which led to that act, both of which are set within the frame of being a guest, may also suggest that Odysseus, too, combines the two elements of aristo- and -nothos.[29]

At this point, the scope of the name should be widened. As well as referring to each of the participants individually, it also encapsulates them together: if Odysseus, in this scene, the champion of civilised behaviour is *aristos*, then Polyphemus, the barbarian, becomes *nothos*: Aristos (Odysseus) Nothos (Polyphemus). The placement of the inscription directly between the figures of Odysseus and Polyphemus divides the two parts of the name into its component parts, by separating the characterisations of each. Odysseus and Polyphemus are contrasted with each other, and this is signalled visually by their separation by the inscription. However, at the same time, in the inscription, Aristo- and -nothos are united in the single name. So, while drawing the opposition between the two, the inscription simultaneously unites these opposed forces. The inscription mediates between the paradoxical elements.

Thus the opposition between the two characters is also the point of contact between them, and this is elaborated in other ways.

[29] See LSJ *nothos* II. spurious, counterfeit. This is particularly striking if the viewer is familiar with Homer's graphically brutal and revolting description of the blinding (*Od.* 9. 375–394). In addition, Odysseus has shown himself to be stretching the rules of guest-friendship to the limit, having eaten the cyclops' cheeses while waiting for his return. This is perhaps alluded to on the krater by the empty cheese rack behind the figure of Polyphemus. In an eposide which takes place after the Polyphemus one, Odysseus invents a story of his own parentage in which he was the *nothos* son of Castor, son of Hylax, the king of Crete (*Od.* 14. 199–214). In addition, there is a version of Odysseus's birth in which he is the illegitimate son of Sisiphus (Ovid *Met.* 13. 31–2).

Polyphemus' half-divine status has already been mentioned as an aspect of him being *aristo*-nothos. In this sense there is an undeniable divine part to him. At the same time, his behaviour, deformity, and unknown mother (the cause of his status as *nothos*) bring him one step down from the gods. He is part divine, part non-divine. Odysseus, on the other hand, is at the other end of the scale: he is human. However, his heroism (the cause of his status as *aristos*) raises him above the ranks of normal humans. Thus these two characters are transitional, and this allows them to act as bridges over the gulf between gods and mortals, each, in his person, bringing the two closer by one step. The figures of Polyphemus and Odysseus thus mediate between the two worlds, allowing the possibility of travelling the distance between them.

However, in his investigation of the bringing together of unmixables, the painter of the krater does not stop there. The scene of the blinding of Polyphemus is the very point of contact between the two worlds. Visually, Odysseus' act of driving the stake into Polyphemus' eye is the act which makes contact. Symbolically, we are shown the actual point of contact between the two worlds of the divine and the mortal, and also of civilisation and barbarism. The meeting is violent and gruesome. According to the painter of the krater, there is no resolution or harmony in the meeting of these opposites, only discord. In the same way that the artist deployed the name Aristonothos to join two incompatible entities, he uses the blinding of Polyphemus to bring together two sets of equally incompatible elements: divine and mortal, and civilised and barbarous.[30]

IV. *Side B*

These are themes which are played out on the other side of the krater. The parallels between the two scenes invite a reading of the two together, and in the light of one another. The scene is one of a naval battle. More specifically, it has been demonstrated that the scene shows an encounter between a Greek oared-ship on the left

[30] On the polar contradiction between these categories, and more importantly, the way in which they are "jointly exhaustive and mutually exclusive", see Cartledge, *The Greeks*, 11.

and an Etruscan sailing boat on the right.[31] Parallels between the narratives of the two scenes are not difficult to find. On the simplest level, the two are linked by a maritime theme: Odysseus is the main protagonist in a narrative of maritime travel, and the Cyclops is the son of the god of the sea, Poseidon.

However in a more explicit, and visual, manner the naval scene mirrors that of the blinding of Polyphemus: for instance in the equal number of Greek oarsmen and Greeks attacking the Cyclops (five in each case).[32] In addition, the pointed prow of the ship is being propelled by the five Greeks in a similar way to the olive stake.

The Greek ship is emblazoned with an eye on its prow.[33] Unlike the barbarian eye of Polyphemus which is penetrated, and which goes blind, the Greek eye is the true eye: it is the eye which is not blinded, and which, on the beak-like prow, is the penetrator. Thus the Greek ship should be read as the aggressor in the encounter. On the other side of the krater, it is Odysseus, the Greek, who attacks the barbarian Cyclops. Similarly it was Odysseus who penetrated the world of the Cyclops, both by landing on his island and entering his cave; and it was Odysseus who, as a sailor, entered the maritime world, a world controlled by Polyphemus' father, Poseidon. A reading of the naval battle which draws on the themes raised on the other side of the vessel seems inevitable.

The ability of the characters of Polyphemus and Odysseus to mediate distance is echoed here in rather more quotidian mediation by ship of the different parts of the navigable world. Here we see the meeting of Greek and Etruscan, and at the same time, for Greeks at least, the civilised and the barbarian. But again, the meeting of the two is not a peaceful one. Both ships are fully armed, and if we take the other side of the krater as an analogy, we can guess a painful and bloody outcome for the Etruscan ship.

However, this is going too far. At the same time that similarities are drawn between the scenes, contrasts are made. The presence of the single eye on the Greek ship signals that something different may

---

[31] Cristofani, *Gli Etruschi del Mare*, 28–9; 47; G.S. Kirk, 'Ships on Geometric Vases' *ABSA* 44 (1949) 92–153, 121and note 31; Martelli, *La Ceramica degli Etruschi*, 264, S. Paglieri, 'Origine e diffusione delle navi etrusco-italiche'. *Studi Etruschi* 28 (1960) 209–231, 225–7.

[32] Martelli, *La Ceramica degli Etruschi*, 264.

[33] Martelli, *La Ceramica degli Etruschi*, 263.

be happening here. The open, blindable eye is not a barbarian one in this scene. Though it is tempting to read the naval battle as a real re-enactment of the same mythological conflict, we must be more cautious here. We have been led to draw a direct comparison between the two sides, yet there is an important distinction between the two scenes. Though the first scene shows the actual confrontation between Odysseus and Polyphemus, on the second scene we are left a little short of this. The encounter is yet to happen, and the outcome is unknown. The artist has left the resolution uncertain, allowing for both destruction and harmony. In fact, it is possible to read forward to a result in which the result is reversed. The "down pointing ram"[34] of the Etruscan ship could well blind the eye of the Greek vessel.[35] However, the scene will not be drawn; despite our attempts to decide the outcome, we are still left uncertain.

V. *Shape*

Having discussed the different readings of the scenes painted on the vase, it is necessary to turn to its function and use. Although doubts have recently been raised about the certainty of associating a single use or function with a certain ancient vessel shape, it is nonetheless possible to conjecture that one of the functions of a krater was the holding of wine.[36] More specifically, the krater was a vessel in which wine and water were mixed at banquets or drinking parties, and, during the course of the evening, the mixed wine was drawn form the krater for the individual participants. Much of the evidence for such events comes from later periods of Etruscan (and Greek) history. However, both the diversity and the elaboration of vessel shapes, principally those associated with drinking wine, found in funerary and settlement context testify, if somewhat precociously, to the social consumption of wine in seventh century Etruria. The richness of the tomb assemblages, and often of the vessels themselves, is testimony to the wealth and luxury associated with these events: as well as the

---

[34] Kirk, 'Ships on Geometric Vases', 121.
[35] I am grateful to Dr E. Herring for this observation.
[36] M.G. Kanowski, *Containers of Classical Greece: A Handbook of Shapes* (London and New York, 1983), 61.

large numbers of local pottery vessels, it is not uncommon to find imported wares, and even vessels of precious metals. The variety of the shapes is an indication of the specialisation of banqueting and drinking equipment. And if each vase had its role to play, we must assume that the banqueters would have known what those parts were if social solecisms, with the accompanying inclusion and exclusion of individuals, were to be avoided. To use the later Greek term symposium to describe such parties is tempting, but the historical and cultural specificity of the fifth century Greek symposium makes this label inappropriate for Etruria.[37] However, as Annette Rathje and others have shown, it is most likely that the Etruscan elites enjoyed highly codified, elaborate banquets, in which wine played a central role.[38] The banquet was also the locus for the enactment of elaborate gift-exchange networks which operated across the Mediterranean.[39] We cannot exclude the possibility of the presence of elites from non-Etruscan cultures, including Greek, participating in such parties. It is in such aristocratic banquets that we can imagine the Aristonothos krater finding a place when it came to Cerveteri.

The conspicuous consumption of wine at these gatherings is hard to dispute, and the krater was an essential part of this consumption. When we return to the Aristonothos krater, it is obvious that this object should be considered at the heart of the trans-Mediterranean

---

[37] For the existence of sympotic rules and codes as early as the eighth century in Greece, see O. Murray, Nestor's Cup and the origin of the Greek symposion', in B. d'Agostino and D. Ridgway, eds., *Apoikia. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner* (Naples, 1994), 52–4.

[38] A. Rathje, 'A banquet service from the Latin city of Ficana', *ARID* 12 (1983) 7–29; *Id.*, 'The adoption of the Homeric banquet in Central Italy in the Orientaizing Period', in O. Murray, ed., *Sympotica. A Symposium on the Symposion.* (Oxford, 1990); 'Banquet and ideology: some new considerations about banquetting at Poggio Civitate', in R. de Puma, J.P. Small, ed., *Murlo and the Etruscans. Art and Society in Ancient Etruria* (Madison WI, 1994); 'Il banchetto in Italia Centrale: Quale tipo Stilo do Vino?' in O. Murray, M. Tecusan, ed., *In Vino Veritas* (London, 1995); see also M. Cristofani, 'Il banchetto in Etruria', in C. Ampolo, *et al.*, *L'Alimentazione mondo antico. Gli Etruschi* (Rome, 1987); Small, 'Eat, drink and be merry: Etruscan banquets', *Murlo and the Etruscans.*

[39] Cristofani, 'Il "dono" nell'Etruria arcaica', *PP* 30 (1975) 132–152; *Gli Etruschi del Mare*, 240–4. See also G. Barker and T. Rasmussen, *The Etruscans* (Blackwell, 1998) 76; B. d'Agostino 'Tombe "principesche" dell' orientalizzante antico da Pontecagnano', *Monumenti Antichi dall'Accademia dei Lincei* 49 (1977) 1–110; G. Herman, *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City* (Cambridge, 1987), 44; Malkin, *The Returns of Odysseus*, 167; Ridgway 'The First Western Greeks: Campanian coasts and Southern Etruria', in C. Hawkes and S. Hawkes, eds., *Greeks, Celts and Romans* (London, 1973); *The First Western Greeks*, 121–44.

elite banquet or drinking party. The shape of the vessel places it functionally within such a cultural framework. The painted scenes on the vase reiterate this symbolically. The more obvious relevance of wine in the Polyphemus scene will be discussed below. First, I wish to explore the possible resonances or associations of the scene of the sea battle.

Wine and the sea were often linked in later Greek literature, so that for example, drunkenness led to feelings similar to those of being in a storm-raged shipwreck; drunken people are unable to walk properly, jolting from side to side, as though in a heaving boat, or they are described as throwing furniture out of the windows of houses, as though they were on a sinking ship.[40] Thus the two liquids are drawn together by the similarity in the effects of having too much of either! Back in the seventh century, Homer draws wine and the sea together in one of his famous similes. His "wine dark sea" or, more correctly the "wine coloured sea" seals the connection between the two.[41] That the connection between the two was more widespread than Homer is evinced by the many exploitations of the link between Dionysus, the god of wine, and the sea in both the literary and visual record.[42] Finally, amphorae attest to the transport of wine across the sea, both to and from Etruria.[43] Thus the maritime references of the scene, though implicit, are not at all out of place in a symbolic framework.

On the other side of the krater, in the story of the blinding of Polyphemus, wine plays an explicit role. Just before the scene of

[40] Athenaeus 37b–d (second century A.D.). See W.J. Slater, 'Symposium at sea', *HSCP* 80 (1976) 161–170.

[41] Homer *Il.* 23. 316; *Od.* 5. 132; 2. 421.

[42] Most interestingly for a discussion of Etruria, the abduction of Dionysus by the Tyrrhenian pirates is frequently retold in words and pictures, for instance: Hom. *Hymn Dion.*; Eur. *Cyc*; Nonnus, *Dion.* Etruscan hydria by the Painter of Vatican 238 showing the transformation of the pirates into dolphins, in Toledo, Ohio (82.134) (L. Bonfante 'Fufluns Pacha: the Etruscan Dionysus', in T.H. Carpenter, C.A. Faraone, ed., *Masks of Dionysus* (London, 1993); Spivey and Rasmussen 'Dioniso e i pirati nel Toledo Museum of Art'. *Prospettiva* 44 (1986) 2–8; Spivey and Stoddart, *Etruscan Italy* (London, 1990), 138, fig. 91).

[43] It is, of course, wine which he had brought from his ship, that Odysseus uses to intoxicate Polyphemus:

> Here, Cyclops, have a drink of wine, now you have fed on human flesh, and see what kind of drink our ship carried inside her *Od.* 9. 346–9 (trans. Lattimore).

The parallels with between the wine-carrying the ship, and wine-carrying vase would have been clear to a knowing viewer of the pot.

blinding in the Homeric poem, Odysseus tells us that the priest of Apollo had presented him with some wine, which was so potent that a single part had to be diluted by twenty parts of water. Odysseus presents a cup of this wine to the Cyclops, who is immediately pleased with it. He seems to soften slightly, and asks Odysseus his name so that he can present a him with a "guest-present". Instead of answering him, however, the wily Odysseus keeps giving him more wine until, he says, it "had got into the brains of the Cyclops". It is only at this point that Odysseus answers that he is called "No-one".[44] Soon afterwards, as we have seen, Polyphemus passes out, and Odysseus and his men are able to heat the olive beam, and sear out the Cyclops' eye. It is the cunning use of wine by Odysseus, to trick Polyphemus into a deep slumber which sets his escape, and that of his men, into motion.

It is not just the contents of the Aristonothos krater, wine, which resonate with the scenes painted on it, but also its very function. The mixing of wine was essential, in order to avoid immediate, uncivilised drunkenness. In the story that this mixing bowl depicts, the wine is so disastrous for Polyphemus because it was not diluted by the necessary twenty parts of water. In a sense, then, the image on the krater acts as an object lesson in the importance of using the vessel itself.

Within the drinking context itself, the wine's actual journey from amphora to cup is interrupted by the krater. As a mixing bowl, the krater is the vessel in which the strong, undiluted, and undrinkable liquid is transformed into palatable wine. The vessel governs the transition from one state to another: from strong to dilute, from undrinkable to drinkable. Similarly, it oversees other associated transitions which take place in the wider drinking context of the object's use. Through its use as the container of potable wine, it plays a part in the gradual transformation of the participants at the party: from a state of sobriety to that of drunkenness. The krater operates at the pivotal point between the safety and control of the sober individual on one hand, and on the other hand the wild, uncontrolled, and barbaric behaviour of the drunkard. Thus the krater should be seen as the mechanism through which the rough wine is transformed into a civilised drink. Those who use the krater, demonstrate their civilised

[44] Homer *Od.* 9. 366, with its punning on *metis*, cunning.

knowledge. At the same time, the krater cannot help but allude to the dangers of the uncivilised barbarity of excess, demonstrated by Polyphemus, and embodied in the krater.

VI. *Conclusion*

Both the images on the vase, and its shape, highlight the significance, and danger, of transgressing limits of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. At the same time, the krater provides a way of mediating between the two. In the context of early Greek and Etruscan interaction the krater remains ambiguous. While on the one hand the pot draws sharp contrasts between the civilised and the barbaric, and Greek and Etruscan, on the other, it constantly brings them together: in the name, in the scenes, and in the shape and function of the pot itself. In doing this, it questions those very categories, thus raising the potential of reconfiguring pre-existing relationships. Just as in the krater the wine is mixed, diluting it and dissipating its potency, at the elite drinking party aristocratic Greeks and Etruscans could meet and interact, and perhaps even discuss (or argue over) the objects which surrounded them.

Acknowledgements

Several people have read versions of this paper, and I am very grateful to them for their comments and criticisms: Louise Buchanan, Simon Goldhill, Robin Osborne, Rob Shorrock, Anthony Snodgrass, and Nigel Spivey. A version of the paper was presented in London at the Accordia Reseach Seminar, and I am grateful to that audience for the discussion and questions which ensued. Finally, I thank Kathryn Lomas for asking me to contribute to this volume, and for her patience in waiting for the written version.

Bibliography

Barker, G., Rasmussen, T. *The Etruscans*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1998

Bonfante, L. 'Fufluns Pacha: the Etruscan Dionysus', in T.H. Carpenter, C.A. Faraone, ed., *Masks of Dionysus*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993, 221–35

Boardman, J. *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1994
——. *The Greeks Overseas. Their early colonies and trade*. 4th ed. London: Thames and Hudson, 1999
Cartledge, P. *The Greeks*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993
Coldstream, J.N. 'Mixed marriages at the frontiers of the early Greek world', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 12 (1993) 89–108
Colonna, G. 'Firme archeiche di artefice nell'Italia centrale', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 82 (1975) 181–192
Cristofani, M. 'Il "dono" nell'Etruria arcaica', *Parola del Passato* 30 (1975) 132–152.
——. *Gli Etruschi del Mare*. Milan: Longanesi, 1983
——. 'I Greci in Etruria', *Forma di contatto e processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1983, 235–54
——. 'Il banchetto in Etruria', in C. Ampolo, *et al.*, *L'Alimentazione mondo antico. Gli Etruschi*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1987, 123–131
——. *L'Arte degli Etruschi. Produzione e consumo*. Turin: Giulio Ginaudi, 1987
d'Agostino, B. 'Tombe "principesche" dell'orientalizzante antico da Pontecagnano', *Monumenti Antichi dall'Accademia dei Lincei* 49 (1977) 1–110
Ducati, P. 'Sul Cratere di Artistonous', *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome* 31 (1911) 33–74
Faraone, C.A. 'Taking the "Nestor's Cup Inscription" seriously: erotic magic and conditional curses in the earliest inscribed hexameters', *Classical Antiquity* 15 (1996) 77–112
Förster, R. 'Vaso Ceretano con rapresentazione dell' Accamento di Polifemo', *Annali dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza archeologica* 4 (1869) 157–172
Fraser, P.M., Matthews, E., ed., *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Volume I. The Aegean islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987
——, ed., *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Volume II. Attica*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994
——, ed., *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Volume IIIA. The Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997
Gallavolti, C. 'La firma di Aristonothos e alcuni problemi di fonetica greca', in *Philias Charin. Miscellanea di studi in onore di Eugenio Manni*. Vol. 3. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 1980, 1013–1031
Giglioli, G.Q., Bianco, V., ed., *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Italia, Musei Capitolini di Roma*. Rome: Instituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1965
Giuffrida Ientile, M. *La pirateria tirrenica. Momente e fortuna*. (Kókalos Supp. 6), Rome: G. Bretschneider, 1983
Goldhill, S. *The Poet's Voice: essays on Poetics and Greek Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992
Gras, M. *Trafics Tyrrhéniens archaïques*. Paris: Écoles Française d'Athenès et de Rome, 1985
Guarducci, M. *Epigrafia greca*. Vol. 3. Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1969
Helbig, W. 'Ein homerische Rundschild mit einem Bügel', *Jahreshefte des Österreichishen archäologische Institutes in Wein* 12 (1909) 1–70
Henderson, J. '*Timeo Danaos*: Amazons in early Greek art and poetry', in S. Goldhill, R. Osborne, ed., *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, 85–137
Herman, G. *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987
Hoffmann, H. '*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*: the imagery of heroic immortality in Athenian painted vases', in S. Goldhill, R. Osborne, ed., *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, 28–51

Jeffery, L.H. *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*. Second edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985

Kanowski, M.G. *Containers of Classical Greece: A Handbook of Shapes*. St Lucia, London, and New York: University of Queensland Press, 1983

Kirk, G.S. 'Ships on Geometric Vases', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 44 (1949) 92–153

Lacan, J. (Trans. J. Mehlman) 'Seminar on "The Purloined Letter"', in J.P. Muller, W.J. Richardson, ed., *The Purloined Poe. Lacan, Derrida, and Psychoanalytic Reading*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1956, 28–54 (First published as Le séminaire sur "La Lettre Volée", *Le Psychanalyse* 2: 1–44)

Lissarrague, F. '*Epiktetos egraphsen*: the writing on the cup', in S. Goldhill, R. Osborne, ed., *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, 12–27

Mabbott, T.O. Text of "The Purloined Letter" with notes, in J.P. Muller, W.J. Richardson, ed., *The Purloined Poe. Lacan, Derrida, and Psychoanalytic Reading*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988, 3–27

Malkin, I. *The Returns of Odysseus. Colonization and Ethnicity*. Berkeley: Universtiy of California Press, 1998

Martelli, M. 'Prima di Aristonothos', *Prospettiva*. 37 (1984) 2–15

——, ed., *La Ceramica degli Etruschi. La pittura vascolare*. Novara: De Agostini, 1987

Murray, O. 'Nestor's Cup and the origin of the Greek symposion', in B. d'Agostino, D. Ridgway, ed., *Apoikia. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner. Annali Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, n.s. 1 (1994) 47–54

Ogden, D. *Greek Bastardy in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996

Pairault Massa, F.-H. *Iconologia e politica nell'Italia antica. Roma, Lazio, Etruria dal VII al I secolo a. C.* Milan: Longanesi, 1992

Powell, B.B. *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991

Paglieri, S. 'Origine e diffusione delle navi etrusco-italiche', *Studi Etruschi* 28 (1960) 209–231

Rathje, A. 'A banquet service from the Latin city of Ficana', *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 12 (1983) 7–29

——. 'The adoption of the Homeric banquet in Central Italy in the Orientaizing Period', in O. Murray, ed., *Sympotica. A Symposium on the Symposion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, 279–288

——. 'Banquet and ideology: some new considerations about banqueting at Poggio Civitate', in R. de Puma, J.P. Small, ed., *Murlo and the Etruscans. Art and Society in Ancient Etruria*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994, 95–99

——. 'Il banchetto in Italia Centrale: Quale tipo Stilo do Vino?', in O. Murray, M. Tecusan, ed., *In Vino Veritas*. London: British School at Rome, 1995, 167–175

Ridgway, D. 'The First Western Greeks: Campanian coasts and Southern Etruria', in C. Hawkes, S. Hawkes, ed., *Greeks, Celts and Romans*. London: J.M. Dent, 1973, 5–38

——. *The First Western Greeks*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992

Schweitzer, B. 'Zum Krater des Aristonothos', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 62 (1955) 78–106

Slater, W.J. 'Symposium at sea', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 80 (1976) 161–170

Small, J.P. 'Eat, drink and be merry: Etruscan banquets', in R. de Puma, J.P. Small, ed., *Murlo and the Etruscans. Art and Society in Ancient Etruria*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994, 85–94

Snodgrass, A.M. *Homer and the Artists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998

——. 'The uses of writing on early Greek painted pottery', in N.K. Rutter, B.A.

Sparkes, ed., *Word and Image in Ancient Greece*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000, 22–34

Spivey, N.J., Rasmussen, T. 'Dioniso e i pirati nel Toledo Museum of Art', *Prospettiva* 44 (1986) 2–8

——, Stoddart, S.K.F. *Etruscan Italy. An Archaeological History*. London: Batsford, 1990

——. *Etruscan Art*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1997

Torelli, M. *Storia degli Etruschi*. Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1981

——. *La Società etrusca. L'età arcaica, l'età classica*. Rome, 1987

——. *Storia degli Etruschi*. 2nd ed. Bari: Laterza, 1990

——. *L'Arte degli Etruschi*. 2nd ed. Bari: Laterza, 1992

——. 'The encounter with the Etruscans', in G. Pugliese Carratelli, ed., *The Western Greeks. Classical civilisation in the Western Mediterranean*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1996, 567–576

Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, U. 'Demokratia der attischen Metoeken'. *Hermes* (1887) 107–128

UN DONO PER GLI DEI: *KANTHAROI* E GIGANTOMACHIE. A PROPOSITO DI UN *KANTHAROS* A FIGURE NERE DA GRAVISCA

Mario Torelli
University of Perugia

L'opera paziente di ricomposizione delle diverse decine di migliaia di frammenti scoperti tra il 1969 e il 1979, iniziata più di venti anni or sono dai membri dell'*équipe* di scavo e proseguita da studiosi italiani e stranieri e da allievi dell'Università di Perugia, è virtualmente terminata e la pubblicazione dei materiali rinvenuti nel santuario greco del porto di Tarquinia, che procede con ritmi abbastanza sostenuti dal 1993,[1] ha finora offerto una panoramica significativa dell'importanza di questo singolare complesso emporico, del quale a varie riprese ho presentato rapporti preliminari e anticipazioni anche di dettaglio.[2] Anche se la rilevanza di questo materiale è data essenzialmente dal contesto, alcuni oggetti singoli, una volta terminata la

[1] La serie *Gravisca. Scavi nel santuario greco* edita dall'Edipuglia di Bari comprende finora quattro volumi pubblicati, il n. 9 (V. Valentini, *Le ceramiche a vernice nera*, 1993), il n. 4 (S. Boldrini, *Le ceramiche ioniche*, 1994), il n. 6 (K. Huber, *Le ceramiche attiche a figure rosse*, 1999) e il n. 10 (G. Pianu, *Il bucchero*, 2000); è imminente l'uscita del n. 15 (A. Johnston – M. Pandolfini, *Le iscrizioni*), mentre per il 2001 è prevista la pubblicazione dei voll. n. 11 (V. Galli, *Le lucerne greche e locali*) e 12 (B. Gori, T. Perini, *La ceramica comune*).

[2] M. Torelli, 'Gravisca-Scavi nella città etrusca e romana, Campagna 1969/70', in *NSc* 1971, 196–241; 'Il santuario di Hera a Gravisca', in *PP* 26 (1971) 44–67; 'Gravisca', in *EAA Supplemento 1970* (Roma 1973), 360–362; 'Il santuario greco di Gravisca', in *PP* 32 (1977) 398–458; 'La ceramica ionica in Etruria: il caso di Gravisca', in *Les céramiques de la Grèce de l'Est et leur diffusion en occident* (Roma, 1978) 213–215; 'Per la definizione del commercio greco-orientale: il caso di Gravisca', in *PP* 37 (1982) 304–325; 'Tarquinia and its Emporion at Gravisca. A Case in Maritime Trade in the VIth Century B.C.', in *Thracia Pontica* 3 (1986) 46–53; 'Riflessioni a margine dell'emporion di Gravisca', in *PACT* 20 (1988) 182–188; *Gravisca*, in *BTCGI* 8 (1990) 172–176; *Gravisca*, in *Enciclopedia Italiana, Suppl. 1990* (Roma, 1993) 505–506; 'Les Adonies de Gravisca. Archéologie d'une fête', in D. Briquel, F. Gaultier, ed., *Les Etrusques, les plus religieux des hommes* (Paris, 1997) 233–291; 'Un nuovo santuario dell'emporion di Gravisca', in *La colonisation grecque en Méditerranée Occidentale* (Roma, 1999) 93–101; una panoramica recente del santuario è stata offerta da v. F. Boitani, 'Gravisca' in *EAA* II Supplemento (Roma, 1994) 835–839.

ricerca minuziosa di attacchi, meritano senz'altro una particolare attenzione e dunque una presentazione speciale:[3] tra questi possiamo annoverare i frammenti di un bellissimo *kantharos* a figure nere, la cui prima edizione proposta in queste pagine dedico con speciale amicizia alla formidabile dottrina e alla ineguagliata conoscenza delle ceramiche attiche di Brian Shefton.

I frammenti in questione provengono tutti da punti diversi del grande riempimento dell'edificio α del santuario, riempimento realizzato negli anni finali del VI sec.a.C. per far posto ad una grande ristrutturazione dell'intero complesso, che ha trasformato in una vasta area sacra attrezzata il modesto sacello della metà circa del VI sec.a.C., sorto per iniziativa dei naviganti greci, ma sotto il controllo della città di Tarquinia, in relazione con l'approdo e, ora sappiamo meglio, con la lavorazione del ferro. I frammenti recuperati, in numero di undici, hanno ricomposto, con diverse integrazioni, due larghi settori non combacianti delle pareti di un imponente *kantharos* a figure nere, dall'altezza residua di cm. 8,5 e dal diametro originario ricostruibile in cm. 28 circa: la tecnica pittorica è assai raffinata, con diverse sovradipinture bianche e paonazze e un esteso uso del graffito. La decorazione accessoria comprendeva una linea continua appena sotto l'orlo, mentre la risega, che segnava la carenatura del vaso e collegava le pareti con il fondo della vasca, era ornata da una fila di puntini; aldisotto della risega sono visibili i resti della decorazione accessoria della vasca, costituita da una serie di linguette con piccoli punti all'esterno, di cui si conservano soltanto quattro terminazioni.

La scena rappresentata è una gigantomachia, che doveva coprire l'intera superficie utile del *kantharos*, tenuto conto dei vasi coevi con rappresentazioni del genere, di quanto ci è conservato del vaso e del numero presumibile degli dei e dei giganti impegnati nella scena, sempre secondo quanto ci è attestato nella contemporanea ceramica attica. Il primo gruppo di tre frammenti ricompone una porzione di

---

[3] E' questo il caso, ad es., di due frammenti di terrecotte architettoniche, che, pur non provenendo dall'area del santuario, ma dallo scavo della città, sono state da ma fatte oggetto di un lavoro particolare: M. Torelli, 'Terrecotte architettoniche arcaiche da Gravisca e una nota a Plinio, 'N.H.' XXXV', 151–52, in *Studi in onore di F. Magi* (Perugia, 1979) 307–312; cfr. anche l'*oinochoe* di bucchero con alfabetario che ho pubblicato nella 'Rivista di epigrafia etrusca' *SE* 35 (1967) 522–524 (ora *CIE* 10232); del secondo frammento del nostro *kantharos* è stata data una foto in *EAA* II Supplemento cit. fig. 970.

Fig. 1: Three fragments of Attic Black-figure vase, from Gravisca: gigantomachy.

vaso (fig. 1), che ovvie ragioni compositive inducono a considerare come corrispondente alla parte centrale o, per maggior precisione, al settore di destra della parte centrale del lato principale. Procedendo da sinistra verso destra, la porzione conservata della scena si apre con l'immagine della parte anteriore dei cavalli impennati appartenenti alla quadriga che doveva occupare il centro della rappresentazione: dei destrieri restano nel frammento in alto l'estremità anteriore di due musi e nel frammento in basso la parte inferiore del corpo del cavallo in primo piano, le otto zampe anteriori impennate e, sul margine della frattura, un piccolo resto di due delle zampe posteriori; il corpo dell'animale in primo piano reca segnati con minuziosi dettagli incisi i particolari dei finimenti che lo imbrigliano con un grosso nodo al centro della pancia. I cavalli, colti nell'impennata, celano il corpo di un gigante, il quale, al pari di tutti i suoi compagni, è barbato, vestito da oplita ed è colto nell'atto di avanzare da destra verso sinistra: di lui ci sono giunte soltanto le due gambe gradienti. Davanti ai cavalli compare ancora un altro gigante, la cui parte alta del corpo si conserva sui due frammenti superiori, e quella

inferiore sul frammento di sinistra; mentre verso la sua testa si dirige una freccia, presumibilmente scagliata da Eracle che doveva figurare, come vedremo, sul carro, il gigante, vestito di una tunica riccamente adorna di crocette inscritte entro quadrati, affronta la quadriga brandendo una lancia ed esibendo uno scudo, il cui *episema*, giunto a noi solo parzialmente, rappresenta la protome di un leone con la criniera a fiamme e il corpo trattato a minuto tratteggio. Sotto i cavalli infine figura bocconi il corpo di un gigante morto, ormai spogliato delle armi, la mano destra rattrappita nello spasmo della morte e un fiotto di sangue che fuoriesce dal ventre. In gran parte sul frammento di sinistra troviamo ciò che rimane di una monomachia tra una divinità barbata in veste oplitica a sinistra, molto probabilmente Ares, e un gigante a destra: il dio imbraccia lo scudo (ne sono visibili dall'interno la parte alta su questo frammento e il bordo inferiore nel frammento inferiore) ed è proteso in avanti nell'atto di trafiggere con la lancia (ne è visibile solo una parte fra i due combattenti) il gigante, rappresentato in atto di cadere all'indietro.

Il secondo gruppo di otto frammenti combacianti (fig. 2), per il grande spazio vuoto esistente tra la figura per noi centrale di Efesto e il gigante gradiente sulla destra, dovrebbe invece costituire l'estremità sinistra di uno dei due lati, forse quello opposto al precedente e dunque quello secondario, dove un triangolo lacunoso in basso rappresenta l'attacco di una delle due anse del *kantharos*. Procedendo sempre da sinistra a destra, incontriamo, come ho appena detto, la porzione inferiore di un gigante armato in movimento da sinistra verso destra, che avanza vestito di corazza resa con sovradipintura bianca: dopo uno spazio vuoto, dovuto—si è appena detto—alla probabile presenza dell'ansa del *kantharos*, compare, in veduta frontale, la figura barbuta di Efesto, il quale, vestito come un artigiano con chitone e corto mantello dall'orlo decorato con un motivo continuo a sigma, avanza sostenendo con entrambi le mani i mantici dalle prese a bastoncello e dalla caratteristica bocca a imbuto. Subito dopo un gigante, procedendo da destra, minaccia il dio con la sua lancia: egli è vestito di elmo dall'alto *lophos* e di una corazza, che lascia trasparire la parte bassa della tunica ornata da un motivo a crocette, brandisce con la mano destra una lancia e imbraccia uno scudo il cui episema è rappresentato da un'aquila dalle grandi ali spiegate. Alle sue spalle sono i resti dei due Letoidi, la figura quasi completa di Artemide (mancano il volto e il braccio sinistro che imbracciava l'arco) e pochissimi resti di quella di Apollo, una gamba

Fig. 2: Fragments of Attic Black-figure vase, from Gravisca: Hephaistos.

destra gradiente con un tratto dell'asta della lancia: la dea indossa una lunga veste orlata da un motivo a cane corrente, sopra la quale è annodata una *leontè* resa con minuti trattini che le copre anche la testa e che risulta trattenuta all'altezza della vita con una *zone*; sulle spalle è la faretra trattata a fasce.

Fin qui le parti conservate del raffinato prodotto uscito negli anni attorno al 550 a.C. dal Ceramico di Atene, che assieme ad altri pezzi pure di notevole impegno, come un frammento già edito del Pittore della Gorgone,[4] va annoverato tra le importazioni attiche più antiche giunte nel lontano porto di Tarquinia. Il vaso doveva rappresentare un *anathema* di straordinario rilievo deposto nel santuario emporico delle grandi dee Afrodite, Hera e Demetra da uno dei frequentatori greci, riconosciuti perlopiù in personaggi di diverso rango esercitanti l'*emporíe* in nome e per conto delle grandi aristocrazie della Grecia dell'Est.[5] Il suo carattere di dono significativo e di alto livello

[4] F. Boitani, in *NSA* 1971, 243 con fig. 58.
[5] Torelli, 'Per la definizione del commercio greco-orientale'.

è innanzi tutto dichiarato dalla forma vascolare, il *kantharos*; la forma infatti, mentre per le esigenze del culto del locale *Kabeirion* è di casa in botteghe beotiche imitanti le ceramiche di Atene,[6] ha da sempre costituito un vaso prodotto solo eccezionalmente nelle officine attiche.[7] Beazley infatti nell'intera produzione ateniese a figure nere da lui esaminata registra[8] solo 13 esemplari di *kantharos*, attribuiti rispettivamente uno ciascuno al Pittore KX, al Pittore di Heidelberg, e al Gruppo di Leagros e ben quattro ciascuno a Kleitias e a Nearchos, oltre ad un frammento firmato, ma dal nome in lacuna, e non attribuito da Beazley.[9] Nella produzione a figure rosse il quadro sostanzialmente non muta. Fino all'epoca classica avanzata, quando, diventati più frequenti,[10] vengono prodotti anche in forma standardizzata,[11] i *kantharoi* rappresentano infatti pezzi assai rari e quando sono prodotti, lo sono di norma da maestri non secondari, che al pari dei loro predecessori a figure nere amano firmare i loro pezzi, perlopiù come ceramisti. Vale la pena ricordare a questo proposito gli aspetti più significativi della produzione di una forma insolita, aspetti che si presentano ancora vicini alla temperie culturale e politica dell'arcaismo. Sosias, un maestro, per quel che si può apprezzare, molto poco prolifico e noto quasi esclusivamente dalla celebre coppa di Berlino 2278 con la sua firma come vasaio,[12] è autore di un altro vaso soltanto, non a caso un *kantharos*, dedicato sull'acropoli di Atene, ancora una volta con un soggetto 'alto', l'ingresso di Eracle nell'Olimpo.[13] La presenza della firma su *kantharoi* ritorna nel-

---

[6] Cfr. J.D. Beazley, *Athenian Black-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford, 1956), 30.6–12 (d'ora in poi abbreviato *ABV*): è interessante che fra questi siano comprese imitazioni di vasi del Pittore KX.

[7] Per la forma, v. G.M.A. Richter, M.J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Greek Vases* (New York, 1922) figs. 146–148.

[8] *ABV*, 26.27 (Pittore KX, da Naukratis); 66.60 (Pittore di Heidelberg, dall'Acropoli); 77.3–7 (Kleitias, tre dall'Acropoli e uno da Delfi; Beazley, forse a torto si mostra incerto se attribuirli a *skyphoi* piuttosto che a *kantharoi*); 82–83.1–3 (Nearchos, oltre ad uno attribuitogli da Rumpf: *ABV*, 83; tutti dall'Acropoli di Atene); 380.295 (Gruppo di Leagros, da Menidi).

[9] *ABV*, 347.

[10] Un buon esempio può essere offerto dalla produzione, discretamente abbondante, del Pittore di Monaco 2335 (J.D. Beazley, *Athenian Red-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford, 1963), 1167–68.119–125 [d'ora in poi abbreviato *ARV*]), che spiega bene la nascita di fabbriche più standardizzate (v. nota succcessiva).

[11] Cfr ad es. la Classe dei *kantharoi* Czartoryski (*ARV*, 982), gli esemplari prodotti nella serie degli Owl-skyphoi (*ARV*, 983.1–3) o il Gruppo di Bonn 94 (*ARV*, 1361.1–10)

[12] Acropoli 556 (*ARV* 21.1).

[13] *ARV*, 21.2.

Fig. 3a: Fragments of an Attic Black-figure kantharos. Athens, Acropolis 2134.

l'opera del contemporaneo Epiktetos, ancora una volta su di un esemplare dall'acropoli di Atene (Acropoli 553),[14] mentre su di un *kantharos* da Leuke conservato ad Odessa,[15] pure dipinto dallo stesso Epiktetos appare la firma di Nikosthenes come vasaio, il quale firma ancora due pezzi oggi a Boston, e ne realizza altri due, i *kantharoi* di Londra e di S. Pietroburgo.[16] Gli altri grandi autori di *kantharoi* fino alla piena età classica sono sostanzialmente Brygos e Douris. A Brygos si debbono numerosi *kantharoi*: ancora due e forse tre sono *anathemata* dedicati sull'acropoli di Atene,[17] ultimi di una grande tradizione risalente, come abbiamo appena veduto, al pieno arcaismo;

[14] *ARV*, 77.88.

[15] *ARV*, 77.87.

[16] Si tratta dei *kantharoi* Boston 0034 (*ARV*, 126.27); Boston 95.36 (la cui mano è tuttavia da Beazley ritenuta 'akin to Epeleian': *ARV*, 132), Londra E 154 (*ARV*, 127.28) e S. Pietroburgo 3386 (*ARV*, 127.29).

[17] Sono i due pezzi molto frammentari senza numero di inv. *ARV*, 381.181 e *ARV*, 381.181*bis*, cui si aggiungono i frr. a Monaco *ARV*, 381.181*ter*, detti provenienti da Atene.

un esemplare dello stesso Brygos è stato rinvenuto significativamente a Tebe,[18] mentre da Olbia proviene un quinto *kantharos* frammentario,[19] che quasi costituisce un parallelo perfetto con la situazione registrata per Epiktetos. A Douris si debbono due pezzi, quello celeberrimo di Bruxelles, non a caso firmato come pittore e dipinto con il tema di Eracle e le Amazzoni,[20] e un *kantharos* da Keratea,[21] mentre il grande ceramista Sotades[22] ripropone la forma, firmandola, nel suo vivacissimo repertorio vascolare, prima che il Pittore di Pan[23] con un solenne esemplare da Menidi decorato con una processione di sacrificio non chiuda la serie alle soglie dell'età classica.

Il quadro tracciato mostra insomma che il *kantharos* tra età arcaica ed età classica è prima di tutto un pezzo di bravura del vasaio, come prova la celebre scena di officina di vasaio dell'idria del Pittore di Leningrado nella Collezione Torno di Milano,[24] nella quale il capo dell'officina, incoronato dalla stessa Atena, sta appunto dipingendo un *kantharos*. Sono infatti grandi maestri vasai, da Nearchos in giù, passando per Paseas e per Nikosthenes fino a Hieron,[25] a produrre e sovente orgogliosamente firmare questa rara forma, quasi sempre *hapax legomena* in produzioni anche sterminate. Ma anche dipingere un *kantharos* è opera importante e prestigiosa e donarlo in santuario,

---

[18] *ARV*, 381.182.

[19] *ARV*, 381.180.

[20] *ARV*, 445.256; cfr. D. Buitron-Oliver, *Douris. A Master-Painter of Athenian Red-Figure Vase* (Mainz, 1995) 75 s., no. 48. Per Douris si segnala poi, come per Brygos (v. nota successiva), la presenza di un *kantharos* nella produzione della cerchia del maestro: è il caso del Gruppo di Schifanoia, cui si deve il *kantharos* Louvre G 248 (*ARV*, 387.2).

[21] Atene Collez. Vlasto *ARV*, 445.255. Anche per la realizzazione di questa particolarissima forma Douris ha degli epigoni: un seguace di Douris dipinge infatti il *kantharos* Altenburg 300 (*ARV*, 804.71) e due 'variazioni sul tema' Napoli 3175 e Laon 37.1028 (*ARV*, 804.72–73).

[22] *ARV*, 764.7: sul ceramista e pittore cfr. H. Hoffmann, *Sotades. Symbols of Immortality on Greek Vases* (Oxford, 1997).

[23] *ARV*, 558.142.

[24] *ARV*, 571.72, 1659: cfr. J. Boardman, *Attic Red Figure Vases. The Archaic Period* (London, 1975) fig. 323.

[25] La firma di Hieron come vasaio torna sul *kantharos* Boston 98.932 con scena di gigantomachia, opera di un maestro della cerchia di Sotades, il Pittore di Anfitrite (*ARV*, 832.36), che produce altri due pezzi della stessa forma, Londra E 155 con miti di Issione (*ARV*, 832.37), e Monaco 2560 con banale tema dionisiaco (*ARV*, 832.38): sono stati tuttavia sollevati molti dubbi sull'autenticità di questa firma, cfr. da ultimo N. Kunisch, *Makron* (Mainz, 1997), 7 con nota 28. Su Hieron, v. anche C. Isler-Kerenyi, *Hieron and Hermonax*, in *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery* (Amsterdam, 1984), 164 e.

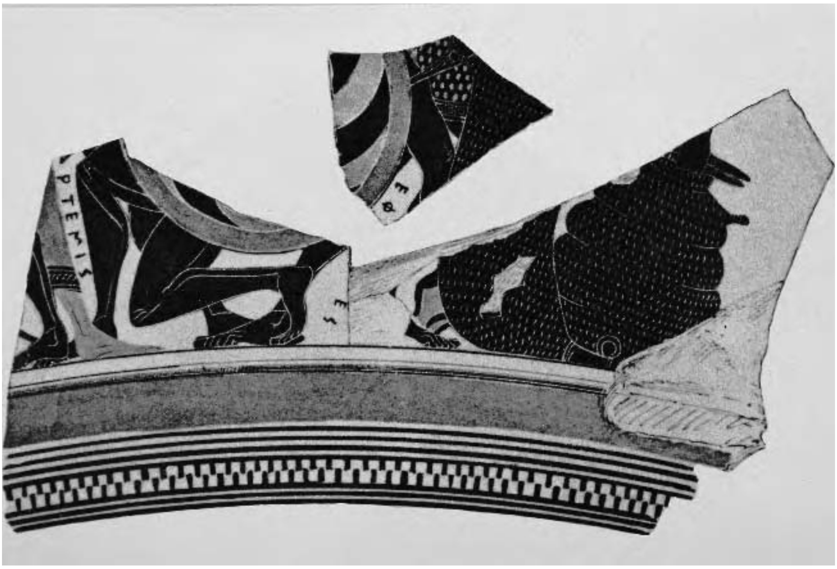


Fig. 3b: Fragments of an Attic Black-figure kantharos. Athens, Acropolis 2134.

almeno in epoca arcaica, è un atto di singolare rilevanza ideologica e segno di distinzione del donatore, cosa confermata dal fatto che tra i *kantharoi* noti e dedicati sull'Acropoli di Atene, ben due sono firmati, uno da Nearchos e un secondo dall'anonimo pittore suo contemporaneo del kantharos Acropoli 2134, che egli dedica esplicitamente alla dea con una solenna iscrizione ben evidente sul corpo del vaso [ὁ δεινα ἀνέθηκε]ν ᾿Αθαναίᾳ αὐτὸς ποι[ήσας]. Ora, come attesta il sommario elenco or ora compilato, il grosso della produzione attica di *kantharoi* a figure nere si concentra negli anni tra il 570 e il 550 a.C.: se si fa eccezione per Sophilos,[26] tutti i grandi maestri del secondo venticinquennio del VI secolo ne hanno prodotto uno, più spesso come opera pressochè unica, tranne Kleitias e Nearchos che ne dipingono rispettivamente quattro e tre. In particolare vale la pena osservare che pressoché tutti questi pezzi provengono da grandi santuari: i *kantharoi* del Pittore di Heidelberg, tre dei quattro

[26] Tuttavia va ricordato che Beazley (v. nota 29) fa gravare dei dubbi sull'effettiva appartenenza alla forma in questione dei frammenti da lui attribuiti a Kleitias.

di Kleitias, i tre pezzi di Nearchos e quello coevo autore di Acropoli 2134 sono stati addirittura scoperti tutti sull'acropoli di Atene,[27] *anathemata* con tutta evidenza deposti nel decennio prima della metà del secolo, durante il quale si assiste al primo, improvviso afflusso di grandi doni votivi per il santuario in concomitanza con l'avvio degli agoni panatenaici, datati, com'è noto, nel 566 a.C. E da santuari provengono anche quasi tutti gli altri *kantharoi*: da Delfi quello attribuito a Kleitias, da Naukratis quello del Pittore KX ed ora l'esemplare da Gravisca, un dato questo che ancora una volta collega il luogo di culto emporico tarquiniese con il grande circuito dei santuari, sui quali appuntano la loro attenzione le cosmopolite aristocrazie della prima metà del VI sec.a.C.: ho avuto già modo di segnalare tale circostanza analizzando l'onomastica dei dedicanti di Gravisca in strettissmo rapporto con quella attestata a Naukratis[28] e non è necessario qui ritornarvi.

Vaso di grande rilievo il *kantharos* dunque, orgoglio del ceramista, cimento per grandi pittori e oggetto di pregio, degno di essere donato ad un prestigioso santuario. In pieno accordo con questa caratterizzazione dell'oggetto, i pezzi sono di norma decorati con soggetti 'alti'. Kleitias replica ben due volte[29] (o forse tre, se le fanciulle del frammento di Delfi, ripetono lo stesso soggetto) sui suoi *kantharoi* la scena di apertura del vaso François, la *geranos* dei giovani Ateniesi a Delos: il tema doveva rivestire particolare interesse agli occhi delle grandi famiglie aristocratiche della Atene degli anni tra il 580 e il 560 a.C., che è facile presumere nutrissero la pretesa di discendere dai *géne* di quei mitici giovinetti, mentre il tema del lato principale del *kantaros* suo più importante[30] richiama subito il grande culto dell'Acropoli con la scena della nascita di Atena. Anche i vasi di Nearchos si muovono nello stesso orizzonte culturale e sociale: nel pezzo più

---

[27] Tutti questi pezzi sono illustrati nel volume di B. Graef, E. Langlotz, *Die antike Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* (Berlin, 1909) ss. (d'ora in poi abbreviato Graef-Langlotz).

[28] Torelli, M. 'Per la definizione del commercio greco-orientale', a nota 2.

[29] *ABV*, 77.3 (Atene Acr. 597 a–c: Graef-Langlotz, tav. 24), 5 (Atene Acr. 598: Graef-Langlotz, tav. 24) e 7 (Delfi: BCH 1924, tav. 13.1); su Kleitias v. anche D. Fales Jr., 'An Unpublished Fragment of Kleitias', in *GrRomByzSt* 7 (1966) 23–24; D. von Bothmer, 'A New Kleitias Fragment from Egypt', in *Antike Kunst* 24 (1981) 66–67; C. Isler-Kerényi, 'Dionysos im Götterzug bei Sophilos und bei Kleitias. Dionysische Ikonographie, 6', in *Antike Kunst* 40 (1997) 67–8.

[30] *ABV*, 77.3: Atene Acr. 597 a–c: Graef-Langlotz, tav. 24.

celebre Acropoli 611 sulle due facce del vaso si alternano una *theôn agorà* e il tema omerico, caro all'aristocrazia dell'epoca, di Achille a colloquio con i cavalli,[31] sostanzialmente identico a quello del *kantharos* del Pittore KX,[32] mentre sugli altri esemplari dello stesso Nearchos figurano due ulteriori soggetti di rilievo, l'amazzonomachia di Eracle,[33] e soprattutto lo stesso tema del nostro *kantharos*, la gigantomachia.[34]

Possiamo anzi dire che il tema della gigantomachia[35] è forse quello che meglio esprime il senso religioso più intimo di questi *anathemata* illustri, particolarmente adatto a grandi santuari: non è infatti un caso che il frontone del tempio di Atena Poliàs eretto dai Pisistratidi sia decorato appunto con una scena dell'epica lotta degli dei contro le forze del male, all'origine dell'ordine imposto dagli Olimpii sul mondo intero, così come accade con un altro grande dono votivo dedicato sull'acropoli, il *dinos* di Lydos esemplarmente ricostruito da Mary B. Moore,[36] una delle uniche due opere sulle quali il pittore, peraltro assai prolifico,[37] ha lasciato la sua firma e perdipiù in posizione di grande rilievo, sull'orlo. Meglio che nel contemporaneo e manierato *dinos* su sostegno del Gruppo Tirrenico al Getty Museum,[38] la lotta tra dei e giganti nel grande affresco di Lydos possiede uno sviluppo grandioso e organico paragonabile a quello che avrà pochi decenni più tardi nel *thesauros* delfico dei Sifnii: aldilà della sua alta qualità stilistica, la complessità della narrazione del *dinos* di Lydos risulta comunque illuminante per analizzare le ragioni della sequenza delle varie divinità adottata da questi pittori arcaici, una logica altrove ben presente ai pittori contemporanei, come si vede assai bene nei grandi cortei per le nozze di Peleo e Teti immaginati da Sophilos

---

31 *ABV*, 82.1: Graef-Langlotz, tav. 36.

32 Achille sul carro: *ABV*, 26.29: *JHS* 49, 1929, tav. 14.

33 *ABV*, 83 (Atene Acr. 614: Graef-Langlotz, tav. 41).

34 *ABV*, 83.3 (Atene Acr. 612: Graef-Langlotz, tav. 36).

35 Gli studi fondamentali su questa iconografia sono di F. Vian, *Répertoire des gigantomachies figurées dans l'art grec et romain* (Paris, 1951) e *La guerre des géants. Le mythe avant l'époque hellénistique* (Paris, 1952); cfr. anche J. Dörig, O. Gigon, *Der Kampf der Götter und Titanen* (Olten, 1961).

36 Acr. 607: *ABV*, 107.1: Graef-Langlotz, tavv. 32–35.

37 La sua opera è raccolta da M. Tiverios, *Ὁ Λυδὸς καὶ τὸ ἔργο του* (Athina, 1976).

38 M.B. Moore, *Giants at the Getty*, in *Greek Vases in the J.-P. Getty Museum* 2, 1985, 21–40, che pubblica i frammenti dell'impegnativa opera, attribuendoli al 'Kyllenios Painter'.

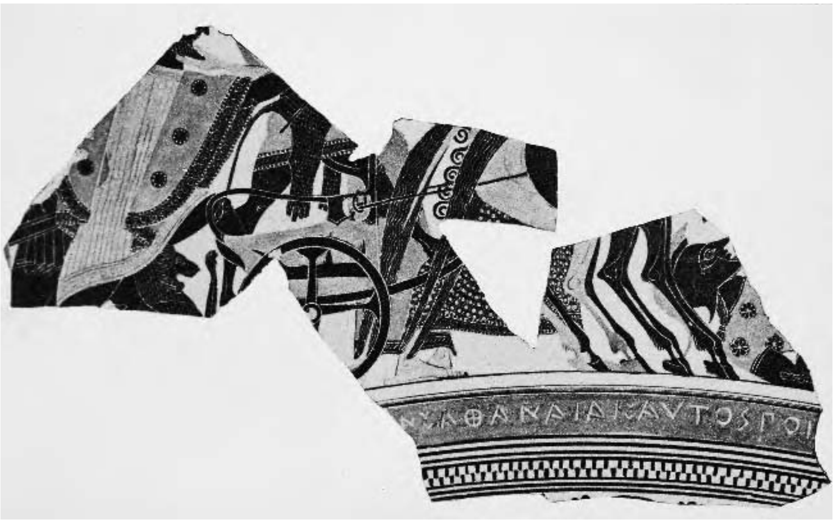


Fig. 3c: Fragments of an Attic Black-figure kantharos. Athens, Acropolis 2134.

e da Kleitias per i loro capolavori.[39] Per l'esegesi del pezzo di Gravisca, tuttavia, malgrado la lacunosità di tutti gli esemplari, appare più produttivo il confronto con i due *kantharoi* di ugual soggetto provenienti entrambe dall'Acropoli di Atene, Acropoli 612 attribuito a Nearchos e soprattutto Acropoli 2134 dalla firma lacunosa e non attribuito da Beazley:[40] nella scala più ridotta del *kantharos* la grande architettura della gigantomachia viene infatti riproposta con iconografie meno complesse ed in termini più serrati, a volte con meri estratti di composizioni monumentali, di necessità più ridotte rispetto a quelle di vasi di grandi proporzioni, come il *dinos* di Lydos, la coeva anfora Acropoli 2211,[41] o anche la coppa Acropoli 1632 del 550–40 a.C.,[42] tutti doni di prestigio del grande santaurio poliadico di Atene.

---

[39] Sul tema v. quanto propongo in 'Le strategie di Kleitias. Programma e composizione del Vaso François', in *Ostraka* 9 (2000), in stampa.

[40] *ABV*, 347; oltre alla prima edizione di P. Hartwig, 'Une gigantomachie sur un cantare de l'Acropole d'Athènes', in *BCH* 20 (1896) 364 ss. e a Graef-Langlotz, 215 con tav. 94, v. F. Vian, *Répertoire* cit., 39 e tav. 25.

[41] Graef-Langlotz, tav. 94, cui *adde BCH* 71–72 (1947–1948), 425: cfr. J.D. Beazley, 'Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum', in *PBA* 33 (1947) 35; da ultimo v. H.A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens* (Mainz, 1989) 90 nota 71.

[42] Graef-Langlotz, tav. 84; Vian, *Répertoire* cit., 40, n. 111, tav. 23.

Comune all'iconografia di tutti questi pezzi, con l'ecccezione del *dinos* tirrenico, nel quale Eracle combatte a piedi, ma sempre in prossimità di Zeus e Atena, è il gruppo centrale composto da Atena e Zeus, quest'ultimo di norma in atto di salire sul carro, a bordo del quale è Eracle saettante, eroe indispensabile perchè gli dei ottengano la vittoria: nel *kantharos* di Gravisca Eracle può essere ricostruito in grazia della freccia volante aldisopra della quadriga, ma purtroppo non è possibile ricostruire né la posizione di Zeus né la collocazione di Atena, che nel pezzo più vicino al nostro, il *kantharos* Acropoli 2134 (Fig. 3a, 3b, 3c), sono infatti rappresentati nella sequenza di Zeus nell'atto di montare sul carro, Eracle sul carro e saettante e Atena avanti al carro, a fianco dei cavalli, mentre in secondo piano spesso era la figura supplice di Gê, che, mentre in Acropoli 2134 appare impegnata nel caratteristico gesto della supplice in atto di toccare la barba di Zeus, non sappiamo se compariva nel vaso di Gravisca e in quello di Nearchos qui discussi. I cavalli nel nostro *kantharos* sono impennati e tali erano probabilmente nel *dinos* di Lydos e nel *kantharos* Acropoli 2134. Se questo è quanto possiamo dire sull'iconografia del primo frammento, il secondo presenta qualche problema ulteriore. Come si è visto poc'anzi, la composizione, con il grande vuoto prima di Efesto, sembra indicare la collocazione del frammento all'estrema sinistra di un lato, che probabilmente coincide con quello secondario del vaso. La collocazione di Efesto, rapresentato all'estremo limite della composizione e, se è vera la pertinenza del frammento al lato B, alla fine della sequenza degli dei impegnati nella lotta, oltre che in rapporto di vicinanza con i Letoidi, appare congruente con quella attribuita al dio in altri monumenti dell'arcaismo: nel *kantharos* Acropoli 2134 e in una coppa frammentaria dall'Agorà di Atene prodotta nella cerchia di Kleitias[43] Efesto incede recando due mantici praticamente identici a quelli sul pezzo di Gravisca; addirittura in Acropoli 2134 appare preceduto da Artemide e Apollo e potrebbe anche lì collocarsi alla fine della composizione, che sarebbe perciò identica a quella del *kantharos* di Gravisca, anche se di fatto rovesciata; nel *thesauròs* dei Sifni[44] la 'mar-

[43] C. Roebuck, in *Hesperia* 9 (1949) 199 s., n. 134, fig. 31; F. Vian, *Répertoire* cit., 45 s., n. 144, tav. 28.

[44] C. Picard, P. de la Coste Messelière, in *FD* IV, 2, Paris 1928, 74 ss.; cfr. anche M.B. Moore, 'The Gigantomachy of the Siphnian Treasury. Reconstruction of the Three Lacunae', in *Etudes delphiques* (Athènes, 1977), 305–335.

ginalità' di Efesto riemerge, pur nella diversa iconografia[45] del dio, presentato presso due mantici dalla forma di otri, e quindi diversa da quella che appare sui due *kantharoi*, mentre sul *dinos* di Lydos il Fabbro Divino, armato come oplita brandisce uno dei suoi ferri, le tenaglie.[46] Ancor più significativa la congruenza tra il vaso di Gravisca e altri vasi coevi per ciò che concerne l'iconografia di Artemide, saettante e vestita di un lungo chitone sul quale poggia una *leonté*: M.B. Moore[47] ha elencato tutto il materiale, che va dal più volte ricordato *kantharos* Acropoli 2134 alla coppa Acropoli 1632[48] di un decennio circa posteriore, fino a giungere al già ricordato fregio del *thesauròs* dei Sifnii. Il nuovo documento insomma conferma le ricostruzioni già proposte per le sequenze divine, inserendosi in maniera pressochè perfetta nel gruppo di vasi di pregio realizzati uno o due decenni prima della metà del secolo di cui abbiamo finora discorso.

Resta l'ultimo passo, quello di una proposta di attribuzione. B. Iacobazzi, nel suo manoscritto sulla ceramiche a figure nere di Gravisca,[49] seguendo una proposta che ha lungo circolato all'interno dell'*équipe* dello scavo,[50] ha suggerito il nome di Exekias, soprattutto sulla base dei cavalli dell'anfora Monaco 1396 attribuita al Gruppo E[51] e del cratere a calice dalle pendici dell'acropoli di Atene[52] e della faccia frontale di Efesto, da lei confrontato con il volto frontale di un personaggio sulla placca funeraria Berlino 1818,[53] ma al quale avrei forse preferito quello del sileno sull'anfora Budapest 50.189 sempre del Gruppo E.[54] Tuttavia, uno studio più meditato mi sembra dimostri che, a parte alcune assonanze non particolarmente

---

[45] V.F. Vian, in *LIMC* IV, 1988, 191 ss. s.v. Gigantes.

[46] Discussione in M.B. Moore, 'Lydos and the gigantomachy', *AJA* 83 (1979) cit., 98 s.

[47] *Ibid.* 92, note 110 e 11.

[48] Graef-Langlotz, tav. 84; cfr. sopra nota 41.

[49] B. Iacobazzi, *Le ceramiche attiche a figure nere* (in corso di stampa).

[50] Così io stesso in 'Il santuario greco di Gravisca' cit. 409, e F. Boitani, in *EAA* II Supplemento cit., 836.

[51] *ABV*, 135.39: cfr. M.B. Moore, 'Horses by Exekias', in *AJA* 72 (1968) 357–368, partic. tav. 119.2.

[52] *ABV*, 145.19; cfr. O. Broneer, 'A Calix-Krater by Exekias', in *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 468–486.

[53] H. Mommsen, *Exekias I. Die Grabtafeln* (Mainz, 1997) 35, tav. 4.

[54] *Para.*61: Y. Korshak, *Frontal Faces in Attic Vase Painting of the Archaic Period* (Chicago, 1987) 46, n. 15, figg. 9–10.

significative, i rapporti con il grande maestro siano vaghi e generici e convincano poco: nel nostro *kantharos*, che si direbbe concettualmente (anche se non cronologicamente) più arcaico, manca la grande scala di Exekias, che si ravvisa anche in pezzi nei quali prevale un dimensione contenuta, come nella celebre coppa di Monaco;[55] non è comunque un argomento contro l'attribuzione del vaso graviscano ad Exekias la mancanza di attestazioni della forma vascolare nella sua produzione, dal momento che, tranne Kleitias e Nearchos, i *kantharoi* sono sempre pezzi eccezionali nella produzione di un *atelier* attico. Come è già emerso nella discussione sulla forma e sull'iconografia, i rapporti con il *kantharos* Acropoli 2134 sono invece talmente stretti che possiamo postulare siano opera di una stessa mano: pur nelle forti congruenze iconografiche (si veda una fra tutte, la forma dei mantici di Efesto nei due *kantharoi*), il *kantharos* di Gravisca appare leggermente più tardo del vaso di Atene, dotato di minore ricchezza decorativa, soprattutto nei particolari graffiti e nell'ornato delle vesti, ma non nei partiti ornamentali accessori, come ci indica il solenne motivo a linguette della vasca. Complessivamente il vaso di Gravisca appare appena più tardo del *kantharos* Acropoli 2134: la perdita della sovrabbondanza decorativa è infatti compensata dall'efficace trattamento dei cavalli impennati, che prelude a ben altre scioltezze della seconda metà del secolo, e dalla grande cura con la quale è presentata la monumentalità dei destrieri. Se ad Acropoli 2134 si assegna una data nel decennio 560–550 a.C., la cronologia sopra proposta negli anni attorno al 550 a.C. rappresenta bene in termini convenzionali la distanza esistente tra il vaso di Atene e quello di Gravisca.

Il lacunosissimo stato del pezzo e alcuni aspetti non ben inseribili in produzioni di specifici pittori hanno suggerito ad un grandissimo esperto della ceramica attica come J.D. Beazley di lasciare il *kantharos* Acropoli 2134 non attribuito e tale è rimasto dopo di lui: sarebbe sicuramente un gesto avventato da parte di chi come me non è certo un *conoisseur* della ceramica attica proporre dei nomi. E' possibile tuttavia che il nuovo pezzo in qualche modo possa contribuire a sciogliere le riserve nutrite da Beazley su di un pezzo così

---

[55] Monaco 2044: *ABV*, 146.21; v. comunque E.A. Mackay, 'Painters near Exekias', in *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium of Ancient Greek and Related* Pottery (Kobenhavn, 1988) 369–378.

lacunoso: lascio volentieri al giudizio e all'occhio del dedicatario di queste pagine il piacere di tentare la strada di un nome per il nostro vasaio, che, se ha mancato di firmare il *kantharos* di Gravisca, ha con visibile compiacimento ricordato nella dedica del vaso dell'Acropoli di essere quello che lo 'aveva fatto', αὐτὸς ποιήσας

Bibliography

Beazley, J.D. 'Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 33 (1947) 5–244

——. *Athenian Black-figure Vase-painters*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956

——. *Athenian Red-figure Vase-painters*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963

Boardman, J. *Attic Red Figure Vases. The Archaic Period*. London: Thames and Hudson 1975

Boitani, F. 'Gravisca: ceramiche e lucerne di importazioni greca e ceramiche locali dal riempimento del vano C', *Notizie degli Scavi* (1971) 242–85

Boldrini, S. *Le ceramiche ioniche* (*Gravisca. Scavi nel santuario greco* 4). Bari: Edipuglia, 1994

Broneer, O. 'A Calix-Krater by Exekias', *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 468–486

Buitron-Oliver, D. *Douris. A Master-Painter of Athenian Red-Figure Vase*. Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1995

Dörig, J., Gigon, O. *Der Kampf der Götter und Titanen* (Bibliotheca helvetica romana, 4). Olten: Urs Graf-Verlag, 1961

Fales., D. Jr 'An Unpublished Fragment of Kleitias', *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 7 (1966) 23–24

Galli, V. *Le lucerne greche e locali* (*Gravisca. Scavi nel santuario Greco* 11). Bari: Edipuglia, 2003

Gori, B., Perini, T. *La ceramica comune* (*Gravisca. Scavi nel santuario Greco* 12). Bari: Edipuglia, 2001

Graef, B., Langlotz, E. *Die antike Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1909

Hartwig, P. 'Une gigantomachie sur un cantare de l'Acropole d'Athènes', *Bulletin de Correspondence Héllenique* 20 (1896), 364–73

Hoffmann, H. *Sotades. Symbols of Immortality on Greek Vases*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997

Huber, K. *Le ceramiche attiche a figure rosse* (*Gravisca. Scavi nel santuario greco* 6). Bari: Edipuglia, 1999

Iacobazzi, B. *Le ceramiche attiche a figure nere* (*Gravisca. Scavi nel santuario greco*, 5). In press

Isler-Kerenyi, C. 'Hieron and Hermonax', in *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery. Proceedings of the International Vase Symposium, Amsterdam 12–15 April 1984*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum, 1984

——. 'Dionysos im Götterzug bei Sophilos und bei Kleitias. Dionysische Ikonographie, 6', *Antike Kunst* 40 (1997) 67–8

Johnston, A., Pandolfini, M. *Le iscrizioni* (*Gravisca. Scavi nel santuario Greco* 15). Bari: Edipuglia, 2000

Korshak, Y. *Frontal Faces in Attic Vase Painting of the Archaic Period*. Chicago: Ares, 1987

Kunisch, N. *Makron*. Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1997

Mackay, E.A. 'Painters near Exekias', in *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient*

Greek and Related Pottery, Copenhagen August 31–September 4, 1987. Kobenhavn: Nationalmuseet, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1988, 369–378

Mommsen, H. *Exekias I. Die Grabtafeln*. Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1997

Moore, M.B. 'Horses by Exekias', *American Journal of Archaeology* 72 (1968) 357–368

——. 'The Gigantomachy of the Siphnian Treasury. Reconstruction of the Three Lacunae', in *Etudes Delphiques*, Athens: École française d'Athènes, 1977, 305–335

——. 'Lydos and the gigantomachy', *American Journal of Archaeology* 83 (1979) 77–99

——. 'Giants at the Getty', *Greek Vases in the J.-P. Getty Museum* 2 (1985) 21–40

Pianu, G. *Il bucchero* (*Gravisca. Scavi nel santuario greco* 10). Bari: Edipuglia, 2000

Richter, G.M.A., Milne, M.J. *Shapes and Names of Greek Vases*. New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1922

Roebuck, C. 'Pottery from the north slope of the Acropolis, 1937–38', *Hesperia* 9 (1949) 141–260

Shapiro, H.A. *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens*. Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1989

Tiverios, M. *Ὁ Λυδὸς καὶ τὸ ἔργο του*. Athens: Ministry of Civilisation and Sciences, 1976

Torelli, M. 'Rivista di epigrafia etrusca', *Studi Etruschi* 35 (1967) 522–524

——. 'Gravisca-Scavi nella città etrusca e romana, Campagna 1969/70', *Notizie degli Scavi* (1971) 196–241

——. 'Il santuario di Hera a Gravisca', *La Parola del Passato* 26 (1971) 44–67

——. 'Il santuario greco di Gravisca', *La Parola del Passato* 32 (1977) 398–458

——. 'La ceramica ionica in Etruria: il caso di Gravisca', in *Les céramiques de la Grèce de l'Est et leur diffusion en occident. Atti del Colloquio del Centre J. Bérard – Napoli 1976*. Rome/Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1978, 213–215

——. *Terrecotte architettoniche arcaiche da Gravisca e una nota a Plinio, 'N.H.' XXXV, 151–52*, in *Studi in onore di F. Magi* (Nuovi Quaderni dell'lstituto di Archeologia dell'Università di Perugia, I), Perugia: E.U. Coop, 1979, 307–312

——. 'Per la definizione del commercio greco-orientale: il caso di Gravisca' *La Parola del Passato* 37 (1982) 304–325

——. 'Tarquinia and its Emporion at Gravisca. A Case in Maritime Trade in the VIth Century B.C.', *Thracia Pontica*, 3 (1986) 46–53

——. 'Riflessioni a margine dell'emporion di Gravisca', *Journal of the European Study Group on Physical, Chemical and Mathematical Techniques applied to Archaeology* 20 (1988) 182–188

——. 'Les Adonies de Gravisca. Archéologie d'une fête', in D. Briquel, F. Gaultier, ed., *Les Etrusques, les plus religieux des homes*. Paris: La Documentation française, 1997, 233–29

——. 'Un nuovo santuario dell'emporion di Gravisca', in *La colonisation grecque en Méditerranée Occidentale. Actes de la rancontre scientifique en hommage à Georges Vallet*. Roma: Ecole Française de Rome 1999, 93–101

——. 'Le strategie di Kleitias. Programma e composizione del Vaso François', *Ostraka* 9 (2000)

Valentini, V. *Le ceramiche a vernice naer* (*Gravisca. Scavi nel santuario greco* 9). Bari: Edipuglia, 1993

Vian, F. *Répertoire des gigantomachies figurées dans l'art grec et romain*. Paris: Librairie Klincksieck, 1951

——. *La guerre des géants. Le mythe avant l'époque hellénistique*. Paris: Librairie Klincksieck, 1952

von Bothmer, D. 'A New Kleitias Fragment from Egypt', *Antike Kunst* 24 (1981) 66–67

This page intentionally left blank

NEBEN- UND MITEINANDER IN ARCHAISCHER ZEIT: DIE BEZIEHUNGEN VON ITALIKERN UND ETRUSKERN ZUM GRIECHISCHEN POSEIDONIA

Mario Rausch
University of Vienna

Noch vor dem Ende des 7. Jh.[1] machten sich griechische Auswanderer aus dem achäischen Unteritalien auf, um an der lukanischen Küste eine neue Heimat zu suchen. Als sie sich schließlich in der Küstenebene südlich des Flusses Sele niederließen, war diese allerdings bereits von einheimischen Italiker bewohnt.[2] Diese Leute standen ihrerseits in engem Kontakt und unter starkem kulturellem Einfluß des etruskischen Pontecagnano, das den nördlich des Sele gelegenen bereich, der später *ager Picentinus* genennt wurde kontrollierte.[3] Das Verhältnis Poseidonias und der Poseidoniaten zu diesen seinen nichtgriechischen Nachbarn soll hier auf politischer Ebene wie im Bereich privater Beziehungen dargestellt und miteinander verglichen werden. Dabei wird zu zeigen sein, daß private Beziehungen und politische Kontakte zwischen Griechen und Nichtgriechen seit dem frühen 6. Jh., und dann verstärkt in der zweiten Hälfte dieses Jahrhunderts nachweisbar sind und in erster Linie mit dem Erfüllen der an die Niederlassung an der lukanischen Küste geknüpften Erwartungen verbunden waren: ein friedliches Zusammenleben mit den nichtgriechischen Nachbarn nördlich des Sele und im lukanischen Hinterland und die dadurch ermöglichten Nutzung der fruchtbaren Küstenebene als Ackerland sowie der Warenaustausch mit den unmittelbaren Nachbarn und—über ausländische Fernhändler—auch mit Etrurien und dem griechischen Mutterland. Berührungsängste zwischen Angehörigen der unterschiedlichen Volksgruppen, die auf ein Gefühl der Überlegenheit der eigenen Lebensweise als Ausdruck der Identität als Italiker,

---

[1] Alle Jahresangaben sind v. Chr. Die ältesten Funde griechischer Gebrauchskeramik auf poseidoniatischem Territorium (zu diesen unten Anm. 6) ergeben das späte 7. Jh. als *terminus ante quem* der Ankunft der ersten Siedler.

[2] S. u. Anm. 5.

[3] L. Cerchiai, *I Campani* (Milano, 1995) 50–68, mit älterer Literatur. Siehe auch unten, bes. Abschitte 4 bu. 5.

Etrusker oder Griechen zurückgeführt werden könnten, sind dabei in archaischer Zeit weder auf der Ebene des öffentlichen noch auf jener des privaten Lebens faßbar.[4]

1. *Handel und Ackerbau—die unterschiedlichen Beweggründe der griechischen Niederlassung an der lukanischen Küste*

Strabon beschreibt 6.1.2 die Gründung von Poseidonia als einen zweistufigen Prozeß: Συβαρῖται μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τεῖχος ἔθεντο, οἱ δ' οἰκισθέντες ἀνωτέρω μετέστησαν . . . *Die Sybariten legten eine am Meer gelegene befestigte Siedlung an, die Gründer der Stadt aber ließen sich weiter nördlich nieder . . .*[5] Die in dieser Beschreibung zum Ausdruck gebrachte

[4] Solches ist erst nach der Eroberung Poseidonias durch die Lukaner im späten 5. Jh. faßbar. Nun wurde in einem bei Diod. 4.22.3 überlieferten Mythos von der Anwesenheit des Herakles in Poseidonia dessen Pietät der 'Gottlosigkeit' eines im Hinterland von Poseidonia ansässigen Italikers entgegen gesetzt. Die 'Barbarisierung' des italischen Paestum beklagte Aristoxenos F. 124 Wehrli (ap. Athen. 14.632a). Daß es sich dabei um antiitalische Propaganda auswärtiger Griechen handelt, von der nicht auf die tatsächlichen Verhältnisse im lukanischen Paestum geschlossen werden kann, zeigen die archäologischen und epigraphischen Quellen, die ein gänzlich anderes Bild, nämlich eine Kontinuität der griechischen Sprache und Kultpraxis, zeigen; dazu zuletzt M. Cristofani, *La scrittura e la lingua*, 201–203, sowie G. Sacco, *Le Epigrafi greche di Paestum lucana*, 204–209, beide in M. Cipriani, F. Longo Hgg., *I Greci in Occidente, Poseidonia e i Lucani* (Napoli, 1996).

[5] Diese Deutung der Schlüsselbegriffe τεῖχος als eine erste, befestigte Ansiedlung direkt am Meer, der οἰκισθέντες als den Gründern der eigentlichen Stadt Poseidonia in der Fruchtebene und von ἀνωτέρω als Angabe der Lage der Stadt bezüglich der ursprünglichen Ansiedlung am Meer folgt den Ergebnisse der ausführlichen Textanalysen durch M. Guarducci, 'Alcune monete di Posidonia e la fondazione dell'antica citta', in *Gli archeologi italiani in onore di A. Maiuri* (Cava dei Terreni, 1965) 203–217; M. Mello, 'Strabone V. 4, 13 e le origini di Poseidonia', *PP* 117 (1967) 401–424; E. Greco, 'Il ΤΕΙΧΟΣ dei Sibariti e le origini di Posidonia', *DdA* 8 (1974/5) 104–115; ders., 'Richerche sulla chora poseidoniate: il 'paesaggio agrario' dalla fondazione della citta alla fine del sec. IV a. C.', *DdA* n.s. 1 (1979) 7–26 sowie G. Pugliese Carratelli, 'Per la storia di Posidonia', in: *Poseidonia-Paestum, Atti del XXVII. Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia* (Taranto, 1988) 13ff. Mit dem darauf bezogenen Diskussionsbeitrag von A. Mele, S. 618: 'Dobbiamo immaginare, sulla base della testimonianza straboniana, non solo uno scarto spaziale (questo e evidente nel testo che parla di uno spostamento di sedi, dal teichos alla citta), non solo uno scarto temporale, ma anche e sopratutto uno scarto qualitativo'. Die von J. de la Geniére, 'Entre grecs et non-grecs en Italie du sud et Sicile' in *Forme di contatto e processi di transformazione* (Pisa/Rome, 1983), 262–264, vorgeschlagene Übersetzung als 'Einheimische', die von den achäischen Kolonisten in das bergige und daher höher gelegene Hinterland vertrieben worden seien, widerspricht dagegen der weiteren Beschreibung der Herrschaftsabfolge über Poseidonia: die οἰκισθέντες waren laut Strabon jene Personen, die zum Zeitpunkt der lukanischen Eroberng Poseidonia beherrschten, also die Griechen und nicht die einheimische Vorbevölkerung.

formale Unterscheidung einer direkt am Meer gelegenen und durch eine künstliche Befestigungsanlage geschützten Ansiedlung (τεῖχος) von einer Stadtgründung in der Fruchtebene (οἰκισθέντες) entspricht den archäologischen Funden, die für das späte 7. Jh. eine griechische Präsenz zeitgleich an drei Stellen des späteren poseidoniatischen Territoriums nachweisen: auf der Halbinsel Agropoli im Süden, auf einem flachen, einige hundert Meter landeinwärts gelegenen Travertinplatau, sowie an der Mündung des Sele.[6]

1a. *Handelsstation und Heiligtum: das Kap von Agropoli*

Am Kap Agropoli, am südlichen Übergang der Kustenebene des Sele in das Bergland des Cilento bezeugen keramische Gefäße, insbesondere Transportamphoren unterschiedlicher Machart, seit der Wende vom 7. zum 6. Jh. den regelmäßigen Besuch durch Händler, die Waren aus dem griechischen Mutterland und Unteritalien sowie aus dem etruskischen Kampanien verhandelten.[7] Dabei boten sich die Buchten nördlich bzw. südlich des Hügels von Agropoli aufgrund ihrer Lage und den topographischen Gegebenheiten als Station auf der Fernhandelsroute entlang der italischen Küste an,[8] stellten sie doch die ersten sichereren Landeplätze nach der vor allem bei Unwettern gefährlichen Passage um den M. Tresino bereit.[9] In der nördlichen der beiden Buchten mündet der Fluß Testene ins Meer und erlaubte Seefahrern eine Versorgung mit Trinkwasser. Dies macht es wahrscheinlich, daß vor allem diese Stelle in antiker Zeit als Landeplatz genutzt wurde.[10]

---

[6] Heraion an der Selemündung: P. Zancani Montuoro, U. Zanotti, *Heraion alla Foce del Sele* I (Roma, 1951) und II (Roma, 1954); zusammenfassend G. Greco, 'Heraion alla Foce del Sele', in: *Poseidonia-Paestum* (Taranto, 1987), 386f. u. dies., 'La ripresa delle indagini allo Heraion di Foce Sele', *ASMG*, n.s. 1 (1992) 249–258, sowie G. Tocco Sciarelli, 'Heraion di Foce Sele. Nuove Prospettive di ricerca', in I. Gallo, Hg., *Momenti di storia salernitana nell'antichita, Atti del Conv. Naz. AICC di Salerno-Fisciano* (Salerno, 1988), 35–41. Stadtgebiet von Poseidonia: E. Greco, 'La citta e il suo territorio: problemi di storia topografica' in: *Poseidonia-Paestum*, 475–479. Agropoli: C.A. Fiammenghi, 'Agropoli. Primi saggi di scavo nell'area del Castello', *AION* 7 (1985) 43–74; dies., in: *Poseidonia-Paestum*, 396–398.

[7] Fiammenghi, s. o. Anm. 6, 53–74.

[8] Zum Verlauf der von den euböische-chalkdischen, rhodischen sowie phokäischen Händlern befahrenen Routen F. di Bello, *Elea-Velia. Polis, Zecce monete di bronzo* (Napoli, 1997), 46f. mit Fig. 18.

[9] G. Schmiedt, 'Antichi porti d'Italia. Parte seconda: I porti delle colonie greche', *L'Universo* 45, 2 (1966) 314.

[10] Greco, 'Il ΤΕΙΧΟΣ dei Sibariti', s. o. Anm. 5, 104ff.; vgl. auch ders. 'Qualche riflessione ancora sulle origini die Posidonia', *DdA* n.s. 2 (1979) 51ff.

Eine Vorstellung von der wirtschaftlichen Lukrativität der Kontrolle eines derartigen Hafenplatzes in archaischer Zeit gibt Hdt. 1.165.1: demzufolge hätten die Chioten sich geweigert, den Phokäern nach deren Flucht aus Kleinasien die nahe Chios gelegene Inselgruppe der Oinussen zu verkaufen aus Furcht, diese könnten den Handelsverkehr von der eigenen Stadt ablenken.[11] Die Versorgung der Seefahrer und die Einhebung von Hafengebühren sind neben einer Tätigkeit als Zwischenhändler[12] wohl auch als wichtigste Einnahmequellen jener achäischen Griechen anzunehmen, die sich im späten 7. Jh. dauerhaft an diesem Kap niederließen.[13]

Diese griechischen Bewohner gründeten wohl schon im späten 7. Jh. jenes Heiligtum, in dem etwa 100 Jahre später ein monumentaler Kultbau errichtet und in dem im 4. Jh. Athenastatuetten gestiftet wurden.[14] Die bereits oben genannten keramischen Funde aus diesem Heiligtum entsprechen Weihegaben griechischer Händler in Gravisca, dem Hafenplatz von Tarquinia in Etrurien.[15] In Analogie dazu ist es wahrscheinlich, auch einen Teil der im Heiligtum von Agropoli gestifteten Gefäße als Weihungen von Händlern zu deuten, die damit für eine glückliche Ankunft an diesem Landeplatz und günstige Geschäftsabschlüsse dankten.[16]

---

[11] Zur zitierten Herodotstelle vor allem A. Bresson, 'Les cités greques et leurs *emporia*', in: *L'Emporion*, Hgg. A. Bresson, P. Rouillard (Paris, 1993) 169f.

[12] C. Ampolo, 'Greci d'occidente, Etruschi, Cartaginesi: circolazione di beni e di uomini', in: *Magna Grecia. Etruschi. Fenici, Atti del XXXIII. Conv. di studi sulla Magna Grecia* 1993 (Taranto, 1994), 223–252; ders., 'Tra empória ed emporía: note sul commercio greco in eta arcaica e classica', in: *APOIKIA, Scritti in onore di G. Buchner* (1994) 29–36.

[13] Dies ist durch den Fund von Trinkschalen mit einer Randverzierung 'a filletti' wie sie in Sybaris hergestellt wurden und nicht nur auf dem Kap Agropoli, sondern auch in den ältesten Gräbern der Stadt Poseidonia gefunden wurden; Fiammenghi, s. o. Anm. 6, 57f.; zum Material aus den Nekropolen Greco, 1979, 11 Anm. 24.

[14] Dieser Befund erfordert eine erneute Diskussion der von P. Zancani Montuoro, 'Il Poseidonion di Poseidonia', *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 23 (1954) 165ff., auf Basis der Nachricht bei Lykophr. Alex. 722 vertretenen Identifikation dieses Kultortes als Heiligtum des Poseidon Enipeios. Dazu vor allem Fiammenghi, s. o. Anm. 6, 65f.

[15] Wobei durch Weihinschriften eine Verehrung von Apollo, Hera, Aphrodite und Demeter bezeugt ist. M. Torelli, 'Il santuario greco di Gravisca', *PP* 32 (1977) 398–458; F. Boitani, 'Il santuario di Gravisca', in: *Santuari d'Etruria, Katalog zur Austellung in Arezzo 1985*, G. Colonna, Hg. (Firenze, 1985) 141ff. Zur Stiftung des Sostratos und analogen Weihungen aus Anlaß einer glücklichen Überfahrt P.A. Gianfrotta, 'Le ancore votive di Sostrato di Egina e di Faillo di Crotone', *PP* 30 (1975) 3011–318.

[16] In diesem Sinn schon Fiammenghi, s. o. Anm. 6, 65f., die als Vergleich die Stiftungen griechischer Händler in Gravisca, dem Hafen von Tarquinia nennt.

1b. *Handelsplatz und Heiligtum: die Mündung des Sele*

Die Küstenebene nördlich des Sele wurde im 7. Jh. Von Pontecagnano aus kontrolliert, einer Siedlung mit etruskisch-italischer Bevölkerung, wobei die Etrusker politisch wie kulturell klar dominierten.[17] Die Präsenz dieser Leute am nördlichen Ufer des Sele ist durch eine im heutigen Arenosola gefundene Nekropole bezeugt.[18] Die zugehörige Siedlung lag mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit auf jenem flachen Hügel an der ersten Flußschleife, der nicht nur die einzige Erhebung in weitem Umkreis darstellt,[19] sondern auch eine Furt durch den Sele kontrollierte.[20]

Diese Stelle war daher als ein natürlicher Übergang über die durch den Fluß vorgegebene Grenze von höchster strategischer Bedeutung. Bereits im späten 7. Jh. richteten die Griechen denn auch auf dem St. Cecilia gegenüber liegenden südlichen Flußufer ein Heiligtum der Göttin Hera ein und statteten dieses mit einem Altar und wohl noch im ersten Viertel des 6. Jh. mit einer Säulenhalle aus, die auf das Areal des Heiligtums hin orientiert war[21] und am ehesten als Aufenthaltsraum für die Besucher bei Hitze und Schlechtwetter diente.[22]

Zusammen mit den ältesten Weihegaben griechischer Machart wurden an diesem Kultort auch Gefäße gefunden, die von Töpfern

---

[17] L. Cerchiai, 'Il processo di strutturazione del politico: I Campani', *AION* 9 (1987) bes. 42–45. Von dieser gemischten etruskisch-italischen Bevölkerung wird unten bezüglich persönlicher Beziehungen von Poseidoniaten und Nichtgriechen noch zu sprechen sein.

[18] Eine antike Straße läßt sich von St. Cecilia bis fast zu jener Nekropole verfolgen, die nahe dem heutigen Arenosola, etwa 3 km nördlich des Flusses, gefunden wurde. Von hier führte der Verkehrsweg wahrscheinlich weiter nach Pontecagnano; D. Gasparri, 'La fotointerpretazione archeologica nella ricerca storico-topografica sui territori di Pontecagnano, Paestum e Velia', *AION* 11 (1989) 262; H.W. Horsnaes, 'The Ager Picentinus', *Acta Hyperborea* 3 (1991) 228f.

[19] P. Zancani Montuoro, U. Zanotti, *Heraion all Foce del Sele I*, Roma 1951, 22; G. Greco, 'Heraion di Foce Sele', s. o. Anm. 6, 389; Horsnaes, s. o. Anm. 19, 228f. mit Anm. 4; G. Greco, 'La ripresa delle indagini allo Heraion di Foce Sele', *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia*, n.s. 1 (1992) 249–258, s. o. Anm. 6, 249f.

[20] Schmiedt, *Antichi porti d'Italia*, 309f.; M. Guy, 'La costa, la laguna e l'insediamento di Poseidonia-Paestum', in: *Paestum. La citta e il territorio, Encicolopedia multimediale* (Roma, 1990), 66f. Fig. 1; G. Greco, 'La ripresa delle indagini allo Heraion' s. o. Anm. 15, 250.

[21] Diese befand sich 60 m des späteren Heratempels; Zancani Montuoro, Zanotti, *Heraion all Foce del Sele I*, s. o. Anm. 6, 25ff., fig. 5; Tocco Sciarelli, 'Heraion di Foce Sele', s. o. Anm. 6, 38.

[22] G. Kuhn, 'Untersuchungen zur Funktion der Saulenhalle in archaischer und klassischer Zeit', *JDAI* 100 (1985) 264ff.

in Pontecagnano in etruskisch-italischer Tradition hergestellt worden waren.[23] Der daraus erschließbare friedliche Kontakte der Griechen mit ihren Nachbarn am anderen Ufer des Sele entspricht dem äußeren Erscheinungsbild des Heiligtums als einem allgemein zugänglichen, nicht durch eine monumentale Temenosmauer abgeschlossenen Areal.[24] Dies macht es wahrscheinlich, daß zumindest ein Teil der in Pontecagnano bzw. In dessen Umland hergestellten Gefäße im frühen 6. Jh. von Etruskern und Italikern gestiftet wurden.[25] Ein solches friedliches Zusammenleben am Sele entspricht dem Befund der oben schon genannten Nekropole in Arenosola. Dieser Friedhof wurde seit dem Beginn des 7. Jh. ohne Unterbrechung bis gegen 575, also auch während der ersten beiden Generationen griechischer Anwesenheit, genützt.[26]

Es ist daher wahrscheinlich, daß das unmittelbar an der Grenze des griechischen und etruskischen Territoriums eingerichtete Heiligtum eine doppelte politische Aufgabe erfüllen sollte: die Bestätigung der durch den Fluß Sele gegebenen natürlichen Grenze durch die Griechen und den Ausdruck ihrer Bereitschaft zu einem friedlichen Zusammenleben mit ihren etruskisch-italischen Nachbarn. Dabei kam der vielfältige Charakter der in Poseidonia verehrten Hera[27] einer Deutung nach dem Verständnis der nichtgriechischen Besucher entgegen. In diesem Zusammenhang ist an das Beispiel des Heiligtums jener

[23] Zancani Montuoro und Zanotti-Bianco, *Heraion all Foce del Sele I*, s. o. Anm. 6, 22. Eine Publikation des reichen Votivmaterials aus dem Heraion wird von einer Arbeitsgemeinschaft unter Leitung von G. Greco und M. Dewailly vorbereitet; dazu G. Greco, 'Heraion di Foce Sele. La classificazione del materiale', in: *Momenti di storia salernitana*, s. o. Anm. 6, 49ff; dies., 1992, 254, Taf. LVI, 1, mit der Publikation einer im heraion gefundenen, aber in Pontecagnano hergestellten Schale mit einer Verzierung Schale mit einer Verzierung 'a chevrons fluttuanti'.

[24] Das Areal des Heiligtums wurde vielleicht durch lagunenartige Nebenarme des Sele, nicht jedoch durch eine künstliche Ummauerung, begrenzt; dazu vor allem Tocco Sciarelli, 'Heraion di Foce Sele', s. o. Anm. 6, 38.

[25] So schon die Ausgräber Zancani Montuoro und Zanotti-Bianco, *Heraion all Foce del Sele I*, s. o. Anm. 6, 22.

[26] Publiziert von A. Marzullo, 'La necropoli dell'Arenosola a destra della Foce del Sele', *Rassegna Storica Salernitana* 2, 1 (1938) 3–26, und B. d.'Agostino, 'Arenosola', in: *Mostra della Preistoria e Protostoria nel Salernitano* (Napoli, 1962) 90ff. Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse und deren Interpretation sowie ältere Literatur bei Horsnaes, 'The Ager Picentinus', s. o. Anm. 19, bes. 222ff. Die letzten Beisetzungen fanden hier um das Jahr 575 statt.

[27] A.M. Ardovino, *I culti di Paestum antica e del suo territorio* (Salerno, 1986) 113ff.; zuletzt auch M. Cipriani, 'Il ruolo di Hera nel santuario meridionale di Poseidonia', in: *Héra. Images, espaces, cultes*, Hg. J. de La Geniere (Napoli, 1997) 211–225.

Gottheit in Pyrgi zu erinnern, die von den Etruskern als Uni, von den Karthagern als Astarte und von den Griechen als Hera identifiziert und verehrt wurde.[28]

Der Deutung einer Einrichtung des Heraheiligtums zur friedlichen Sicherung der nördlichen Grenze des von den Griechen beanspruchten Territoriums entspricht die Tradition einer Einführung des Kultes durch Jason im Zuge der Argonautenfahrt (Strabo, *Geog.* 6.1.1). Im Zuge der in den italischen Westen verlegten Version dieser Fahrt trat der Held über die Zauberin Kirke in friedlichen Kontakt mit der ansässigen Bevölkerung.[29] Der Mythos einer Gründung durch die Argonaturen konstruierte also ein in mythische Vorzeit zurückreichendes friedliches Zusammenleben von Etruskern, Italikern und Griechen an der Mündung des Sele.[30] Damit erhoben die Poseidoniaten den Anspruch auf noch ältere friedliche Beziehung zu den Bewohnern Altitaliens als die chalkidischen Griechen in Cumae, die ihre Bindung an Etrusker und Italiker über die Person des Odysseus (dessen gemeinsam mit Kirke gezeugten Söhne Agrios und Latinos schon in der hesiodeischen 'Theogonie' 1011ff. als πᾶσιν Τυρρηνοῖσιν ἄνασσον 'Beherrscher aller Thyrsener' genannt sind) mythologisch verankert hatten.[31]

Neben einer Frequentation durch die Nachbarn der Griechen nördlich des Flusses ist ein Besuch des Heiligtums durch griechische Händler aufgrund des Fundes im Mutterland hergestellter korinthischer Feinkeramik ebenfalls seit dem späten 7. Jh. erschließbar.[32] Dabei nützten diese Seefahrer wohl jene lagunenartigen Verzweigungen am Südufer des Flusses, die in antiker Zeit natürlich geschütze Landeplätze

---

[28] Colonna, 'Il santuario di Leucotea-Ilizia a Pyrgi', in: *Santuari d'Etruria*, 127ff., bes. 134.

[29] Apollon. Rhod. 4.659ff.

[30] In diesem Sinn zuletzt L. Breglia Pulci Doria in: *Mito e storia in Magna Grecia, Atti del XXXVI. Conv. di Studi sulla Magna Grecia 1996* (Taranto, 1997) 242ff. bes. 245.

[31] Die von M.L. West, *Hesiod, Theogony* (Oxford, 1966) ad loc., vertretene Datierung der Passage in die Mitte des 6. Jh. wurde aufgrund der nachweislich bereits im 7. Jh. vorhandenen guten Kenntnisse Italiens in Griechenland mehrfach widersprochen, zuletzt von M.H. Jameson, 'Latinos and the Greeks', *Athenaeum* 86 (1998) 477–485, der mit einer im späten 6. Jh. verfaßten Grabinschrift aus Sizilien (vielleicht aus Selinunt?) auch den frühesten epigraphischen Beleg des Namens Latinos vorlegte: Λατίνο {η}ἐμι τô Ρεγίνο ἐμὶ.

[32] Eine zusammenhängende Publikation des reichen keramischen Fundmaterials aus dem Heraion wird vorbereitet; Vorberichte über die zu erwartenden Ergebnisse wurden von G. Greco, in den oben Anm. 6 genannten Arbeiten vorgelegt.

schufen.[33] Dies macht es wahrscheinlich, daß das Heraheiligtum am Sele neben seiner politischen Funktion auch die Rolle eines Händlerheiligtums erfüllte, wie sie oben bereits für den Kultort am Kap Agropoli beschrieben wurde.

Zwischenergebnis

Das Kap Agropoli und der Mündungsbereich des Sele sind als Orte zu identifizieren, die seit dem späten 7. Jh. dauerhaft von Griechen aus dem achäischen Unteritalien besiedelt und von diesen auch mit Heiligtümern ausgestattet wurden.

Aufgrund der Funde auf dem Hügel von Agropoli, die neben einer solchen Ansiedlung auch einen Besuch durch ausländische Händler, nicht jedoch eine Präsenz von Italikern nachweisen, ist die zuerst von E. Greco vertetene Identifizierung des Kap bzw. der nördlich desselben, an der Mündung des Flusses Testene gelegenen Bucht als das bei Strabon genannten τεῖχος der Sybariten zu unterstützen.[34] Mit der Befestigung des Ortes sollte ein gegenüber etwaigen Übergriffen von seiten der ansässigen italischen Bevölkerung geschützer Landeplatz für die zur See ankommenden Händler geschaffen werden. Diesen diente wahrscheinlich auch das auf dem Hügel angelegte Heiligtum als Kultort, in dem sie für eine glückliche Überfahrt und erfolgreiche Geschäftsabschlüsse danken konnten.

An der Mündung des Sele ist neben einer vergleichbaren Nutzung als natürlich geschützer Landeplatz bereits seit dem späten 7. Jh. auch ein Kontakt mit den nördlich des Flusses ansässigen Etruskern von Pontecagnano faßbar. Es ist daher wahrscheinlich, daß das hier eingerichtete Heraheiligtum nicht nur ein Händlerheiligtum in der Art des Kultortes auf dem Kap von Agropoli war, sondern darüber hinaus eine wichtige politische Bedeutung hatte, indem es die friedlichen Beziehungen zwischen den benachbarten Volksgruppen am Sele, den Etruskern und Italikern nördlich, sowie den poseidoniatischen Griechen südlich des Flusses zum Ausdruck brachte.

---

[33] Guy, 'La costa, la laguna e l'insediamento di Poseidonia Paestum', in: *Paestum. La citta e il territorio*, 66f. Fig. 1. In diesem Bereich südlich des Heiligtums ist wohl auch der in römischer Zeit bezeugte *Portus Alburnus* zu suchen: *Quattuor hinc ad Silari flumen portumque Alburnum* (Lucilius, Satyr. 3.2, apud Prob. in Verg. Georg. 3.146). Zu diesem schon Schmiedt, *Antichi porti d'Italia*, 309f.; vgl. aber auch Guy, 'La costa, la laguna e l'insediamento', 75.

[34] Greco, s. o. Anm. 10. Vgl. auch Fiammenghi, s. o. Anm. 6, 53f.

2. *Die Gründung der Stadt und die Inbesitznahme der Fruchtebene*

Für jene Griechen, die die Stadt Poseidonia an zentraler Stelle zwischen dem Kap von Agropoli im Süden und dem Sele im Norden anlegten, war wohl weniger eine günstige verkehrstechnische Lage— sie ließen sich nicht unmittelbar am Meer, sondern auf einem Travertinplateau einige hundert Meter landeinwärts nieder—, als vielmehr das in unmittelbarer Umgebung dieses Siedlungsplatzes verfügbare Ackerland entscheidendes Kriterium der Ortwahl. Das von ihnen in Besitz genommene Areal war allerdings am Ende des 7. Jh. bereits lange von Italikern bewohnt.[35] Die archäologischen Nachweise dieser italischen Präsenz im Gebiet der späteren Stadt enden an der Wende vom 7. zum 6. Jh. was zeigt, daß die Griechen zu diesem Zeitpunkt die ansässige Vorbevölkerung verdrängt hatten.[36]

In Fonte, etwa 14 km nordöstlich von Poseidonia und nahe dem modernen Capaccio, betont ein schmales Flußtal die natürliche Grenze zwischen der Fruchtebene und dem hügelig gebirgigen Hinterland. Die spätestens im frühen 6. Jh. an dieser Stelle erfolgte Gründung eines kleinen Heiligtums der Göttin Hera[37] bezeugt eine Kontrolle der gesamten Fruchtebene durch die Griechen, die von der italischen Bevölkerung nicht mehr bestritten wurde. Die Lage dieses Kultortes macht es wahrscheinlich, daß dieser eine ähnliche Funktion wie das Heraheiligtum am Sele hatte, nämlich eine Definition der Grenze des von den Griechen beanspruchten Territoriums. Anders als am Sele läßt sich jedoch eine gemeinsame Götterverehrung in Fonte im frühen 6. Jh. nicht nachweisen. Vielmehr enden etwa zeitgleich mit der Einrichtung dieses Heiligtums die Bestattungen in einer Nekropole, die nur etwa einen Kilometer östlich von Fonte, auf dem Hügel von Tempalta gefunden wurde. Den selben Befund zeigt eine etwas weiter nordöstlich, im heutigen Rovine di Palma gefundene italischen Ansiedlung.[38] An dieser erhöht gelegenen Stelle, die im

[35] Dies bezeugen Streufunde aus dem Stadtgebiet selbst und Bestattungen in Gaudo, etwa, 1, 5 km nördlich und in Capodifiume, etwa 4, 5 km nordöstlich von Poseidonia. Zu diesen E. Greco in D. Theodorescu, E. Greco, *Poseidonia-Paestum II, L'agora* (Roma, 1983) 73f.; zur Nekropole von Capodifiume G. Voza, 'Necropoli di Capodifiume', in: *Mostra della Preistoria e Protostoria nel Salernitano* (Napoli, 1962), 79f.

[36] E. Greco, s. o. Anm. 5.

[37] *Paestum, città e territorio nelle colonie greche d'occidente*, 30f. Nr. 33 (Fonte).

[38] *Paestum, città e territorio nelle colonie greche d'occidente,* 27f. Nr. 20.

7. Jh. den nördlichen Teil der Küstenebene beherrscht hatte, enden die Belege einer italischen Besiedlung im frühen 6. Jh. Dieser parallele Befund macht es wahrscheinlich, daß der Bruch in der Siedlungskontinuität mit der Ankunft der Griechen zu verbinden ist. Ein friedliches Nebeneinander von Griechen und Italiker ist in Fonte dagegen erst um die Mitte des 6. Jh. durch Grabfunde zu belegen: zu diesem Zeitpunkt bestatteten Angehörige der italischen Volksgruppe ihre Verstorbenen nach eigenem Ritus in unmittelbarer Nähe des griechischen Heiligtums.[39] Dies spricht dafür, daß zumindest eine Generation verging ehe die neuen Besitzverhältnisse von den Italikern nicht mehr bestritten wurden. Erst mit einer Entspannung der Beziehungen von Griechen und Italikern konnte das Tal von Fonte seine Rolle als wichtigste Landverbindung ins italische Hinterland, als Handelsweg über den Monte Pruno ins Vallo di Diano, übernehmen.[40]

2a. *Hinweise auf bewaffnete Auseinandersetzugen zwischen Griechen und Italikern*

Aufgrund des an mehreren Stellen der Küstenebene nachweisbaren Bruchs in der italischen Siedlungskontinuität verdienen die Hinweise auf bewaffnete Auseinandersetzungen zwischen der ansässigen Vorbevölkerung und den griechischen Neusiedlern eine Erwähnung.

Ein Aspekt der Heraverehrung in Poseidonia, der sich von den eng verwandten Kulten im griechischen Mutterland und im achäischen Unteritalien[41] unterscheidet, ist mit der Darstellung der poseidoniatischen Hera als *Promachos*, als kämpfende Göttin, faßbar.[42] Statuetten der Göttin in diesem Typus wurden nur in einem sehr beschränkten Zeitraum, nämlich im frühen 6. Jh., und in begrenz-

---

[39] *Paestum*, 30f. Nr. 33 (Fonte): Kolonettenkratere aus Bucchero 'pesante' kampanischer Machart, Schalen, Becken und Weinamphoren aus Bucchero sowie 'ionische' Kylikes.

[40] Zur topographischen Situation Paestum, 30.

[41] Dabei lassen sich zahlreiche Parallelen zum Hera-Lakinia-Kult in Kroton und zur Verehrung der Hera in Argos herstellen. G. Maddoli, M. Giangiuglio, 'I culti di Crotone', in *Crotone, Atti del XXIII. Conv. di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1983* (Taranto, 1986) 315–331; G. Camassa, 'I culti', in: *Sibari e la Sibaritide, Atti del XXXII. Conv. di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1992* (Taranto, 1993) 575ff. Die Beziehungen zur Heraverehrung in Argos betonte vor allem Ardovino, *I culti di Paestum antica e del suo territorio* (Salerno, 1986) 113–119.

[42] Dies wurde zuletzt von I. Solima, 'Era, Artemide e Afrodite in Magna Grecia e Grecia. Dee armate o dee belliche?' *MEFRA* 110 (1998) 387f., Fig. 1, betont. Abbildung einer Hera-Promachos-Statuette auch in *Poseidonia-Paestum*, Taf. LVI (oben links, mit falscher Beischrift.).

ter Zahl gestiftet.[43] Der mit dieser Darstellung zum Ausdruck gebrachten Rolle der Göttin als aktive Kriegerin entsprechen jene Waffen (Schwerter, Lanzen und Pfeile) die Hera in allen poseidoniatischen Heiligtümern zum Geschenk gemacht wurden. Dabei sind allerdings grundsätzlich Weihungen von Beutewaffen[44] von jenem Waffen bzw. deren Miniaturnachbildungen in Ton zu unterscheiden, die dargebracht wurden, um sich den Schutz der Hera *Hoplosmia* zu sichern.[45] Nur Weihungen aus der Kriegsbeute sind hier von Interesse. Da Weihinschriften von derartigen Waffen bisher allerdings nicht nachweisbar sind, lassen sich die in den poseidoniatischen Heraheiligtümern gefundenen Waffen hypothetisch mit militärischen Erfolgen verbinden: da die der Hera zum Geschenk gemachten Schwerter und Lanzen ganz allgemein[46] jenem Kriegsgerät entsprechen, das italischen Kriegern im 7. und in der erstern Hälfte des 6. Jh. zum Zeichen ihrer sozialen Stellung mit ins Grab gegeben wurde[47] ist zu überlegen, ob nicht ein Teil der Waffen in militärischen Auseinandersetzungen mit der ansässigen Vorbevölkerung erbeutet und dann der Stadtgöttin gestiftet worden waren.

---

[43] Zu den übrigen Typen der Herastatuetten ausführlich G. Greco, 'Heraion alla Foce del Sele', s. o. Anm. 6, 50ff.

[44] W.K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War III. Religion* (Berkeley, 1979) 240ff.; A.H. Jackson, 'Hoplites and the Gods: The dedication of captured armour', in: *Hoplites: The classical Greek battle experience*, Hg. V.D. Hanson (London, 1991) 228–249. Zur kollektiven Beuteverteilung auf dem Schlachfeld zuletzt M. Rausch, "Nach Olympia'—über den Weg einer Waffe vom Schlachtfeld ins Heiligtum von Olympia', *ZPE* 123 (1998) 126–128.

[45] Zu den im Heiligtum am Sele gefundenen Miniaturwaffen G. Greco, 'Heraion di Foce Sele. Nuove prospettive di ricerca', in: *Momenti di storia salernitana nell'antichita*, Hg. I. Gallo, 54; 42. Zu den unterschiedlichen Aspekten individueller Waffenweihungen Jackson, s. o. Anm. 44.

In Sinn einer Anrufung Heras als Schützerin der poseidoniatischen Krieger ist auch eine Aufschrift auf einem im südlichen Stadtheiligtum gefundenen Silberbarren (*SEG* 12.412; 29, 982) zu deuten: τᾶς hέρας hιαρόν ϝροντιτοξαμιν. Der zweite Teil dieser Inschrift wurde von Guarducci, *Arch. Class.* 4 (1952) 145ff., als ϝρôνθι τόξ' ἀμîν, 'schütze unsere Bogen', aufgelöst. Vgl. aber auch L.H. Jeffery, *The local scripts of archaic Greece* (Oxford, 1990) 252, 260 Nr. 3, die diesen zweiten Teil der Inschrift für nicht griechisch, sondern italisch hält. Linguistische Überlegungen zuletzt auch in R. Arena, *Iscrizioni greche archaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia IV. Iscrizioni delle colonie achee* (Alessandria, 1996) 45 Nr. 19, Taf. VI, 1.

[46] Eine detaillierte Untersuchung und zusammenhängende Publikation des Materials steht bislang aus. Voranzeigen der Waffenfunde vor allem durch G. Greco, s. o. Anm. 6, zu den Funden in Heraion am Sele wie auch im südlichen Stadtheiligtum; Cipriani, 'Il santuario meridionale', in: *Poseidonia-Paestum*, 380 mit Taf. LV (Abbildung eines im südlichen Stadtheitligtums gefundenen Schwertes, einer Lanzen- un Pfleilspitze).

[47] So in der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jh. einem Krieger, dessen Grab (42 der Nekropole

Zwischenergebnis

Die Ankunft der Griechen und ihre Landnahme in der fruchtbaren Küstenebene bewirkte mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit eine Abwanderung jenes Teils der italischen Bevölkerung, dessen Lebensgrundlage der Ackerbau gewesen war. Der an mehreren Stellen der Küstenebene nachweisbare Bruch in der Siedlungskontinuität entspricht der bei Strabon genannten Errichtung des τεῖχος der Griechen und bezeugt das gespannte Verhältnis zwischen den griechischen Siedlern und der ansässigen italischen Bevölkerung.

Einen Hinweis darauf, daß es auch zu bewaffneten Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Griechen und Italikern kam, geben vielleicht die Verehrung der Hera als Promachos und die Waffenweihungen an die Stadtgöttin, ohne daß derartige Kämpfe jedoch mit Sicherheit zu erweisen wären.

Spätestens zu Beginn des 6. Jh., dem Zeitpunkt der Einrichtung des Heraheiligtums in Fonte an der Ostgrenze der Fruchtebene waren die Besitzverhältnisse weitgehend unumstritten. Es verging aber wohl noch ein längerer Zeitraum ehe hier jenes friedliche Zusammenleben von Griechen und Italikern möglich wurde, das um die Mitte des 6. Jh. nachweisbar ist. Diese friedlichen Verhältnisse schufen nun die Voraussetzung einer handelstechnischen Nutzung der Landverbindung von Poseidonia ins Vallo di Diano, wie sie archäologisch in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jh. nachweisbar ist.[48]

3. *Die Ausweitung und Intensivierung der poseidoniatischen Handelsaktivitäten*

Um die Mitte des 6. Jh. wurde an der Mündung des Sele eine Säulenhalle errichtet, die auf das als Hafenplatz genutzte Areal südlich bzw. südöstlich des Heraheiligtums orientiert war und daher wohl

---

in der via Generale Gonzaga) in Eboli gefunden wurde; zu dieser Bestattung M. Cipriani, 'Eboli preromana. I dati archeologici: analisi e proposte di lettura', in: *Italici in Magna Grecia. Lingua, insediamenti e strutture*, Hg. M. Tagliente (Venosa, 1990), 130f. Allgemein zu den Waffenbeigaben in lukanischen Gräbern des 7. und frühen 6. Jh. A. Pontrandolfo, *I Lucani. Etnografia e Archeologia di una regione antica* (Milano, 1982) 69f.

[48] J. de La Geniere, 'Ricerca di abitati antichi in Lucania', *ASMG* n.s. 5 (1964) 131ff.

den Warenaustausch erleichtern sollte. Diese Baumaßnahme ist am ehesten auf die Intensivierung der Handelsaktivitäten Poseidonias zurückzuführen, die während der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jh. zur jenem Wohlstands führte, der ab der Mitte dieses Jahrhunderts die Finanzierung einer umfangreichen baulichen Monumentalisierung der Stadt und der wichtigsten Heiligtümer ermöglichte.[49]

Im Heiligtum der Hera am Sele wurde im Zuge dieser Baumaßnahme bald nach der Mitte des 6. Jh. mit der Errichtung eines kleinen, in seiner Funktion umstrittenen Kultbaus, des sogenannten 'ersten Thesauros', begonnen.[50] Seine Besonderheit liegt in der Verzierung mit figuralen Darstellungen mythologischer Themen. Da solche Darstellungen nur am Kultbau im Heiligtum am Sele, nicht jedoch an den im Stadtgebiet oder an anderer Stelle der poseidoniatischen Chora errichteten Kultbauten angebracht wurden, ist dies durch die spezifische Besucherschaft dieses Kultortes zu erklären. Schließlich machten—wie oben bereits ausgeführt—seine Grenzlage und die gute Zugänglichkeit vom Meer das Heraion an der Selemündung von Anfang an zu einem Ort, der in gleicher Weise von den Etrusker und Italiker nördlich des Flusses sowie von zur See ankommenden Händlern frequentiert wurde. Diese ausländischen Besucher galt es also—neben den Poseidoniaten selbst—durch das 'Bildprogramm' des 'ersten Thesauros' anzusprechen.[51]

Den Poseidoniaten erlaubten die gewählten Motive vielfältige Assoziationen mit der Mythentradition ihrer unteritalischen Heimat, aber auch jener des peloponnesischen Mutterlandes.[52] So steht die

[49] Zur Frage der Finanzierung dieser Großbauten schon M. Taliercio Mensitieri, 'Aspetti e problemi della monetazione di Poseidonia', in: *Poseidonia-Paestum*, 145.

[50] Zancani Montuoro und Zanotti Bianco, *Heraion alla Foce del Sele I*, 25–32; zum Baubefund des 'ersten Thesauros' umfassend der 1954 veröffentlichte Band II der Grabungspublikation und jüngst K. Junker, *Der ältere Tempel im Heraion am Sele. Verzierte Metopen im architecktonischen Kontext* (Köln, 1993) 44f. 58f, der den Kultbau überzeugend als Tempel deutet und auch die genannte Datierung aufgrund stilistischer Argumente vertritt.

[51] Eine Definition des Begriffs 'Bildprogramm' hat H. Knell, *Mythos und Polis. Bildpgrogramme griechischer Bauskulptur* (Darmstadt, 1990) XI, vorgenommen: 'Im Kern gilt deshalb unsere Frage dem über das Einzelojekt hinauszielenden Bedeutungszusammenhang der Skulptur eines Bauwerks und den damit verbundenen Zielen seiner Erbauer.'

[52] Die Bedeutung der stesichoreischen Dichtung als Grundlage der Motivwahl betonte N. Valenza Mele, 'Eracle euboico a Cuma—La Gigantomachia e la Via Heraclea', in: *Recherches sur les cultes grecs et l'Occident I* (Napoli, 1979) 30, während E. Simon, 'Era ed Eracle alla foce del Sele e nell'Italia centrale', *ASMG*, n.s. 1

Verbindung von Hera und Herakles in der Tradition der Hera-Lakinia-Verehrung in Kroton,[53] während der Raub Heras durch Satyrn seinen Ursprung in der Argolis hat.[54] Genauso vertraut wie den achäischen Griechen waren die gewählten Motive aber auch den Kennern der Mythologie Etruriens. Alle dargestellten Mythen finden sich in der etruskischen Kunst des Mutterlandes,[55] wobei in mehreren Fällen eine Darstellung schon vor bzw. zum Zeitpunkt der Errichtung des Kultbaus am Sele nachweisbar ist. So erfreuten sich die Bestrafung des Tityos, der Hinterhalt des Achill für Troilos und der Raub des delphischen Dreifußes bereits vor dem dritten Viertel des 6. Jh. großer Beliebtheit in Etrurien und wurden von dortigen Künstlern in einer vom Skulpturenschmuck des Heratempels am Sele unabhängigen Form dargestellt.[56] Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Hera, Herakles und den Satyrn sowie die Abbildung einer eine Scheibe tragenden Göttin (wahrscheinlich Iris) sind außer als Metopenbilder des 'ersten Thesauros' überhaupt nur in der etruskischen Kunst bezeugt.[57] Die eigenständige etruskische Verehrung des am häufigsten auf den Metopen des Kultbaus am Sele abgebildeten Helden Herakles ist besonders zahlreich nachgewiesen, wobei dieser den Kreis der durch die Metopendarstellungen angesprochenen Personen auch auf die Italiker ausdehnte: so wurde *Herkle* im 6. Jh. in mehreren Orten von Latium bis Kampanien verehrt, in denen Italiker und Etrusker zusammenkamen.[58] Für Poseidonia ist dabei vor allem die Verehrung des Helden in und um Pompeji von Bedeutung;[59] ist doch, wie unten noch zu zeigen sein wird, ein Kontakt mit dieser unter entscheidendem Einfluß Südetruriens (und dabei ins-

---

(1992) 211ff., auch die mutterländischen, genauer: argivischen Wurzeln der dargestellten Episoden (insbesondere der Satyromachie) herausarbeitete.

[53] Zur engen Beziehung des Herakults in Kroton und Poseidonia Maddoli und Giangiuglio, 'I culti di Crotone', in: Crotone, *Atti del XXIII. Conv. di Studi sulla Magna Grecia*, 315–331; Camassa, 'I culti', in: *Sibari e la Sibaritide, Atti del XXXII. Conv. di Studi sulla Magna Grecia*, 575ff.

[54] Simon, 'Era ed Eracle alla foce del Sele'. s. o. Anm. 32, 211ff.

[55] I. Krauskopf, 'Il ciclo delle Metope del primo Thesauros', *ASMG*, n.s. 1 (1992) 219–231.

[56] Krauskopf, s. o. Anm. 55, 224.

[57] Krauskopf, s. o. Anm. 55, 222–224.

[58] Ausführlich zusammengestellt von M. Torelli, 'Gli aromi e il sale. Afrodite ed Eracle nell'emporia arcaica dell'Italia', in: *Ercole in occidente*, Hg. A. Mastrocinque (Trento, 1993) 91–117.

[59] Zur literarischen Tradition der Anwesenheit der Herakles in Pompeji zuletzt Cerchiai, 'Aspetti della funzione politica di Apollo in area tirrenica', in: *I Culti della*

besondere von Caere und Veji)[60] stehenden kampanischen Siedlung im späten 6. Jh. auch über formale Übereinstimmungen öffentlicher Großbauten hinaus nachweisbar.

Zwischenergebnis

Es ist wahrscheinlich, daß die Auftraggeber des Metopenschmucks des 'ersten Thesauros' auf die gemischte Besucherschaft dieses Kultortes reagierten und daher Darstellungen in Auftrag gaben, die sowohl Griechen, Etruskern wie auch Italikern vertraut waren. Mit einer derartigen Verzierung eines öffentlichen Kultbaus sollte wohl die Bereitschaft der Polis Poseidonia zur wirtschaftlichen Zusammenarbeit mit ausländischen Handelspartnern zum Ausdruck gebracht, und damit der selbe Zweck erfüllt werden wie er oben schon für die schöpfung des Gründungsmythos des Heiligtums durch Jason und die Argonauten als wahrscheinlich vertreten wurde.

4. *Das letzte Viertel des 6. Jh.: politische Beziehungen Poseidonias mit Etruskern und Italikern*

4a. *Poseidonia und Pompeji*

Im späten 6. Jh. wurden im südlichen Stadtheiligtum von Poseidonia mehrere Gebäude errichtet, deren Erscheinungsbild sich deutlich von den übrigen Bauten griechischen Stils unterscheidet. Ihre Dächer und ihr Gebälk waren in einer Art verziert, wie sie in Kampanien sowohl bei den Etruskern in Capua wie auch den Griechen von Cumae beliebt war. Die in Poseidonia verwendeten Typen stehen dabei ganz allgemein in einer von cumanischen Meistern entwickelten Tradition.[61] Sie zeigen darüber hinaus Formen, die sonst nur als

---

Campania antica (Roma, 1998), 125; zu den Kultorten des Herkules in Pompeji, D. Camardo, A. Ferrara, 'Petra Herculis: un luogo di culto alle foci del Sarno', *AION* 12 (1990) 169–175; vgl. auch Torelli, s. o. Anm. 58, 115f. Für eine Verehrung des Helden im archäischen Tempel am Forum Triangulare S. de Caro, in: F. Zevi, M. Jodice, *Pompeji*, 23; H. u. L. Eschebach, *Pompeji* (Köln, 1995), 36 mit Anm. 110.

[60] Dazu ausführlicher unten, bes. Anm. 65.

[61] Cortina pendula: D. Mertens, 'Elementi di origini etrusco-campana nell'architettura della Magna Grecia', in: *Magna Grecia. Etruschi, Fenici, Atti del XXXIII. Conv. di Studi sulla Magna Grecia*, 195–219, 210f., Taf. VI, 2–3 u. VIII, 102; D. Gasparri, 'Rivestimenti architettonici fittili da Poseidonia' *Bolletino d'Arte*, n.s. 74 (1992) 68ff.

Zierelemente des im letzten Viertel des 6. Jh. errichteten griechischen Tempels dorischer Ordnung am Forum Triangulare in Pompeji bezeugt sind.[62] Der Ton eines der poseidoniatischen Dächer ist stark mit vulkanischem Sand vermischt, wurde also mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit in Kampanien hergestellt.[63] Daß die Poseidoniaten die Anregung für die Wahl des Verzierungsstils dieser Gebäude in Pompeji erhielten und hier auch den Kontakt zu der mit der Ausführung ihrer Dächer betrauten Werkstatt herstellten, wird durch die Tatsache gestützt, daß der dorische Tempel in Pompeji mit Säulen ausgestattet wurde, deren Kapitelle formal jenen des älteren Heratempels in Poseidonia entsprechen.[64] Wenige Jahre vor der Baumaßnahme in Poseidonia waren also in Pompeji Handwerker tätig, die von poseidoniatischen Meistern ausgebildet worden waren und als Vermittler zwischen der poseidoniatisch-griechischen wie auch kampanischen Architekturtradition fungieren konnten.

In Pompeji hatten sich seit Beginn des dritten Viertels des 6. Jh. einschneidende Veränderungen vollzogen. Die Errichtung eines Altars und eines neuen Tempels im Stadtheiligtum des Apollon[65] hatten um das Jahr 530 die Monumentalisierung des gesamten Siedlungsbereichs eingeleitet, die sich in weiterer Folge nicht nur in der Errichtung des Tempels auf dem Forum Triangulare (begonnen um das Jahr 520), sondern auch im Bau eines großen Mauerrings zeigte, der ein weit über den eigentlichen Siedlungsbereich hinausreichendes Areal umschloß.[66] Am Verlauf dieser Mauer orientierten sich auch jene Straßen, an denen nun erstmals Häuser mit Steinfundamenten angelegt wurden[67] die zum Teil mit Dachterrakotten capuaner Machart

---

[62] Mertens, 'Elementi di origini etrusco-campana' s. o. Anm. 61, 209f., Taf. V, 1.

[63] Mertens, 'Elementi di origini etrusco-campana', s. o. Anm. 61, 211, Taf. VII; Gasparri, 'Rivestimenti architettonici fittili, 72.

[64] Mertens, *Der alte Heratempel in Paestum und die archäische Baukunst in Unteritalien* (Mainz, 1993) 173, Taf. 92.

[65] S. de Caro, 'Nuove indagini sulle fortificazioni di Pompei', 21 und bes. 37ff. (Katalogteil); Cerchiai, *I Campani*, 131f. Diese stilistische Zuweisung an eine pithekussanisch-cumanische Werkstatt findet ihre Bestätigung in der Zusammensetzung des Tonmaterials der Reliefs.

[66] S. de Caro, s. o. Anm. 65, 86m. Anm. 43, zusammenfassend zu Technik und Datierung 104f., fig. 27; vgl. auch S. de Caro, 'Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompeii' *ASMG* 3.1 (1992) 69. Zur Datierung zuletzt auch Horsnaes, 'Ager Picentinus', 199f.

[67] Dies konnte S. de Caro, s. o. Anm. 65, 108f. u. ders., s. o. Anm. 66, 71, durch den Fund eines frühes Tores unter dem Torre Mercurio nachweisen. Dazu zuletzt auch Horsnaes, 'The Ager Picentinus', s. o. Anm. 18, 201f. Diese Häuser

verziert wurden.[68] Gefäßaufschriften die vor allem im Apollonheiligtum der Siedlung gefunden wurden zeigen, daß sich nun vermehrt Etrusker in Pompeji aufhielten, die den Dialekt von Caere bzw. Veji sprachen.[69] Es ist wahrscheinlich, daß diese Etrusker aus dem südlichen Mutterland maßgeblich an der Monumentalisierung von Pompeji beteiligt und für die aus der Gründungsgeschichte der Siedlung erschließbare Phase einer etruskischen Herrschaft über Pompeji verantwortlich waren.[70]

Zwischenergebnis

In Pompeji bedeutete die Übernahme poseidoniatischer Steinarchitektur ein neues Element im Formenkanon öffentlicher Bauten. Das selbe gilt in noch stärkerem Maß für die etruskisch-kampanischen Kultbauten in Poseidonia. Diese sind die einzigen öffentlichen Gebäude der Stadt, die nicht in der achäisch-großgriechischen Architekturtradition stehen. Die Wahl eines neuen, bis dahin nicht üblichen Formenkanons zur Ausgestaltung öffenlicher Gebäude setzt die Zustimmung der Bürgergemeinschaft bzw. deren Vertreter, also einen politischen Akt voraus. Dies zeigt, daß die wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen Poseidonias mit Pompeji in beiden Siedlungen auch Einfluß auf politische Entscheidungen hatten.

---

der vorsamnitischen Zeit, die von A. Maiuri, *Pompeji preromana* (Napoli, 1973) 161–182, publiziert wurden, sind nicht genauer zu datieren; sie wurden jedenfalls aus dem selben Baumaterial—*pappamonte* und *tufa tenera*—wie die Bauten im Apollonheiligtum und der große Mauerring, errichtet.

[68] Jeweils ein Terrakottantefix wurde in der 'Casa della colonna etrusca' und in der 'Casa di Ganimede' gefunden. Zu ersterem M. Bonghi Jovino, *Richerche a Pompei. L'insula 5 dall Regio VI dalle origini al 79 d. C.* (Roma, 1984) 249ff., Taf. 140, 2, zu jenem aus der 'Casa di Ganimede', das mit Sicherheit aus Capua stammt, C. Reusser, 'Die Casa di Ganimede in Pompeji VII 13, 4. Archäische Funde', *RM* 89 (1982) 364ff. Vgl. auch H. u. L Eschebach, *Pompeji*, 18ff. mit Abb. 9 (Antefix aus der Casa di Ganimede).

[69] G. Colonna, 'Nuovi dati epigrafici sulla protostoria della Campania', in: *Atti della XVII riunione scientifica dell'Instituto italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria* (Firenze, 1975) 159; ders., 'L'etruscizita della Campania meridionale', in: *La presenza etrusca nella Campania meridionale*, Hgg. P. Gastaldi, G. Maetzke (Firenze, 1994) 360f.

[70] Strabo 5.4.8 überliefert die Tradition einer Gründung Pompejis als Gemeinschaftsaktion von Etruskern und Pealsgern, die zur Legitimation einer etruskischen Herrschaft über das italische Pompeji erfunden wurde. Dazu vor allem D. Briquel, *Les Pelasges en Italie. Recherches sur l'histoire de la légende* (Roma, 1984).

4b. *Poseidonia und Pontecagnano*

Eine Intensivierung des Handelskontaktes mit Poseidonia und dessen Förderung von öffentlicher Seite ist seit dem späten 6. Jh. auch in Pontecagnano nachweisbar. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt wurden in einem am Südostrand der Siedlung gelegenen Apollonheiligtum mehrere Gefäße gestiftet, auf denen der Name des besitzenden Gottes im achäischen Alphabet von Poseidonia vermerkt wurde.[71] Dieses Apollonheiligtums befand sich auf einem offenen, von einer Säulenhalle begrenzten Platz, der am Südostrand der Siedlung und gleichzeitig in unmittelbarer Nähe des Handwerkerviertels lag.[72] In Analogie zur Apollonverehrung in Gravisca, dem Hafen von Tarquinia in Südetrurien ist es wahrscheinlich, diesen Platz als Markt zu deuten, auf dem im späten 6. Jh. Händler aus Poseidonia ihre Waren anboten und im Anschluß daran Apollon für den erfolgreichen Geschäfsabschluß danken konnten.[73]

Die Gründung dieses Kultes des Apollon und die Öffnung seines Heiligtums für die Griechen ist in der selben Weise eine politische Handlung wie die etwa zeitgleich auf Initiative des Königs von Caere, Thefarie Velianas in Pyrgi, dem Hafen von Caere, erfolgte Schaffung eines 'heiligen Ortes' der Astarte-Uni.[74] Die Einrichtung des Apollonheiligtums in Pontecagnano ist wie diese Kultgründung in Pyrgi auf eine Initiative der politisch Verantwortlichen der etruskischen Siedlung zurückzuführen.[75] Gleichzeitig ist diese Apollonverehrung in Pontecagnano dem Charakter des Heraheiligtums am Sele vergleichbar, das, wie oben ausgeführt, wahrscheinlich bereits seit dem späten 7. Jh. ein Etruskern, Italikern und Griechen gemeinsamer Kultort war.

---

[71] Der Name des Gottes ist in griechischen Buchstaben des achäischen Alphabets geschrieben und als APO abgekürzt. Damit sind die Aufschriften Sakralbesitzinschriften, die die gestifteten Objekte als Ἀπόλ(λονος), '(Besitz) des (Heiligtums des) Apollon' kennzeichneten oder als Abkürzung für Ἀπόλ(λονι) den Stiftungsvorgang zum Ausdruck brachten. G. Bailo Modesti, 'Lo scavo nell'abitato di Pontecagnano e la coppa con l'iscrizione *AMINA*[—]' *AION* 6 (1984) 215–245.

[72] Dieser Bereich befindet sich heute zwischen den Straßen Via Verdi und Via Belluno. L. Cerchiai, 'Nota preliminare sull'area sacra di Via Verdi', *AION* 6 (1984) 247–250; ders., *I Campani*, 108.

[73] Zu diesem Heiligtum vor allem Torelli, 'Il santuario greco di Gravisca', *PP* 32 (1977) 398–458; allgemeiner auch Boitani, s. o. Anm. 15, 141f.

[74] Colonna, 'Il santuario di Leucotea-Ilizia a Pyrgi', in: *Santuari d'Etruria*, 127ff., bes. 134.

[75] Den politischen Charakter dieses Apollonkultes in Pontecagnano betonte jüngst vor allem B. d'Agostino, 'Aspetti della funzione politica di Apollo in area tirrenica', in: *I Culti della Campania antica* (Roma, 1998), 123.

4c. *Poseidonia und Fratte*

In Fratte, einem Vorort von Salerno, läßt sich eine dauerhafte Besiedlung durch Bestattungen seit dem ersten Viertel des 6. Jh. nachweisen.[76] Das Wohngebiet dieser seit der Mitte des 6. Jh. auch durch bauliche Reste faßbaren Siedlung lag etwa drei Kilometer von der heutigen Küste entfernt auf einem Hügel über dem Fluß Irno. Hier befand sie sich am Endpunkt jener Landverbindung, die das Sarnotal mit dem Golf von Salerno verband und weiter nach Süden, in den *ager Picentinus*, führte.[77] Die Verzierung der bedeutenderen Gebäude dieser Siedlung wurde zunächst, im dritten Viertel des 6. Jh., aus Capua importiert und ab etwa 525 in dieser Tradition von ansässigen Meistern hergestellt.[78] Im letzten Viertel des 6. Jh. kamen dazu auch cumanische Erzeugnisse.[79]

Im frühen 5. Jh. wurde schließlich bei der Verzierung eines Daches auf die Architekturtradition Poseidonias zurückgegriffen.[80] Ebenfalls poseidoniatisch ist der Stil zweier etwa zeitgleich enstandener dorischer Kapitelle[81] sowie einer knapp unterlebensgroßen Terrakottaskulptur, wahrscheinlich einer Kultstatue.[82] Dieser Befund entspricht der Situation in Pompeji und spricht dafür, daß auch Fratte im späten 6. Jh. enge Kontakte mit Poseidonia aufbaute. Dabei ist vor allem auf die Bedeutung jener Landverbindung hinzuweisen, die vom Sarnotal über Fratte, Pontecagnano und den Sele bis nach Poseidonia führte.[83]

---

[76] Die Befunde der frühesten Gräber wurden zuletzt von D. Donnarumma, L. Tomay, 'I corredi di VI e V sec. a. C.', in: *Fratte. Un insediamento etrusco-campano*, Hgg. G. Greco, A. Pontrandolfo (Modena, 1990) 207–211, zusammengestellt und diskutiert.

[77] Zu den topographischen Gegebenheiten T. Cinquantaquattro, 'Dinamiche insediative nell'agro picentino dalla protostoria all'eta ellenistica', *AION* 14 (1992) 245 und Karte auf S. 246.

[78] Greco, 'I Materiali dai vecchi scavi dell'abitato. 1. Terrecotte architettoniche', in: *Fratte*, 59ff.; Import aus Capua: S. 77 Nr. 1, Fig. 61; lokales Erzeugnis: Nr. 2, Fig. 62. Aus der folgenden Generation von etwa 520 bis 480 stammen die importierten Antefixe S. 77 Nr. 3, S. 78 Nrn. 15. 16 und die lokalen Erzeugnisse s. 77 Nrn. 4–7, S. 78 Nrn. 8–14.

[79] Greco, 'I Materiali dai vecchi scavi dell'abitato. 1. Terrecotte architettoniche', in: *Fratte*, 63f., Kat. Nr. T IV, 3, Fig. 67, S. 78 Nr. 15.

[80] Greco, 'Frammenti architettonici in pietra', in *Fratte*, 87, Fr. L 104, Figg. 128, 129 a, b.

[81] Greco, 'Frammenti architettonici in pietra', in: *Fratte*, 87f., Fr. L 5.6, Figg. 130, 131.

[82] Greco, 'Coroplastica', in: *Fratte*, 105 mit Fig. 161, 106 Nr. 1. Zu allen genannten Belegen Cerchiai, *I Campani*, 120.

[83] Diese Landverbindung beschreibt Strab. 5, 4, 13, der die Entfernung zum Golf von Salerno von Pompei und über Nuceria (εἰς Πομπαίαν διὰ Νουκερίας) mit 120

4d. *Poseidonia und sein italisches Hinterland*

Ein verstärkter Warenaustausch erfolgte nun aber nicht nur mit den Siedlungen Südkampaniens und des *ager Picentinus*, sondern in zunehmendem Maß auch mit den italischen Siedlungen des Hinterlandes. In Poseidonia hergestellte Statuetten und Gefäße, aber auch attische Keramik wurden nach Eboli[84] sowie durch das Flußtal bei Fonte und über den Monte Pruno nach Sala Consilina im Vallo di Diano verhandelt.[85] Dabei ist eine in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jh. etwa 30 km östlich von Poseidonia am Monte Pruno gegründete Siedlung von besonderer Bedeutung, da hier an der Wende vom 6. zum 5. Jh. ein monumentaler Kultbau errichtet wurde, dessen Ziegel und Antefixe jenen des großen Heratempels im Heiligtum am Sele entsprechen.[86] Auch mit dieser Siedlung, die die Landverbindung in das Vallo di Diano und von dort weiter nach Metapont kontrollierte, unterhielt Poseidonia also seit dem späten 6. Jh. enge Beziehungen.

4e. *Der Kult des Zeus Xenios in Poseidonia*

Poseidonia reagierte auf die Intensivierung seiner Handelskontakte mit der Einrichtung eines Kultes des Zeus Xenios, der jedenfalls seit dem späten 6. Jh. im südlichen Stadtheiligtum verehrt wurde.[87] Sein Kult war Ausdruck einer staatlich garantierten Rechtssicherheit der ξένοι in Poseidonia, wie sie in den Gesetzen des Charondas von Katane definiert war.[88] Der Begriff ξένος hatte in der archäischen Zeit einen sehr allgemeinen Charakter und meinte all jene Personen,

---

Stadien angibt; dazu L. Vecchio, 'Le fonti storiche', in: *Fratte*, s. o. Anm. 76, 18–21, mit älterer Literatur. Der Verlauf einer Straße von Pontecagnano an die Mündung des Sele wurde von Gasparri, 'La fotointerpretazione archeologica', 262, nachgewiesen.

[84] Ein hier gefundenes Grab enthielt eine im dritten Viertel des 6. Jh. in Poseidonia hergestellte weibliche Statuette; einem anderen Verstorbenen aus dem antiken Eboli wurde im frühen 6. Jh. eine schwarzgefirnißte Schale mit der achäischen Aufschrift Ἀριστέα mit ins Grab gegeben; Cipriani, s. o. Anm. 47, 130f.

[85] de la Geniere, 'Ricerca di abitati antichi in Lucania', *ASMG* 5 (1964) 125–38.

[86] de la Geniere, s. o. Anm. 85, 134.

[87] Zu diesem Zeitpunkt wurde ein Silberbarren als το Διὸς ξείνο, als '(Besitz) des Zeus Xenios' gekennzeichnet. Ardovino, 'Nuovi oggetti sacri con iscrizioni in alfabeto acheo', *Arch. Class.* 23 (1980) 65f.; R. Arena, *iscrizioni greche arcaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia IV*, 48 Nr. 23.

[88] Stob. 4.40: ξένον . . . εὐφήμως καὶ οἰκείως προσδέχεσθαι καὶ ἀποστέλλειν μεμνημένους Διὸς ξενίου ὡς παρὰ πᾶσιν ἱδρυμένου κοινοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὄ[ντος ἐπισκόπου φιλοξενίας τε καὶ κακοξενίας.

die nicht dauerhaft im Stadtgebiet lebten, also auch die Bewohner der umliegenden Chora.[89] In Poseidonia, wo die große Mehrzahl der Bürger im 6. Jh. im bzw. in unmittelbarer Nähe des Stadtgebietes lebte,[90] waren damit jedoch in erster Linie jene ausländischen Besucher gemeint, die als Händler und Handwerker in die Stadt kamen. Dabei schloß der umfassende Charakter des Zeus Xenios als einem παρὰ πάσιν ἱδυμένου κοινοῦ θεοῦ (Charondas ap. Stob. 4.40) Griechen wie Nichtgriechen gleichermaßen ein.[91]

5. *Persönliche Beziehungen von Poseidoniaten, Etruskern und Italikern*

Seit dem späten 6. Jh. sind auch mehrfach private Beziehungen von Angehörigen der griechischen Oberschicht von Poseidonia mit Etruskern und Italikern nachweisbar. So steht am äußeren Rand des Standfußes einer im letzten Viertel des 6. Jh. v. Chr. hergestellten attischen Augenschale, die in einem Grab in Pontecagnano gefunden wurde, im achäischen Alphabet Poseidonias: Παρμένοντος ἐμι καὶ Στρίνπονος ἐμὲ μεδὲς ἀνκλετ(τ)έτο.[92] Diese Aufschrift entstand während oder in Folge eines Trinkgelages, das der Grieche Parmenon mit dem in Pontecagnano ansässigen Italiker Stripon feierte. Pontecagnano war also eine Siedlung, in der Etrusker und Italiker zusammen lebten und nun, seit dem späten 6. Jh. auch in persönlichen Kontakt mit den Griechen aus Poseidonia traten.[93]

Die selbe Situation ist noch deutlicher in Fratte, einem Vorort des heutigen Salerno, bezeugt.[94] Neben zahlreichen Belegen einer

[89] Zum Begriffspaar ξένος-ἀστός in der archäischen Gesetzgebung vor allem *Nomima, Recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaisme grec I*, H. v. Effenterre, F. Ruzé, Hgg. (Roma, 1994) 29.

[90] E. Greco, 'Qualche riflessione ancora sulle origini die Posidonia', *D d'A* n.s. 2 (1979) 51–6.

[91] In jener Geschichte, die Odysseus noch vor der Aufdeckung seiner tatsächlichen Identität dem Schweinehirten Eumaios erzählt, berichtet er auch von seinen angeblichen Abenteuern in Ägyten, wobei er vom dortigen König vor dem Tod gerettet worden sein, da dieser das von Zeus garantierte Gastrecht respektierte (14, 283): ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κεῖνος ἔρυκε, Διὸς δ' ὠπίζετο μῆνιν ξεινίου.

[92] M. Lazzarini, 'Un'iscrizione greca di Pontecagnano', *RivFil* 112 (1984) 407ff.; *SEG* 34.1019; Arena, s. o. Anm. 45, 54f. Nr. 30, Taf. X, 1.

[93] L. Cerchiai, 'Il processo di strutturazione del politico: I Campani', *AION* 9 (1987) bes. 42–45.

[94] Greco und Pontrandolfo, *Fratte*, s. o. Anm. 76.

Verwendung des achäischen Alphabets durch hier ansässige Italiker und Etrusker[95] gibt vor allem die Aufschrift einer im frühen 6. Jh. in Poseidonia angefertigte Olpe aus Bronze deutlich Auskunft über die intimen Beziehungen von Angehörigen aller dreier Volksgruppen: auf dieser sind Griechen, Etrusker und Italiker als Partner beim Liebesspiel genannt:

a) Ἀπολλόδορος Ξύλλας ἔραται ϝόλχας ἀπύγιζε Ἀπολλόδορον
b) Ὀνάτας Νιξõς ἔραται hύβριχος Παρμύνιος ἤραται.[96]

Auch andere Inschriften aus Fratte zeigen, daß Poseidoniaten sich über einen längeren Zeitraum in Fratte aufhielten und sich hier ansässige Italiker des griechischen Alphabets von Poseidonia bedienten.[97] Den Beleg einer Übernahme des poseidoniatischen Alphabets durch eine Etruskerin erbringt die Aufschrift λετια ἐμι auf dem Griff eines Bronzespiegels, dessen genauer Fundort allerdings unbekannt ist.[98]

Im zweiten Viertel des 5. Jh. ist schließlich mit der Verzierung des auf poseidoniatischem Territorium angelegten 'Grabes des Tauchers' auch eine Übernahme etruskischer Kunsttradition und etruskischen Gedankengutes durch einzelne Angehörige der in Poseidonia ansässigen Oberschicht nachweisbar.[99]

---

[95] Colonna, 'Le iscrizioni etrusche di Fratte', in: *Fratte*, s. o. Anm. 76, 301–309; vgl. auch den im selben Band publizierten Beitrag von Cerchiai, *Fratte e Pontecagnano*, 310–313.

[96] A. Pontrandolfo, 'Un'iscrizione posidoniate in una tomba di Fratte di Salerno', *AION* 9 (1987) 55–63, figg. 20–22; *SEG* 37.817; Arena, s. o. Anm. 45, 58f. Nr. 33 mit Umzeichnung. Die genannten Apollodor und Onatas sind sicher Griechen, Vulca ein Etrusker. Die übrigen Namen Xylla, Nixos, Hybrichos und Parmynon sind bisher nicht belegt und am ehesten als griechische Schreibung italischer Namen zu deuten (Pontrandolfo, 'Un'iscrizione posidoniate', 59f. 61).

[97] Als Besitz des Poseidoniaten Dymeiadas (Δυμειάδα) ist eine Bronzeolpe aus Fratte ausgewiesen; *IG* 14.694; *LSAG*^{2} 252, 260 Nr. 6; Arena, s. o. Anm. 45, 56 Nr. 31. Trebis, der sich in der ersten Hälfte des 5, Jh. als Besitzer auf einer attischen Schale verewigte war mit Sicherheit ein osker, im Fall des Visuvos bzw. Isyllos wurde der Name je nach Lesung als italisch (ϝισυϝος; G. Colonna, s. o. Anm. 63, 359 Anm. 78; ders. In: *Fratte*, s. o. Anm. 35, 306) oder griechisch (ϝισύλος; Arena, 54 Nr. 29) gedeutet.

[98] Colonna, s. o. Anm. 95, 307, Fig. 523.

[99] L. Cerchiai, 'Sulle tombe "del Tuffatore" e "della Cacci e Pesca". Proposta di lettura iconologica', DdA 10 (1987) 113–123; L. Massa-Pairault, 'La transmission des ideés entre Grande Grece et Etrurie', in: *Magna Grecia. Etruschi. Fenici, Atti del XXXIII. Conv. di Studi sulla Magna Grecia*, 389–392. Ungelöst bleibt die Frage der Identität des hier Bestatteten. Auf die isolierte Lage des Grabes außerhalb der großen Nekropolen hat schon Greco, 'Non morire in citta: annotazioni sulla necropoli del Tuffatore di Posidonia', *AION* 4 (1982) 51–56, hingewiesen und daraus auf einen Sonderstatus des hier Bestatteten geschlossen. Zu diesem Problem auch A. Pontrandolfo, 'Le necropoli dalla citta greca alla colonia latina', in: *Poseidonia-Paestum*,

6. *Zusammenfassung*

Die griechische Landnahme an der lukanischen Küste war von unterschiedlichen Kriterien bestimmt. Mit den Niederlassungen am Kap Agropoli und an der Mündung des Sele sollten wohl verkehrtechnisch günstig gelegene und natürlich geschütze Hafenplätze als Zwischenstationen auf der Ferhandelsroute vom griechischen Mutterland bzw. von Unteritalien nach Etrurien und an die Küste Südfrankreichs geschaffen werden.

Am Sele galt es jedoch wohl zusätzlich, die politische Grenze gegenüber dem von den Etruskern kontrollierten Gebiet nördlich des Flusses deutlich zu machen und die Art der Beziehungen zu diesen Nachbarn zu definieren. In diesem Sinn wäre die Gründung des Heraheiligtums an der Selemündung in erster Linie als ein politischer Akt zu deuten, mit dem die Grundlage eines friedlichen Zusammenlebens von Griechen, Etruskern und Italikern gelegt werden sollte. Dieses fand seinen Ausdruck wohl auch in der Schöpfung des Mythos einer Gründung des Heraheiligtums am Sele durch Iason und die Argonauten, wobei der genaue Entstehungzeitpunkt allerdings offen bleiben muß. Bald nach der Mitte des 6. Jh. wäre als weitere Maßnahme in diesem Sinne der sogenannte 'erste Thesauros' mit Motiven verziert worden, die einer gemeinsamen griechisch-etruskisch-italischen Mythentradition enstammten.

Die Niederlassung der Griechen in der fruchtbaren Küstenebene und die Ausdehnung ihrer Besitzansprüche bis an deren östliche Grenze führten zu einem Bruch in der Siedlungskontinuität der italischen Besiedlung. Dies macht eine Abwanderung zumindest eines Teils der italischen Vorbevölkerung wahrscheinlich, wobei in der Frühphase der griechischen Landnahme ein gespanntes Verhältnis zwischen Griechen und Italikern faßbar ist und es möglicherweise sogar zu bewaffneten Auseinandersetzungen kam. Spätestens an der Wende vom 7. zum 6. Jh. war jedoch die Kontrolle der Küstenebene südlich des Sele durch die Griechen nicht mehr umstritten und wurde wohl durch die Gründung eines Heiligtümern der Hera in Fonte, am Ostrand der Fruchtebene, zum Ausdruck gebracht.

Eine deutliche Intensivierung der Handelsaktivitäten auf poseidoniatischem Territorium und von Poseidoniaten in Südkampanien (Sarnotal, Pompeji), dem *ager Picentinus* (Pontecagnano, Fratte) und

238–240; A. Rouveret, 'Les langages figuratifs de la peinture funeraire paestane', in: *Poseidonia-Paestum*, 270–282.

dem östlichen Hinterland (Eboli, Monte Pruno, Vallo di Diano) ist in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jh. nachweisbar. Diese Beziehungen wurden von öffentlicher Seite sowohl in Poseidonia wie auch in den nichtgriechischen Siedlungen durch die Bereitstellung von öffentlichen Nutzbauten (Marktplätze mit Säulenhallen an der Mündung des Sele und in Pontecagnano) und die Sicherung der Verkehrsverbindungen zu Lande (Gründung von Fratte an der Landverbindung mit dem Sarnotal und Pompeji sowie der Siedlung am Monte Pruno auf dem Weg in das Vallo di Diano) gefördert. Ihren Ausdruck fanden diese Maßnahmen im wechseitigen Austausch von Verzierungselementen öffentlicher Großbauten (dorischer Tempel am Forum Triangulare in Pompeji, Kultbauten im etruskisch-kampanischen Stil im südlichen Stadtheiligtum von Poseidonia, poseidoniatische Stilelemente an öffentlichen Gebäuden in Fratte, Übernahme der Verzierungselemente des poseidoniatischen Heratempels in der italischen Siedlung am Monte Pruno).

Die rechtlichen Grundlagen eines ungestörten Zusammenlebens von Griechen, Etruskern und Italikern sicherte wohl die Einrichtung von Kultstätten, die gleichzeitig von Angehörigen aller dreier Volksgruppen besucht werden konnten (Hera an der Selemündung, Apollon in Pontecagnano, Zeus Xenios in Poseidonia, vielleicht auch Kult des Apollon bzw. des Herakles in Pompeji). Diesen lag eine von der jeweiligen Gemeinschaft garantierte Rechtssicherheit der ausländischen Besucher zugrunde (Kult des Zeus Xenios in Poseidonia, Kult des Apollo).[100]

Anders als in Cumae, wo persönliche Beziehungen der Aristokraten mit ihren Standesgenossen im etruskischen Capua bereits für die Frühphase der griechischen Anwesenheit nachweisbar sind und von den politischen Beziehungen der beiden Staaten unabhängige Bindungen waren,[101] entwickelten sich vergleichbare persönliche Beziehungen zwischen Poseidoniaten und Nichtgriechen erst im Zuge politischer Kontakte und der Schaffung einer staatlich garantierten Rechtssicherheit. Dies spricht dafür, daß Poseidonia in der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jh. eine vom Cumae unterschiedliche Verfassung hatte, die die Angehörigen der Oberschicht ungleich stärker in den politischen

[100] d'Agostino, 'Aspetti della funzione politica di Apollo in area tirrenica' (gem. Cerchiai), in: *I Culti della Campani antica*, s. o. Anm. 75, 119–123.

[101] So fanden die von Aristodemos aus Cumae vertriebenen Aristokraten nach Diod. 7.10 Zuflucht bei ihren Freunden in Capua und wurden von diesen auch beim Sturz des Tyrannen unterstützt.

Verband der Bürgergemeinschaft einband[102] und damit individuelle Freundschaftskontakte poseidoniatischer Aristokraten mit ihren Standesgenossen in Pontecagnano oder anderen etruskisch/italischen Orten bis zum späten 6. Jh. deutlich erschwerte, wenn nicht überhaupt verhinderte.

Bibliography[103]

Ampolo, C. 'Tra empória ed empría: note sul commercio greco in eta arcaica e classica', in *APOIKIA, Scritti in onore di G. Buchner*. Naples: 1994, 29–36

——. 'Greci d'occidente, Etruschi, Cartaginesi: circolazione di beni e di uomini', in *Magna Grecia Etruschi Fenici, Atti del 33° convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia*. Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1994, 223–252

Ardovino, A.M. 'Nuovi oggetti sacri con iscrizioni in alfabeto acheo', *Archeologia Classica* 23 (1980) 50–66

——. *I culti di Paestum antica e del suo territorio*. Salerno: Club di Salerno Est, 1986

Arena, R. *Iscrizioni greche archaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia IV. Iscrizioni delle colonie achee*. Alessandria: dell'Orso, 1996

Bailo Modesti, G. 'Lo scavo nell'abitato di Pontecagnano e la coppa con l'iscrizione *AMINA* [—]', *Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico. Istituto Universitario Orientale Napoli: Sezione di Archeologia e Storia Antica* 6 (1984) 215–245

Boitani, F. 'Il santuario di Gravisca', in G. Colonna, ed., *Santuari d'Etruria, Katalog zur Austellung in Arezzo*. Milan: Electa 1985, 141–2

Bonghi Jovino, M. *Richerche a Pompei. L'insula 5 dall Regio VI dalle origini al 79 d. C.* Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1984

Breglia Pulci Doria L. 'Tavola rotonda', in *Mito e storia in Magna Grecia, Atti del 34° convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia*. Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1997, 230–53

Bresson, A. 'Les cités greques et leurs *emporia*', in A. Bresson, P. Rouillard, ed., *L'Emporion*. Paris: De Boccard, 1993, 163–226

Briquel, D. *Les Pelasges en Italie. Recherches sur l'histoire de la légende*. Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1984

Camardo, D., Ferrara, A. 'Petra Herculis: un luogo di culto alle foci del Sarno', *Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico. Istituto Universitario Orientale Napoli: Sezione di Archeologia e Storia Antica* 12 (1990) 169–175

Camassa, G. 'I culti', in *Sibari e la Sibaritide. Atti del 32° convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia*. Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1993

Cerchiai, L. 'Nota preliminare sull'area sacra di Via Verdi', *Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico. Istituto Universitario Orientale Napoli: Sezione di Archeologia e Storia Antica* 6 (1984) 247–250

---

[102] Eine Stütze findet diese Hypothese in der Tatsache, daß sich in Poseidonia bisher keine durch ihre Ausstattung oder Grabform besonders hervorgehobene Bestattungen der ersten drei Viertel des 6. Jh. gefunden haben; vgl. vor allem A. Pontrandolfo, 'Le necropoli dalla citta greca alla colonia latina', in: *Poseidonia-Paestum*, 230–235, bes. 235: *In sintesi per quanto riguarda il VI. Sec. a. C. riscontriamo . . . una circolazione di oggetti altrettanto di serie che confermano l'assenz di ogni tipo di ostentazione nel rituale funerario. Antike Welt* zu 'Aristokratengräbern'.

[103] Es konnten nur bis zum Jahr 1998 erschienene Arbeiten berücksichtigt werden.

——. 'Il processo di strutturazione del politico: I Campani', *Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico. Istituto Universitario Orientale Napoli: Sezione di Archeologia e Storia Antica* 9 (1987) 41–53
——. 'Sulle tombe "del Tuffatore" e "della Cacci e Pesca". Proposta di lettura iconologica', *Dialoghi d'Archeologia* n.s. 10 (1987) 113–123
——. *I Campani*. Milano: Longanesi, 1995
——. 'Aspetti della funzione politica di Apollo in area tirrenica', in *I Culti della Campania antica. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi in ricordo di N. Valenza Mele*, Roma 1998
Cinquantaquattro, T. 'Dinamiche insediative nell'agro picentino dalla protostoria all'eta ellenistica', *Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico. Istituto Universitario Orientale Napoli: Sezione di Archeologia e Storia Antica* 14 (1992) 245–58
Cipriani, M. 'Il santuario meridionale', in *Atti del 27° convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia*. Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1988
——. 'Eboli preromana. I dati archeologici: analisi e proposte di lettura', in M. Tagliente, ed., *Italici in Magna Grecia. Lingua, insediamenti e strutture*. Venosa: Osanna, 1990
——, Longo, F., ed., *I Greci in Occidente, Poseidonia e I Lucani*. Napoli: Electa, 1996
——. 'Il ruolo di Hera nel santuario meridionale di Poseidonia', in J. de La Geniere, ed., *Héra. Images, espaces, cultes*. Napoli: Centre Jean Bérard, 1997, 211–225
Colonna, G. 'Nuovi dati epigrafici sulla protostoria della Campania', in *Atti della XVII riunione scientifica dell'Instituto italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria*. Firenze 1975, 151–163
——. 'Il santuario di Leucotea-Ilizia a Pyrgi', in *Santuari d'Etruria. Katalog zur Austellung in Arezzo*. Milan: Electa, 1985, 127–30
——. 'L'etruscizita della Campania meridionale', in P. Gastaldi, G. Maetzke, ed., *La presenza etrusca nella Campania meridionale*. Firenze: Olschki, 1994, 343–370
d'Agostino, B. 'Arenosola', in *Mostra della Preistoria e Protostoria nel Salernitano*. Napoli: Laveglio, 1962
——. 'Aspetti della funzione politica di Apollo in area tirrenica', in *I culti della Campani antica. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi in ricordo di N. Valenza Mele*, Roma: G. Bretschneider, 1998, 119–123
de Caro, S. 'Nuove indagini sulle fortificazioni di Pompei', *Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico. Istituto Universitario Orientale Napoli: Sezione di Archeologia e Storia Antica* 7 (1985)
——. 'Lo sviluppo urbanistico di Pompei', in *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia*, 3.1 (1992) 67–90
de la Geniere, J. 'Ricerca di abitati antichi in Lucania', *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia* n.s. 5 (1964) 129–38
di Bello, F. *Elea-Velia. Polis, Zecche monete di bronzo*. Napoli: V. Pironte, 1997
Eschebach, L. *Pompeji*. Köln: Böhlau, 1995
Fiammenghi, C.A. 'Agropoli. Primi saggi di scavo nell'area del Castello', *Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico. Istituto Universitario Orientale Napoli: Sezione di Archeologia e Storia Antica* 7 (1985) 43–74
——. 'Agropoli' in *Atti del 27° convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia*. Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia. 1988, 396–398
Gasparri, D. 'La fotointerpretazione archeologica nella ricerca storico-topografica sui territori di Pontecagnano, Paestum e Velia', *Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico. Istituto Universitario Orientale Napoli: Sezione di Archeologia e Storia Antica* 11 (1989) 253–65
——. 'Rivestimenti architettonici fittili da Poseidonia' *Bolletino d'Arte*, n.s. 74 (1992) 65–76
Gianfrotta, P.A. 'Le ancore votive di Sostrato di Egina e di Faillo di Crotone', *La Parola del Passato* 30 (1975) 3011–318

Greco, E. 'Il ΤΕΙΧΟΣ dei Sibariti e le origini di Posidonia', *Dialoghi d'Archeologia* 8 (1974/5) 104–115
——. 'Qualche riflessione ancora sulle origini die Posidonia', *Dialoghi d'Archeologia* n.s. 2 (1979) 51–6
——. 'Richerche sulla chora poseidoniate: il "paesaggio agrario" dalla fondazione della citta alla fine del sec. IV a. C.', *Dialoghi d'Archeologia* n.s. 1 (1979) 7–26
——. 'Non morire in citta: annotazioni sulla necropoli del Tuffatore di Posidonia', *Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico. Istituto Universitario Orientale Napoli: Sezione di Archeologia e Storia Antica* 4 (1982) 51–56
——. 'La citta e il suo territorio: problemi di storia topografica', in *Poseidonia-Paestum, Atti del 27° convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia*, Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1988, 475–479
——. 'Heraion di Foce Sele. Nuove prospettive di ricerca', in I. Gallo, ed., *Momenti di storia salernitana nell'antichita. Atti del Convegno nazionale AICC di Salerno-Fisciano.* Salerno: Arte tipografia, 1988
——. 'Heraion alla Foce del Sele', in *Atti del 27° convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia.* Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1988
——. 'Frammenti architettonici in pietra', in *Fratte. Un insediamento etrusco-campano.* 1990, 87–92
Greco, E., Stazio, A., Vallet, G., ed., *Paestum, città e territorio nelle colonie greche d'occidente I*, Tarent, 1987
Greco, G., Pontrandolfo, A., ed. *Fratte. Un insediamento etrusco-campano.* Modena: F.C. Panini, 1990
——. 'La ripresa delle indagini allo Heraion di Foce Sele', *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia*, n.s. 1 (1992) 249–258
Guarducci, M. 'Alcune monete di Posidonia e la fondazione dell'antica citta', in *Gli archeologi italiani in onore di A. Maiuri.* Cava dei Terreni: Di Mauro, 1965, 203–217
Guy, M. 'La costa, la laguna e l'insediamento di Poseidonia-Paestum', in *Paestum. La citta e il territorio, Encicolopedia multimediale.* Roma 1990
Horsnaes, H.W. 'The Ager Picentinus', *Acta Hyperborea* 3 (1991) 219–34
Jackson, A.H. 'Hoplites and the Gods: The dedication of captured armour', in V.D. Hanson, ed., *Hoplites: The classical Greek battle experience.* London: Routledge, 1991, 228–249
Jameson, M.H. 'Latinos and the Greeks', *Athenaeum* 86 (1998) 477–485
Jeffery, L.H. *The local scripts of archaic Greece.* 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990
Junker, K. *Der ältere Tempel im Heraion am Sele. Verzierte Metopen im architecktonischen Kontext.* Köln: Böhlau, 1993
Knell, H. *Mythos und Polis. Bildpgrogramme griechischer Bauskulptur.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990
Krauskopf, I. 'Il ciclo delle Metope del primo Thesauros', *Atti e Memorie della società Magna Grecia*, n.s. 1 (1992) 219–231
Kuhn, G. 'Untersuchungen zur Funktion der Saulenhalle in archaischer und klassischer Zeit', *Jahrbuch der Deutsches Archäologisches Instituts* 100 (1985) 169–317
Lazzarini, M. 'Un'iscrizione greca di Pontecagnano', *Rivista di Filologia* 112 (1984) 407–12
Maddoli, G., Giangiuglio, M. 'I culti di Crotone', in *Crotone. Atti del 23° convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia.* Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1986, 315–331
Maiuri, A. *Pompeji preromana.* Napoli: Società editrice napoletana, 1973
Marzullo, A. 'La necropoli dell'Arenosola a destra della Foce del Sele', *Rassegna Storica Salernitana* 2.1 (1938) 3–26
Massa-Pairault, L. 'La transmission des ideés entre Grande Grece et Etrurie', in

Magna Grecia Etruschi Fenici. Atti del 33° convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia. Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1994, 389–392
Mello, M. 'Strabone V. 4, 13 e le origini di Poseidonia', *La Parola del Passato* 117 (1967) 401–424
Mertens, D. *Der alte Heratempel in Paestum und die archäische Baukunst in Unteritalien*. Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1993
——. 'Elementi di origini etrusco-campana nell'architettura della Magna Grecia', in *Magna Grecia Etruschi Fenici. Atti del 33° convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia*. Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1994, 195–219
Pedley, J. *Paestum. Greeks and Romans in Southern Italy*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1990
Pontrandolfo, A. *I Lucani. Etnografia e Archeologia di una regione antica*. Milano: Longanesi, 1982
——. 'un'iscrizione posidoniate in una tomba di Fratte di Salerno', *Annali del Seminario di Studi del Mondo Classico. Istituto Universitario Orientale Napoli: Sezione di Archeologia e Storia Antica* 9 (1987) 55–63
——. 'Le necropoli dalla citta greca alla colonia latina', in *Poseidonia-Paestum Atti del 27° convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia*. Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1988, 238–240
Poseidonia-Paestum. Atti del 27° convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia. Tarent, 1998
Pritchett, W.K. *The Greek State at War*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979
Pugliese Carratelli, G. 'Per la storia di Posidonia', in *Poseidonia-Paestum. Atti del 27° convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia*. Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1988, 13–31
Rausch, M. '"Nach Olympia"—über den Weg einer Waffe vom Schlachtfeld ins Heiligtum von Olympia', *Zeitschrift fur Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 123 (1998) 126–128.
Reusser, C. 'Die Casa di Ganimede in Pompeji VII 13, 4. Archäische Funde', *Rheinishes Museum* 89 (1982) 355–76
Rouveret, A. 'Les langages figuratifs de la peinture funeraire paestane', in *Poseidonia-Paestum. Atti del 27° convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia*. Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1988, 270–282
Sacco, G. 'Le Epigrafi greche di Paestum lucana' in M. Cipriani, F. Longo, ed., *I Greci in Occidente, Poseidonia e I Lucani*, 204–209
Schmiedt, G. *Antichi porti d'Italia. Parte seconda: I porti delle colonie greche*. Rome: Tipi dell'Istituto geografico militare, 1966
Simon, E. 'Era ed Eracle alla foce del Sele e nell'Italia centrale', *Atti e Memorie della società Magna Grecia*, n.s. 1 (1992) 209–18
Taliercio Menistieri, M. 'Aspetti e problemi della monetazione di Poseidonia', in *Poseidonia-Paestum. Atti del 27° convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia*. Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1988, 113–84
Theodorescu, D., Greco, E. *Poseidonia-Paestum II. L'agora*. Roma: Ecole Française de Rome 1983
Tocco Sciarelli, G. 'Heraion di Foce Sele. Nuove Prospettive di ricerca', in *Momenti di storia salernitana nell'antichita. Atti del convegno nazionale AICC di Salerno-Fisciano* 1988
Torelli, M. 'Il santuario greco di Gravisca', *La Parola del Passato* 32 (1977) 398–458
——. 'Gli aromi e il sale. Afrodite ed Eracle nell'emporia arcaica dell'Italia', in A. Mastrocinque, ed., *Ercole in occidente*. Trento: Università degli Studi di Trento, 1993, 91–117
Valenza Mele, N. 'Eracle euboico a Cuma—La Gigantomachia e la Via Heraclea', in *Recherches sur les cultes grecs et l'Occident I*. Napoli: Centre Jean Berard, 1979
van Effenterre, H., Ruzé, F., ed., *Nomima, Recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaisme grec I*. Roma: École Française de Rome, 1994

Voza, G. 'Necropoli di Capodifiume', in *Mostra della Preistoria e Protostoria nel Salernitano*. Salerno: P. Laveglio, 1962
West, M.L. *Hesiod. Theogony*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966
Zancani Montuoro, P., Zanotti, U. *Heraion alla Foce del Sele I*. Roma: Libreria dello Stato, 1951 und II, Roma: Libreria dello Stato, 1954
——. 'Il Poseidonion di Poseidonia', *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 23 (1954) 165–171–95
Zevi, F., Jodice, M. *Pompeji*. Napoli: Banco di Napoli, 1992

This page intentionally left blank

GO WEST, GO NATIVE

John Barron
St Peter's College, Oxford

For Brian Shefton, ἀριστήϊον

Some years ago I showed that a Samian decree, of the generation following the islanders' return in 322 B.C. from the long exile to which Athens had consigned various of them between 366/5 and 352/1, could be used to restore an obstinately corrupt passage in the text of Pausanias and thereby cast light upon the family background of the historian and tyrant Douris.[1] It may cast unexpected light also on the degree of intimacy which attended Samos' earlier relations with the Italian West. Pausanias' text (6.13.5) is as follows:[2]

> Χιόνιδος δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ στήλης Κάϊος ἕστηκεν ὁ Δούριος, Σάμιος, κρατήσας πυγμῇ παῖδας· τέχνη δὲ ἡ εἰκών ἐστι μὲν Ἱππίου τοῦ ** τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ, νικῆσαι [Χίονιν] ἡνίκα ὁ Σαμίων δῆμος ἔφευγεν ἐκ τῆς νήσου. τὸν δὲ Κάϊον ** ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τὸν δῆμον. παρὰ δὲ τὸν τύραννον Δίαλλος ὁ Πόλλιδος ἀνάκειται . . .

> Not far from the *stele* of Chionis at Olympia stands Kaios the son of Douris, a Samian, winner of the boys' boxing. The statue is the work of Hippias the [. . . . . . .]; the inscription tells his (Kaios') story, that he (Chionis, *sic*, wrongly) won his victory when the Samian *demos* was in exile from the island. [They say *or* it happened] that Kaios [later became tyrant, having brought] the *demos* back to their own. Next to the tyrant the dedication is of Diallos, son of Pollis . . .

---

[1] 'The Tyranny of Duris of Samos', *CR* n.s. 12 (1962) 189–92: Paus. 6.13.5 with C. Habicht, *Ath. Mitt.* 72 (1957) 190f. no. 23. See also G. Shipley, *A History of Samos 800–188 B.C.* (Oxford, 1987) 175–81; R. Kebric, *In the Shadow of Macedon: Duris of Samos* (1977) 2–9. For the date and duration of the Samians' exile, see now J.P. Barron, 'Two Goddesses in Samos', in R. Ashton, S. Hurter, ed., *Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of M.J. Price* (London, 1998) 23–36, esp. 24, 26f.

[2] I quote the conservative text of Jacoby, *F.Gr.Hist.* 76. Duris T 4, but reading in line 1 Κάϊος for καὶ ὃς codd. (Σκαῖος Schubert-Walz) and again in line 3 Κάϊον for καιρὸν codd., obelized by Jacoby.

The decree was moved by Lysagoras son of Kaios—Λυσαγόρας Κάϊο[υ]—and is to be dated probably to the last decade of the 4th century.[3] Its proposer is likely therefore to have been son of the same Kaios who won the boys' boxing during the years of exile. Since the years from 17 to 20 appear to have been the age of eligibility for the boys' boxing contest, Kaios will not have been born later than 339 nor earlier than 386.[4] If his son Lysagoras was politically active in the closing years of the century, say aged 30 by 300 B.C., Kaios may be presumed to have been born c. 360 or earlier, his father Douris at the turn of the century. The latter is therefore not the same individual as the well-known historian Douris, who was a student of Theophrastos, Master of the Lykeion for thirty-five years from 322, and still alive in 281 B.C.[5] That they were of the same family, however, would seem to be demonstrated by the fact that both Kaios and the younger Douris held the tyranny in Samos.[6] The likeliest hypothesis is that Douris was tyrant in succession to Kaios, that the latter was in fact his father and Lysagoras his brother, and that his grandfather was the earlier Douris of Pausanias' text.

The name Douris may have been recurrent in the family, both later and earlier. Only three other men named Douris are attested, among them another Samian.[7] He, Douris son of Kallimachos, is recorded c. 200 B.C. as a visiting judge at Bargylia in Karia;[8] it is possible chronologically that he was a grandson of the historian. The earliest Douris attested is the well-known red-figure vase-painter active in Athens c. 490–470.[9] Since no other Douris is known in Athens,

[3] Habicht, *loc. cit.*

[4] Cf. E.N. Gardiner, *Athletics in the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1930) 41, where the rule is deduced for Olympia from the practice at the Augustalia in Naples, a festival on the Olympic model (*Olymp. Inschr.* no. 50).

[5] *F.Gr.Hist.* 76 T 1, T 2, F 55 (Athen. 128A, 337D; Pliny, *NH* 8.143). Douris was also a brother of the comic poet Lynkeus (T 2), a contemporary of Menander (c. 344/3–292/1 B.C.).

[6] *F.Gr.Hist.* 76 T 2.

[7] The Douris who is named on Samian coins of c. 300 is presumably the historian and tyrant: see J.P. Barron, *The Silver Coins of Samos* (London, 1966) 217 and Pl. xxv 4, cf. 136, 138. Contemporary with him was Douris Ἐλαΐτης, who is known solely as the author of an epigram, *Anth. Pal.* 9.424, on the flood which overwhelmed Ephesos in the time of Lysimachos, i.e. between 306/5 and the city's refoundation as Arsinoe before 289/8. See A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1965) i 97, ii 280, citing *SIG*[3] 368.24.

[8] W. Blümel (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Iasos* II (*Inschr. gr. Städte aus Kleinasien* 28.2, Bonn, 1985) 120 no. 609; Shipley, *op. cit.* 223.

[9] J.S. Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens* VI (Toronto, 1997) 121f. no. 373800; J.D.

of whose prosopography we have abundant testimony, it is an obvious conjecture that the vase-painter was an immigrant or of immigrant descent, and, if so, more likely to have been from Samos than anywhere else.[10]

If Douris is a recurrent name, perhaps alternating over a long period, Kaios may have been also. It is, however, unique in our available sources before the Hellenistic period. Even then Kaios appears once only, as an alternative to Γάϊος in transliteration from Roman Caius/Gaius.[11] Having drawn attention to its rarity, in my earlier study I overlooked the possible significance of another startlingly rare name found in the Samian list, Leukios. One Leukios is found there in the very time of Kaios' son Douris;[12] another, much earlier, Leukios dedicated a *kouros* to Apollo around the middle of the 6th century.[13] Is this, too, a recurrent Samian name, as Douris is? 'Leukios' I had supposed a formation from Λευκος—'Whitey'—on the analogy of Oulios from οὑλος 'Curly', or Xanthias from ξανθος, 'Sandy'. It may be so indeed. But Leukios is also the normal Greek for Latin Lucius.

If one takes a list of the commoner Latin *praenomina*—Appius, Aulus, Caius, Decimus, Decius, Gnaeus, Lucius, Marcus, Publius,

---

Beazley, *Athenian Red-figure Vase*-painters, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1963) 425–53 (hereafter *ARV*²); J.D. Beazley, *Paralipomena* (Oxford, 1971) 374–6; T.H. Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda*² (Oxford, 1989) 403; *SEG* 13 (1982) 33–34, 35 (1985) 47–51. See P.E. Arias, M. Hirmer and B. Shefton, *A History of Greek Vase-Painting* (London, 1962) 339–43 and figs.; cf. M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1975) 231f.; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: the Archaic Period* (London, 1975) 137–9. Douris' frequent signatures on his pots are characterised by his use of the cursive form of *delta*. It is intriguing, and may be significant, that this form occurs a generation later in Samos on the *horoi* inscribed in a local imitation of Attic script marking the estate there of the cult of 'Athena Queen of Athens': J.P. Barron, 'Religious Propaganda of the Delian League' *JHS* 84 (1964) 35f nos. 1–2, Pl. iii a, b.

[10] It is intriguing in this context that the historian Douris claimed Athenian blood, as a descendant of Alkibiades: *F.Gr.Hist.* 76 T 3 (Plut. *Alkib.* 32). See, however, Kebric, *op. cit.* 2, for a (perhaps more likely) alternative explanation.

[11] See a coin of Aizanoi, late 2nd or early 1st century B.C., Mionnet, *Description de médailles antiques, grecques et romaines*, suppl. 7 (Paris, 1835) 559 no. 336. But see *BMC Phrygia* 208 no. 8, pl. xxvi 4, for a similar coin inscribed ΓΑΙΟΝ; Barron, 'The Tyranny of Duris of Samos', 191 no. 2.

[12] Rock-cut inscription on the island of Prote (Messenia), late fourth or early third century, *SEG* 11 (1950) 1007; N.S. Valmin, *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund 1928/29* 153 no. 26, pl. xxa: Λεύκιος ὁ Σά|μιος ἀνέβη | ὁ Θυελλέσιος.

[13] B. Freyer-Schauenburg, *Bildwerke der archaischen Zeit und des strengen Stils, Samos* xi (Bonn, 1974) 69–73 no. 35, Taf. 20–22; G.M.A. Richter, *Kouroi*³ (London and New York, 1970) 86f no. 77, figs. 258–60, Tenea-Volomandra Group; E. Buschor, *Altsamische Standbilder* i–iii (1934–35) 17f., Abb. 57, 59, 60.

Quintus, Servius, Sextus, Tiberius, Titus—and checks them against the three published volumes of *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (which cover, respectively, the Aegean islands, Kypros and Kyrenaika; Attika; the Peloponnese, western Greece and Sicily and Magna Graecia), it is very hard indeed to discover the Latin names in Greek transliteration before the Hellenistic or even the Roman period.[14] Apart from Kaios and Leukios in Samos, I have found only Leukios in Attika once in the 5th century and in the 4th century twice in alternate generations of a single family; the feminine form of Gnaios, Γναίϝα, in fifth-century Gravina; and Markos at Katane in the first half of the 4th century. If the limit be extended to the late 4th or early 3rd century, the harvest is still meagre, and all in the west: Leukios in Sicily, Gnaios in Sicily and Campania, Dekios in Campania, Titos in Illyria.

Statistically, then, the occurrence of Leukios twice and Kaios once in Samos before the Hellenistic period ought to be significant;[15] and the mid-6th century *kouros* dedicated by Leukios may provide a *terminus ante quem* for the Samian interest in 'Latin' names. There is contemporary Etruscan evidence for *praenomina* at that period, and later tradition could recall (if it did not invent) such 7th- and 6th-century figures as Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius and the rest.[16] It is, moreover, in precisely this period that Samos was actively in contact with the Greek and non-Greek peoples of the western Mediterranean. The catalogue of evidence is familiar. In the seventh century Kolaios the Samian penetrated to Tartessos (Cadiz) on the

---

[14] *Lexicon of Greek Proper Names* (*LPGN*) I, III A, ed. P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews (Oxford, 1987, 1997); II. edd. M.J. Osborne and S.G. Byrne (Oxford, 1994).

[15] Kebric accepts that Kaios here is equivalent to Gaius (*op. cit.* 3f. and n. 17; cf. *AJA* 79 (1975), 89), and discerns a further family link with the West in the identity of the honorand of Lysagoras' decree, Epinoides of Herakleia, which he identifies on good grounds with Herakleia in Sicily. It may be added that Sicilian Herakleias (there were more than one) are Dorian; and the only individual of this name so far listed in *LGPN* is evidently a Dorian and perhaps of this very time, Epinoidas, named in the last years of the fourth century as donor of a cup in the treasury on Delos: *IG* 11.2.145.49, cf. 137.[10].

[16] Mid-6th century *bucchero* cup inscribed for Avile Vipiienas, i.e. Aulus Vibenna, at Veii: M. Pallottino, *Studi Etruschi* 13 (1939) 455–7; A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1964) 230 and n. 1. Cf. the François Tomb at Vulci, with inscribed painting of the second half of the fourth century, Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins*, 220ff. and pl. 8–12; S. Steingräber, *Etruscan Painting: Catalogue Raisonné* (New York, 1985) 377f. no. 178, pl. 183–5. See in general A. Momigliano in F.W. Walbank and others ed., *CAH* 7.2 (ed. 2, Cambridge, 1989) 91ff.

Atlantic coast of Spain, and found a market not yet exploited by Greeks. Returning home, he made a magnificent dedication at the Heraion from what Samian tradition remembered as the second largest profit from any trading expedition—second only to Sostratos the Aiginetan.[17] Tartessos, ruled by the significantly named Arganthonios, was so notorious a source of precious metal that the poet Stesichoros of Himera called the springs of its river 'silver-rooted', ἀργυρορίζους:[18] bullion, no doubt, was the substance of Kolaios' great success. Himera would be a good staging post for the voyage to the far west, and it is unsurprising that in Stesichoros' time—which is also the time of Leukios and his dedication—Samian seamen became embroiled in trouble between the Himeraians and the Sikans, and on their homecoming made a dedication at the Heraion to the Sikan hero Leukaspis.[19] By that time, the local repertory included what was to be a common Samian name, Hyblesios, from Megara Hyblaia;[20] and western Phoinikian offerings had long ago reached the Heraion from as far as Spain.[21] Moreover, ever since Kolaios' day the Heraion had received a steady stream of western offerings from Etruria—a

---

[17] Hdt. 4.150–154, cf. n. 27 below. The offering comprised a huge gryphon-krater of what was to become standard Samian form, resting on three kneeling colossi, all of bronze: see U. Jantzen, *Griechische Greifenkessel* (Berlin, 1955) passim. esp. 48f. See also G. Dunst, 'Archaische Inschriften und Dokumente der Pentekontaetie aus Samos', *Ath. Mitt.* 87 (1972) 99f., for the possible dedication of Kolaios' ship at the Heraion; Dunst, 'Archaische Inschriften' 156–59, 'Exkurs: die Samier im Westen'; Shipley, *A History of Samos*, 56f.

[18] Fr. 184.2 Page (Strabo, *Geog.* 148). Cf. Dunst, *op. cit.* 159; P. Brize, 'Samos und Stesichoros: Zu einen früharchaischen Bronzeblech', *Ath. Mitt.* 100 (1985) 53–90.

[19] G. Dunst, *op. cit.* 100–106, 'Die Weihung des Leukaspis', Taf. 45–6. The inscription, *boustrophedon* and dated by style to the first half of the 6th century, occupies the front (bearing a shield in relief) and back (ship's stern) of a block found in the north *peribolos* of the Polykrates temple at the Heraion (inv. no. 48, together with an adjoining block, no inv. no., carrying the lower part of the ship's stern but no inscription).

[20] *LGPN* s.v. We hear of one or two individuals named Hyblesios in the mid-6th century, and cannot decide whether they are one and the same. See *SEG* 32 (1982) 963; A. Bernand, *La Delta égyptienne d'après des textes grecs* i (2) 693 no. 502. Cf. Dunst, *op. cit.* 156–59, on this and other names of possible western significance.

[21] B.B. Shefton, 'Greeks and Greek Imports in the South of the Iberian Peninsula: the Archaeological Evidence', in H.G. Niemeyer, ed., *Phönizier im Westen. Die Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums über 'Die phönizische Expansion im westlichen Mittelmeerraum'* (Mainz, 1982) 337–70, esp. 343ff.; B. Freyer-Schauenburg, 'Kolaios und die Westphönischen Elfenbeine', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 7 (1966) 89–108, Taf. 17–22, discussing ivory combs of Spanish origin discarded at the Samian Heraion in contexts of 640–30 B.C.

number of bronze vessel attachments and quantities of *bucchero* pottery—so much material, in fact, that Samian Hera appears to have been a collector of things Etruscan second only to her consort at Olympia.[22] Nor was the traffic all one way. Sixth-century Samian gryphon-head attachments from bronze bowls have been found at Tarquinia and Graviscae;[23] and during the tyranny of Polykrates a party of dissidents had left Samos to make a new settlement at Dikaiarchia (Puteoli) in the territory of Samos' old allies the Chalkidians of Cumae.[24] It is in the friendly trading communities of central Italy—Campania, Latium and Etruria—that Samians will have become familiar with the Italic *praenomina* to the point of imitation.

For Samos, the most obvious region in which to acquire this familiarity was that of Tarquinia and its port Graviscae, where in the fifth century some native Italians were to adopt Greek names. In Kolaios' day Tarquinia had been the fief of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, reputedly a son of the Greek Damaratos, the lordly refugee who had fled from Samos' ally Corinth when Kypselos usurped power in the mid-7th century.[25] By the end of the century its trading-port at Graviscae had been established by East Greeks as the Naukratis of the west.[26] That these East Greeks were originally and predominantly Samians is strongly suggested by the identity of their chief cult: the shrine was dedicated to Hera. Here Sostratos the Aiginetan left a record of his presence, and it was doubtless here that he boasted to the Samians of his unequalled profit from a single voyage, greater

[22] The bronzes were identified, against earlier attributions, by H. Kyrieleis, 'Etruskische Bronzen aus dem Heraion von Samos', *Ath. Mitt.* 101 (1986) 127–36. For the pottery, H.P. Isler, 'Etruskischer Bucchero aus dem Heraion von Samos', *Ath. Mitt.* 82 (1967) 77–88.

[23] Kyrieleis, 'Etruskische Bronzen', 134f.; Jantzen, *op. cit.* 74f. nos. 126–132 (Tarquinia); M. Torelli, 'Il santuario greco di Gravisca', *PP* 32 (1977) 409f., fig. 8 (Graviscae).

[24] Steph. Byz., Ποτίολοι; Hieron., Olymp. 63.1; originally a dependency of Cumae, Strabo 245; Samos and Chalkis, Hdt. 5.99 (the 'Lelantine War'). Pythagoras' emigration to Kroton at this time was similarly motivated: Iambl., *De vita Pyth.* 6.28; see Shipley, *A History of Samos*, 91.

[25] Polyb. 6.11a.7; Dion. Hal. 3.46; etc. See A. Blakeway, '"Demaratus"', *JRS* 25 (1935) 129–49; Momigliano, *loc. cit.* (n. 15 above). For Corinth and Samos, Thuc. 1.13.3.

[26] M. Torelli, 'Il santuario di Hera a Gravisca' *PP* 26 (1971) 44–67, esp. 60ff., 63ff.; 'Il santuario greco di Gravisca', esp. 435ff.; 'Per la definizione del commercio greco-orientale: il caso di Gravisca' *PP* 37 (1982) 304–325.

even than Kolaios' profit from Tartessos.[27] It is an intriguing possibility that this site, which evidently played a great part in that reciprocal trade of goods and ideas between Greeks and non-Greeks which Brian Shefton has made a study all his own, saw not only the borrowing of Greek names by the native Italians but the adoption of their own names by the trading Greeks as well.

Bibliography

Alföldi, A. *Early Rome and the Latins*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964

Arias, P.E., Hirmer, M., Shefton, B. *A History of Greek Vase-Painting*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1962

Barron, J.P. 'The Tyranny of Duris of Samos', *Classical Review* n.s. 12 (1962) 189–92

——. 'Religious Propaganda of the Delian League', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 84 (1964) 35–48

——. *The Silver Coins of Samos*. London: Athlone Press, 1966

——. 'Two Goddesses in Samos', in R. Ashton, S. Hurter, ed., *Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of M.J. Price*. London: Spink, 1998, 23–36

Beazley, J.D. *Athenian Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963

——. *Paralipomena*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971

Bernand, A. *La Delta égyptienne d'après des textes grecs* I.2. Cairo: Institut Français de l'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1970

Blakeway, A. '"Demaratus"', *Journal of Roman Studies* 35 (1935) 129–49

Blümel, W., ed., *Die Inschriften von Iasos* II. Bonn: R. Habelt, 1985

Boardman, J. *Athenian Red Figure Vases: the Archaic Period*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1975

Brize, P. 'Samos und Stesichoros: zu einen früharchaischen Bronzeblech', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 100 (1985) 53–90

Buschor, E. *Altsamische Standbilder* I–III. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1934–35

Carpenter, T.H. *Beazley Addenda. additional references to ABV, ARV2 & Paralipomena*. Oxford: Oxford Unversity Press, 1989

Dunst, G. 'Archaische Inschriften und Dokumente der Pentekontaetie aus Samos', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 87 (1972) 99–163

Fraser, P.M., Matthews, E. ed., *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I–III A*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987, 1994, 1997

Freyer-Schauenburg, B. 'Kolaios und die Westphönischen Elfenbeine', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 7 (1966) 89–108

——. *Bildwerke der archaischen Zeit und des strengen Stils* (*Samos* IX). Bonn: R. Habelt, 1974

Gardiner, E.N. *Athletics in the Ancient World*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930

Gow, A.S.F., Page, D.L. *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965

Habicht, C. 'Samische Volksbeschlüsse der Hellenistischen Zeit', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 72 (1957) 152–274

Isler, H.P. 'Etruskischer Bucchero aus dem Heraion von Samos', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 87 (1967) 77–88

[27] Torelli, 'Il santuario di Hera a Gravisca', fig. 7; L.H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1990) 439 E, pl. 73.

Jantzen, U. *Griechische Greifenkessel*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1955
Jeffery, L.H. *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985
Kebric, R. *In the Shadow of Macedon: Duris of Samos* (*Historia Enzelschriften* 29). Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1977
Kyrieleis, H. 'Etruskische Bronzen aus dem Heraion von Samos', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 101 (1986) 127–36
Mionnet, T.E. *Description de médailles antiques, grecques et romaines, avec leur degré de rareté et leur estimation: ouvrage servant de catalogue à une suite de plus de vingt mille empreintes en soufre, prises sur les pièces originales*, suppl. 7, Paris: Imprint de Testu, 1835
Momigliano, A. 'The Origins of Rome' in F.W. Walbank *et al.*, ed., *Cambridge Ancient History* 7.2, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, 152–112
Richter, G.M.A. *Kouroi*. 3rd ed., London and New York: Phaidon, 1970
Robertson, M. *A History of Greek Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975
Shefton, B.B. 'Greeks and Greek Imports in the South of the Iberian Peninsula: the Archaeological Evidence', in H.G. Niemeyer, ed., *Phönizier im Westen, Die Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums über 'Die phönizische Expansion im westlichen Mittelmeerraum'*. Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1982, 337–70
Shipley, G. *A History of Samos 800–188 B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987
Steingräber, S. *Etruscan Painting: Catalogue Raisonné*. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1985
Torelli, M. 'Il santuario di Hera a Gravisca', *La Parola del Passato* 26 (1971) 44–67
——. 'Il santuario greco di Gravisca', *La Parola del Passato* 32 (1977) 398–458
——. 'Per la definizione del commercio greco-orientale: il caso di Gravisca', *La Parola del Passato* 37 (1982) 304–325
Traill, J.S. *Persons of Ancient Athens* VI. Toronto: Athenians, 1997
Valmin, N.S. 'Inscriptions de la Messénie', *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund 1928–29* (1929), 108–155

SOME GREEK INSCRIPTIONS ON NATIVE VASES FROM SOUTH EAST ITALY

Alastair Small
University of Edinburgh

Brian Shefton has frequently explored the complex pattern of distribution of Greek artifacts throughout the Mediterranean World and its fringes, and many of his articles, especially on little-known classes of pottery or bronzes, document the links of commerce or gift exchange between the Greeks and their 'barbarian' neighbours. The bronzes and ceramics are of course only the most durable items remaining as evidence for what must have been a much more extensive cultural interaction. Usually they can tell us little about the ideas that were exchanged together with the goods—beyond what we can infer from the artistic representations they carry, or from their cultural contexts. Such written evidence as we have for Greek and native cultural interaction has passed through the filter of Greek historians writing later than the events they describe, and with Greek prejudices. The contemporary words in which the 'natives' expressed their ideas about Greek culture have almost entirely vanished.

Occasionally, however, a word inscribed on a pot or bronze can help us to enter this almost vanished thought-world, and I propose in this paper dedicated to Brian to look at two examples of native pots inscribed with Greek words which raise interesting questions about Greek and native cultural identity. Both come from Southeast Italy, and both can be dated around the end of the late archaic period.

The first is a stamnos-krater in the wheel-made painted ware typical of Central Apulia in the Late Iron Age (Figs. 3, 4). It forms part of a tomb group (Tomb 3, 1952) excavated at Santo Mola 3 km south west of Gioia del Colle in central Apulia (Fig. 1). The site has never been systematically studied, but it must have been of some importance, for it is situated on a high point which forms the watershed between the Adriatic and the Ionian Gulf. The burials are said to extend in an east-west direction for a little more than 1 km.

The tomb in which it was found was excavated in 1952, together with at least fifty two others from the same cemetery. The excavation has not been fully published, but a brief summary of the artifacts found in the burials was listed in the inventory of Taranto Museum, and has been reported by Antonio Donvito in a volume of studies on Gioia del Colle.[1] A photograph in the Museum at Gioia del Colle (Fig. 2) confirms that our stamnos-krater was found together with fourteen other pots. Most of them are in the same wheel-made painted ware (two trefoil oinochoai, a kantharos, a miniature kantharos, two mugs with vertical handles, a two-handled bowl, and two handle-less dishes or lids), but two plain wheel-made one-handled cups, a cooking-pot with vertical handle, a hand-made one-handled jug decorated in Peucetian subgeometric style (typical of the tail-end of the Peucetian geometric tradition), and an Ionian type cup were also found in the tomb.

Evidently the tomb contained a variety of pots which may have had different uses connected with the funerary ritual. Some are likely to have been used for preparing or serving food (whether in a funerary banquet, or in a symbolic banquet of the dead in the after-life), but others, especially the Ionian type cup, the oinochoai and the stamnos-krater were probably designed for use in a symposium. As in other parts of South Italy, the precise relationship between grave goods and symposium is not self-evident,[2] but the presence of these vessels shows that the dead man belonged to a social group which was familiar with Greek drinking customs, and probably copied Greek sympotic practices in mixing, pouring, and drinking wine.

The tomb group can be dated broadly by the Ionian type cup, which is by far the commonest Greek type of pot imported into 'indigenous' parts of Apulia. They were produced in large quantities in Metapontum, and probably also in other cities of Magna Graecia, in the 6th century.[3] They were particularly frequent in the

[1] A. Donvito, 'Santo Mola. Un insediamento peuceta inedito in territorio di Gioia', in M. Girardi, ed., *Gioia. Una città nella storia e civiltà di Puglia* vol. III (Fasano, 1992) 23–126, at 74, 88–9 figs. 30–1, Tomb 3/52 no. 1.

[2] Cf. A. Pontrandolfo, 'Simposio e élites sociali nel mondo etrusco e italico', in O. Murray, M. Tecusan, ed., *In Vino Veritas* (London, 1995) 176–195.

[3] E. Macnamara, 'Greek type cups and skyphoi', in AAVV *Metaponto II, NSc* 31, 1977, 321–331, at 325–327 'Cups with a reserved band on the rim and on the handle zone'.

last quarter of the century,[4] and were still occasionally deposited in burials in Apulia well into the first half of the 5th.[5]

The stamnos-krater seems likely to be a 'native' adaptation of the earliest form of Attic stamnos, with vertical handles, listed by Philippaki.[6] Several other pots of this type have been found associated with imported Greek pots which help to establish the date range of the type in the late 6th and early 5th centuries (See Appendix). As the list of sites shows, stamnos-kraters were distributed within a narrow band extending southwards across the limestone plateau of the Murge for about 40 km from Bari to Santo Mola (Fig. 1). This area was inhabited in the Late Iron Age by the Peucetian people who were involved in a prolonged struggle with the Tarentines which lasted for much of the 5th century.[7]

The shape and banded decoration leave no doubt that this is a local piece made and painted by an 'indigenous' Italic artisan (or artisans if the painter was different from the potter). But whereas other examples of the shape are decorated with a simple pattern of bands, our stamnos krater from Santo Mola has been painted on the neck on both sides with the figure of a deer in silhouette style. The more conspicuous image, on the side which I shall call the obverse (Fig. 3), is represented with reserved details, and is surmounted by an inscription in Greek. A detail of this side of the pot showing the inscription and motif was published by *Scarfì* in 1961,[8] and republished by Donvito in 1992, together with a photograph showing the whole of the obverse side;[9] but the reverse has not hitherto been published, and to the best of my knowledge there has been no scholarly assessment of the significance of the piece.

[4] E.g. at Palinuro: R. Naumann, B. Neutsch. *Palinuro, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen II Nekropole* (Heidelberg, 1960) 106–109.

[5] E.g. E. Bracco, 'Matera—Rinvenimento di un sepolcreto di età greca nel Sasso Caveoso', *NSc* (1936) 84–88, at 87 figs. 56, and 89.

[6] B. Philippaki, *The Attic stamnos* (Oxford, 1967) 1.

[7] The precise dates are controversial. Cf. P. Wuilleumier, *Tarente des origines à la conquête romaine* (Paris, 1939) 51–66; L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece. A study of the origin of the Greek alphabet and its development from the eighth to the fifth centuries B.C.* Revised edition with a supplement by A.W. Johnston (Oxford, 1990) 281–282; G. Nenci, 'Il βάρβαρος πόλεμος fra Taranto e gli Iapigi e gli ἀναθήματα Tarentini a Delfi'. *ASNP* 6.3–4 (1976) 719–738.

[8] B.M. Scarfì, 'Gioia del Colle.—Scavi nella zona di Monte Sannace. Le tombe rinvenute nel 1957', *Monumenti Antichi* 45 (1961) cols. 145–332, at col. 325 and fig. 146 col. 324.

[9] Donvito, *Gioia* III, 74 and 88 fig. 30.

Animal motifs had been a fairly common feature of some classes of hand-made Peucetian pottery in the 6th century B.C., when 'native' potters began to adapt motifs from Late Corinthian vases, but our pot belongs to a more evolved phase when the pottery was turned and decorated on a rotating wheel. Most pots were painted with simple bands in a semi-glossy dark brown slip; but a small proportion were decorated more ambitiously with animal and vegetable motifs. These were no doubt inspired by Greek figured pottery, but they are painted in a vigorous but naif style that owes more to the artist's own imagination than to any Greek originals. This class of pottery has been little studied, and the best work on it is still Mayer's, published in 1914.[10]

The class consists of only a few dozen pots of various shapes—kraters, bowls, kalathoi, kantharoi, skyphoi, thymiateria. Human and animal figures are depicted in simplified form in a silhouette technique with reserved details. Several show battle or hunting scenes. Deer are a specially favourite subject.

Mayer gives a brief list of deer images in *Apulien*, 285, including several pieces lost or in unpublished private collections of the beginning of last century. A few new pieces have come to light since then in Peucetia. Gervasio published a trefoil oinochoe from Valenzano showing deer and (?) cattle grazing.[11] A biconical urn from Botromagno near Gravina recently published shows a stag pierced by a javelin in the handle zone on one side, and on the other, a hind suckling a fawn. A stylized shrub separates the wounded stag from a female figure, perhaps Artemis or her equivalent.[12]

The two deer on our stamnos-krater from Santo Mola are both shown in flight, running towards the same handle. The deer on the obverse is running at full speed with its forelegs fully extended, its head facing forwards and its antlers thrust back (Fig. 3). Its tail shows

---

[10] M. Mayer, *Apulien vor und während der Hellenisirung mit besonderer Berucksichtigung der Keramik* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1914) 277–292, 'Einheimische Figurenmalerei ohne schwarzen Firniss'. P. Orlandini, 'Aspetti dell'arte indigena in Magna Grecia', *Atti del 11° Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia—Taranto 1972*, 273–308 is also useful.

[11] M. Gervasio, *Bronzi arcaici e ceramica geometrica del Museo di Bari* (Bari, 1921) pl. IX.5.

[12] E. Herring, R.D. Whitehouse and J.B. Wilkins, 'Wealth, wine and war: some Gravina tombs of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C.' in D. Ridgway, F.R. Serra Ridgway, M. Pearce, E. Herring, R.D. Whitehouse, J.B. Wilkins, ed., *Ancient Italy in its Mediterranean Setting. Studies in honour of Ellen Macnamara* (London, 2000) 235–256, esp. 244–247 and figs. 9a–c.

that it is a red deer rather than a roe deer, though it is unnaturally long. Its antlers indicate that it is a stag, and the second points suggest that it is a two-year old, though the dots on its hide seem likely to represent the dappled pelt of a calf still in its first year. Presumably the artist wanted to show a young male stag in full flight, without being concerned about zoological accuracy.

The deer on the reverse is also running, but less strenuously, for its forelegs are less extended, and its head is turned backwards. It must be younger than the young stag on the obverse, for it has no antlers, and with its short erect tail and slender proportions it resembles the calf shown sucking the hind's teat on the vase from Gravina recently published by Herring and Whitehouse. It is therefore a juvenile, less than a year old.

Above the young stag on the obverse is the inscription i.e γνῶθι (*gnothi: know*) written retrograde in the Greek alphabet. The letter-forms are a little puzzling. One might have expected them to have been derived from nearby Tarentum, but that cannot be the case since our pot can hardly be dated later than ca. 450 B.C., and the dotted theta is not attested in Tarentine lettering (or in Laconian on which Tarentine is based) before the middle of the 5th century.[13] The dotted theta, right angled *gamma* and *nu* with bars of almost equal length are characteristically Ionic, but in Ionic the O would have been rendered as *omega*. The most likely antecedents (if there was only one source) are Euboean after the introduction of the right-angled gamma at the beginning of the 5th century,[14] or just possibly Attic of the period ca. 480–460, when some Attic potters were experimenting with Ionic letters.

To the best of my knowledge, the word *gnothi* does not occur in Greek painted pottery, so the potter or his patron was probably doing something new in inscribing it on this pot. *Gnothi* is the imperative from *gignoskein*, one of a number of words meaning 'to know'. It can mean both *connaître* and *savoir*; but in the literature of the late archaic period it usually has a much more specific meaning of 'understand' of 'perceive' where a moral interpretation is involved. The most famous instance is the proverbial maxim γνῶθι σαυτόν (*gnothi sauton: know thyself*) attributed to the Seven Sages, which was inscribed

[13] Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, 281.
[14] Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, 79; M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* I (Rome, 1967) 217.

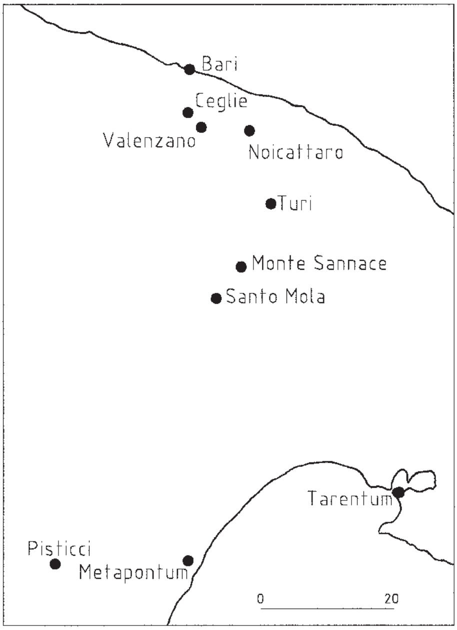


Fig. 1: Map of South-East Italy

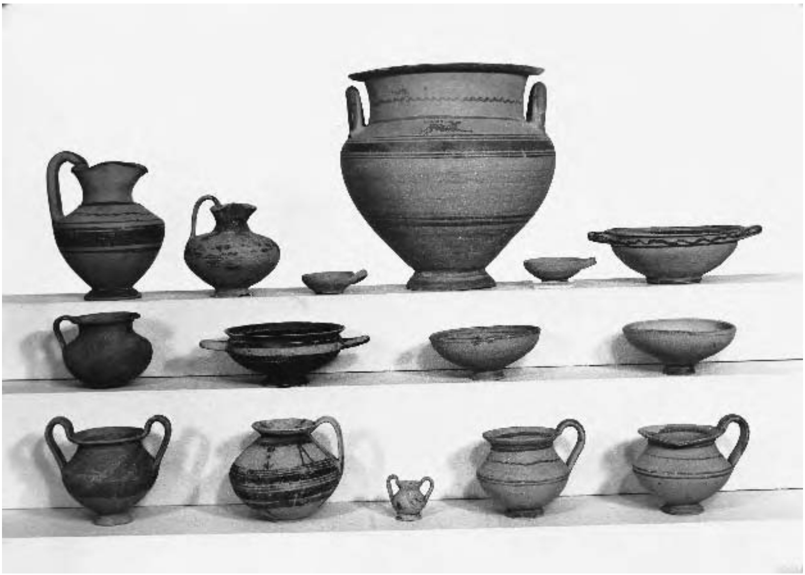


Fig. 2: Santo Mola, Tomb 3, 1952. Negative 42792. inv. 61285, 61292, 61799, 61805 (Courtesy of Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Gioia del Colle).

Fig. 3: The stamnos-krater from Santo Mola, tomb 3, 1952, obverse. Negative 42793, inv. 61285 (Courtesy of Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Gioia del Colle).

Fig. 4: The stamnos-krater from Santo Mola, tomb 3, 1952, reverse. Negative 42794, inv. 61285 (Courtesy of Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Gioia del Colle).

in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, probably on one of the columns of the pronaos along with μηδὲν ἄγαν (*meden agan: nothing in excess*).[15] The same concept is developed several times by Pindar, especially in his Third Pythian ode, composed round about the same time as our pot was made (lines 59–60): 'It is necessary to seek what is proper from the gods with our mortal minds, by knowing (*gnonta*—the participle of *gignosko*) what lies at our feet and what kind of destiny is ours'—for knowing oneself involves knowing one's proper place in relation to the gods, and avoiding *hubris*. *Gnothi* therefore suggests that the pot is exhorting the reader to understand an implied moral *dictum*.

But the reader is also a participant in the symposium, for which various lyric and elegiac poets adapted the theme of moral perception, using the same verb (*gignosko*) or its cognate noun *gnome*. It is a particularly common theme in the verses ascribed to Theognis, the obscure oligarchic poet who lived at Megara some time in the 6th century B.C. and who is said to have composed a collection of *gnomai* known in antiquity as the *Gnomology*, consisting of maxims written in elegiac couplets for recitation at a symposium. In fact, the *Gnomology* contains poems by other hands as well, some of which are certainly much later though they share the same oligarchic outlook.[16]

Many of the verses are addressed to a beloved boy or youth called Kyrnos, who is indoctrinated in the moral code of Theognis' circle of companions *hetairoi*.[17] There are false *hetairoi*, but the real ones are the good, the *agathoi*, who are contrasted to the wicked, the *kakoi*, who corrupt the *demos* for their own ends, and try to set up tyrannies. (I.43–52). The good come of good stock, like thoroughbred rams and asses and horses (I.183); and Theognis despises good men who marry bad daughters of bad fathers for the sake of their dowries (I.184–186).

Such concepts were common among oligarchic societies, especially in the archaic period when the *demos* began to find political cohesion and supported new leaders—would-be tyrants—who threatened to break the power of the ruling families in many Greek city states.

[15] Donvito (*Gioia* III, p. 61) claims that *gnothi* on our pot alludes directly to the Delphic maxim but it is difficult to see how the maxim could relate to the image of the deer to which the inscription obviously applies.

[16] For the problems of the composition of the corpus, see e.g. J. Carrière, *Théognis de Mégare. Étude sur le recueil élégiaque attribué à ce poète* (Paris, 1948).

[17] D. Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical World* (Cambridge, 1997) 49–52.

Tyrants too had their *hetairoi*, who were bonded by drinking rituals, and expressed their group solidarity in similar terms—as we can see in the Athenian drinking songs (*skolia*) preserved by Athenaeus (*Deipnosophists* 15.14–22), some of which seem to originate in Peisistratid circles.[18] In one of these (no. 14) the singer exhorts his companion to love the good men (*tous agathous*) and to keep away from the cowardly—the *deiloi*—knowing (*gnous*) that cowards show little gratitude (*charis*). In another (no. 20) the *hetairos* is warned that a scorpion lurks under every stone. 'Take care that he does not sting you: for every kind of treachery attends the unseen'.

Animal metaphors such as this were typical of gnomic expressions, and were common in early Greek poetry. The meanings were generally obvious: a lion represented a violent spirit;[19] a fox was a natural symbol for cunning;[20] and so forth. Homeric epic is full of similes in which animals symbolize moral qualities.

In early Greek poetry the deer is a symbol of weakness and cowardice. In the *Iliad* (1.225) Achilles taunts Agamemnon with having the eyes of a dog (greed) and heart of a deer (cowardice); the Trojans flee from the Greeks like fawns (22.1–3); and Hector behaves like a fawn when attacked by Achilles (22.189). Poseidon rallies the Greeks against the Trojans who are advancing on the Greek ships, although in time past 'they seemed to be like fleeing deer who are the prey of jackals and leopards and wolves, and flee away in cowardice with no spirit for fighting' (23.98–104). Archilochus is said to have called someone *prox* (normally roe deer) because of his cowardice.[21]

In one passage in the corpus of Theognis (I.53–68), the deer is a symbol of the common people, the *laoi*: 'Kyrnos' (the poet says sarcastically to his young love), 'this city is still a city, but its people (*laoi*) are different: those who previously did not know justice or laws, but wore goat skins around their flanks, and grazed like deer outside this city, they are now the good (*agathoi*)'. They deceive and mock each other not knowing the moral precepts (*gnomai*) of either the wicked or the good. Those who used to be noble/brave (*esthloi*) have become cowardly (*deiloi*).

---

[18] C.M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford, 1935) 404–413.

[19] E.g. in Tyrtaeus frag. 13 in *Elegy and Iambus* (ed. and trans. J.M. Edmonds), Loeb Classical Library (1931) 60–63.

[20] Used e.g. by Solon of Peisistratus: Diod. 9.20.3.

[21] *Greek Iambic Poetry*, ed. and trans. D.E. Gerber, Loeb Classical Library (1999) 262–263, frag. 280, from Eustathius on Homer *Iliad* 8.248: Eustathius cited Aristophanes

I suggest that these poetic images provide the key to interpreting the 'message' of our pot from Santo Mola. The image of the young fleeing stag coupled with the inscription *gnothi* exhorts the symposiast to recognize the cowardly who are the enemies of his oligarchic *hetaireia*. The pot is in effect the visual counterpart of these verses of Theognis.

But what then can we make of the young fawn on the other side of the pot? Again the poems ascribed to Theognis provide a clue, for their moral and political instruction is frequently addressed to youths, represented by Kyrnos, who are warned to recognize and avoid corrupt *hetairoi*. 'Let no one persuade you to love an evil man, Kyrnos: for what benefit is there in having a cowardly (*deilos*) man as a friend. He would not rescue you from hardship and destruction, nor would he be willing to share anything with you if he were to prosper' (I.161–104). The fawn, like Kyrnos, is in danger of being destroyed if the *hetairos* represented by the young stag behaves in a cowardly manner.

The age difference between the two deer is significant, for in the context of the *hetaireia*, the young stag represents the *erastes* (lover) and the fawn his *eromenos* (beloved). The *erastes* in ancient Greece was often a young adult in his twenties,[22] and the *eromenos* was normally a still beardless adolescent, who was frequently referred to as a boy (*pais*).[23]

The message of the pot, then, is that the *hetairos* must recognize and avoid cowardly behaviour which will corrupt his beloved; and its cultural context is familiar from the Greek world: the society of *hetairoi* who are bound together by the rituals of the symposium, and who aim to defend their traditional prerogatives in a time of social and political upheaval (*stasis*).[24]

The abstract noun cognate with the verb *gignoskein* is *gnome*, the faculty of moral perception. Man has nothing better than this, says Theognis in another couplet addressed to Kyrnos (I.895–896). The

---

of Byzantium who claimed that Archilochus used the word *prox* of red rather than roe deer: W.J. Slater, *Aristophanis Byzantii Fragmenta* (Berlin and New York, 1986) frag. 186.

[22] F. Buffière, *La pédérastie dans la Grèce antique* (Paris, 1980) 21.

[23] K.J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London, 1978) 85–86; Buffière, *Pédérastie* 1980, 605–607.

[24] O. Murray, 'Sympotic History', in O. Murray, ed., *Sympotica. A Symposium on the Symposium* (Oxford, 1990) 3–13.

concept is reminiscent of a passage of wisdom attributed to Pythagoras by Iamblichus (*De vita pythagorica* 18.82): 'What is the wisest thing we have? medicine; what is the most beautiful? harmony; what is the most powerful (*kratiston*)? moral perception (γνῶμη: *gnome*); what is the best? happiness. What is the truest thing said? that men are evil.' It is impossible to sort out in detail how much of the teaching ascribed to Pythagoras by later writers goes back to the philosopher himself; but the passage with its formula 'what is the . . . (epithet in the superlative)' has the features of traditional *akousmata* which imply an oral tradition of long standing;[25] and many of the moral precepts of Pythagoreanism—such as the avoidance of excess in general and moderation in drinking in particular, evoke the moral world of the Delphic oracle and have counterparts in the *gnomai* of Theognis.[26]

Pythagoras brings us much closer to Santo Mola where our pot was found, for the philosopher-statesman emigrated from Samos to Croton ca. 531 B.C., and withdrew to Metapontum twenty years later (according to Justin 20.4.17) when he was driven out by the Crotoniates. In both cities he created a society (*hetaireia, sunedrion*) of oligarchic companions bonded together by mystic practices, who succeeded in seizing political power and held it until they were driven out (and many of them killed) in a democratic reaction shortly before the middle of the 5th century.[27] His *hetairoi* included native Italic individuals as well as Greeks. Aristoxenos, a peripatetic philosopher who was born in Tarentum ca. 375–360 B.C., said that Lucanians, Messapians, Peucetians and Romans came to Croton to hear him, and that he succeeded in removing *stasis* from among the élite (*gnorimoi*).[28] The passage may be anachronistic in that the Lucanians only emerged as an identifiable people around the middle of the 5th

[25] W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge Mass., 1972) 166–92.

[26] Moderation (συμμετρία) in drink and food: Diog. Laert. *Pythagoras* 6, 9. Diogenes Laertius drew on Aristoxenos, and cites him as his authority for saying that Pythagoras got most of his moral doctrines from the Delphic priestess Themistoclea (*Pythagoras* 8).

[27] Polyb. II.39.1–2; F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, vol. I (Oxford, 1957) 222–224. Polybius sees the Pythagoreans as controlling all the cities of Magna Graecia. For the anti-democratic character of the Pythagorean oligarchies, see S. Berger, *Revolution and Society in Greek Sicily and Southern Italy* (Stuttgart, 1992) 19–21; K. Von Fritz, PW S IX, cols. 461–462 s.v. Ninon.

[28] Porphyry *vit pyth.* 21, citing Aristoxenos; cf. Diog. Laert. *Pythagoras* 14; Iamblichus *vit. pyth.* 241). See A. Mele, 'Il Pitagorismo e le popolazioni anelleniche d'Italia', *AION* 2 (1981) 61–96.

century, a generation or two after Pythagoras' death (alternatively it is the earliest evidence for them), but the idea that education (*paideia*) rather than ethnic origin was what distinguished Greeks from barbarians has a long tradition in Greek philosophy, and perhaps goes back to Pythagoras himself. Certainly the Pythagorean societies must have admitted non-Greeks from an early stage, because Aresas who became head of the school at Croton at some time in the second half of the 5th century was a Lucanian (Iamblichus *De vita pythagorica* 265–6). According to Porphyry (*De vita pythagorica* 19), the followers of Pythagoras included βασιλεῖς and δυνάσται (kings and dynasts) who came to him at Croton from the surrounding territory. The similarity of the theme suggests that Porphyry derived this information too from Aristoxenos.

The Peucetians mentioned by Aristoxenos inhabited the central part of Apulia, including the area of Santo Mola where our inscribed pot comes from. Clearly we cannot say with certainty that the pot was made for use by a group of Pythagorean *hetairoi*, but that possibility deserves serious consideration, for the time frame of the pot fits neatly into the period of maximum activity of Pythagorean *hetaireiai* in South Italy. Moreover, a Pythagorean context would help to explain the modest nature of the burial, for, as we have seen, the Pythagoreans, in conformity with the maxim of the Delphic oracle, aimed at avoiding excess. Excess would incur the jealousy of the gods: according to Iamblichus (*De vita pythagorica* 122–123) the Pythagoreans censured the Crotoniates for their excessive display at funerals on the grounds that mourners who indulged in expensive funerary rituals would stimulate the greed of Pluto and would suffer an early death.

Pythagorean or not, the message of our pot shows that the Greek and native élites in South Italy shared some common values and social customs. It is probable that both were threatened by the common people (the *laoi* or *demos*). The democratic uprising which ended the Pythagorean supremacy in South Italy was only one manifestation of much more widespread *stasis*. In South Italy and Sicily the discontent of the *demos* was frequently exploited by would-be tyrants. But *stasis* was not confined to the Greek city states, for the indigenous Italic peoples were also developing new political and social structures which challenged old tribal or kinship allegiances.[29] This

[29] For a recent discussion of groups and individuals who crossed ethnic barriers

is best documented in the case of Rome, where the end of the monarchy was followed by the conflict of the orders in the 5th century, but there are signs of *stasis* also in the Etruscan cities,[30] and we need not doubt that it took place in many other Italic communities.[31] Passing references in Livy make it clear that some were still torn by the conflict between oligarchic and democratic factions (described as senate and plebs) at the time of the Hannibalic war.[32]

Whereas Book I of Theognis contains many verses on the theme of moral recognition, Book II consists mainly of erotic *skolia* addressed to a boy (*pais*), and in one case to Kyrnos (line 1354). Most of these verses turn on the themes of lover's pleas and jealousy, and of seduction veiled by metaphor. The themes of the two books combine, for homosexual *eros* was an aspect of oligarchic group behaviour that had the effect of bonding teen age boys into the *hetaireia*, and it was a means of inculcating its moral and political values.[33] But although the love of the *hetairos* for his *pais* might be idealized in the symposium, it invited ridicule and abuse from the enemies of the *hetaireiai*. It is perhaps for this reason that several of the verses ascribed to Theognis warn boys about slander: 'If someone praises you for as long as he sees you, and speaks evil of you when he has been forsaken, such a *hetairos* is not a good friend' (I.93–95). *Katapugon*, a derogatory word for a sexual partner who is penetrated anally, occurs frequently as a term of abuse in Attic comedy and is attested in numerous graffiti from the Athenian agora (see below). It is used most often used of a partner in a homosexual relationship.

A number of ostraca inscribed with the word *katapugon* have been found in native Italic contexts. Javier de Hoz refers to several found at Fratte del Salerno elsewhere in this volume (below, pp. 409–426).

---

and state boundaries in archaic Italy, see K. Lomas, 'The Polis in Italy: Ethnicity, Colonization, and Citizenship in the Western Mediterranean', in R. Brock, S. Hodkinson, ed., *Alternatives to Athens. Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece* (Oxford, 2000) 167–387.

30 M. Torelli, 'Tre studi di storia etrusca', *Dd'A* 8 (1974–1975) 3–78.

31 See the introductory remarks by F.-H. Massa-Pairault in *Crise et transformations des sociétés archaïques de l'Italie antique au Ve siècle av. J.C.* (Rome, 1990) 1–5.

32 Notably Capua: Livy 23.2; M.W. Frederiksen, *Campania*, ed. N. Purcell (London, 1984); G.E.M. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (London, 1981), 518–22. For *stasis* in Sicel communities, see Berger, *Revolution and Society*, 76–77.

33 J.N. Bremmer, 'Adolescents, Symposium, and Pederasty', in *Sympotica. A Symposium on the Symposium*, 135–148.

Another, from Pisticci, an Iron Age hill site situated above the right bank of the Bradano (Fig. 1) has recently been published with a full discussion by Mario Lombardo.[34] The graffito, which is written retrograde in the archaic Archaean script used at Metapontum, reads . . .]ς καταπυγ[. . The ostrakon on which it was scratched is a fragment of a large storage jar in plain ware, and was found near the top of a shallow pit which was apparently filled in around the end of the 6th century B.C.[35]

The settlement of Pisticci from which the graffito comes is not well known, because it lies under the mediaeval and modern town; but there is no doubt that it was a hill site sharing in the indigenous Iron Age culture of the Basentello valley, and receiving some pottery and no doubt other goods from Metapontum 20 km further down the valley. In the late archaic period the area was most probably inhabited by Oenotrians, who had not yet been supplanted by the Lucanians. The graffito therefore belongs to an indigenous culture, and as in the case of the pot inscribed *gnothi* from Santo Mola, we must assume that a Greek word is used to allude to a cultural trait that was characteristically Greek.

Whoever wrote *katapugon* on the ostrakon was following a long-established practice, for the word is commonly found in graffiti in Athens and elsewhere beginning in the late eighth century B.C.[36] Lombardo (following Milne and von Bothmer) lists fourteen examples other than this. Dover has shown that by Aristophanes' time the word was frequently used in an imprecise sense, especially in comedy, as a generalized insult, and he suggests that the graffito inscribed on ostraka may mean no more than 'so and so is a louse'.[37] That may be the case with the ostrakon from Pisticci, but clearly the force of the insult derives from the primary meaning of the word, and the graffito implies that Greek homosexual practices were a well known (though not necessarily common) phenomenon at Pisticci in the late archaic period.

---

[34] M. Lombardo, 'Nuovi documenti di Pisticci in età arcaica. II. Il graffito', *PP* 40 (1985) 294–307.

[35] M. Tagliente, 'Nuovi documenti di Pisticci in età arcaica. I. Lo scavo', *PP* 40 (1985) 284–294.

[36] C.W. Blegen, 'Inscriptions on geometric pottery from Hymettus', *AJA* 38, (1934) 10–28.

[37] Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, 113.

Homosexual *eros* and the symposium were mechanisms of bonding for the aristocratic élite which might have political implications. The most famous instance is the love affair of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, the tyrant-slayers at Athens who were celebrated in several Athenian *skolia* (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* 15.695, nos. 10–13). But as Lombardo has pointed out, a similar event is said to have taken place at Metapontum where a tyrant was murdered by his rival in a love affair. To quote from Plutarch's *Dialogue on Love* (*Moralia* 760 c, Loeb translation) 'You know the tales of Aristogeiton of Athens and Antileon of Metapontum and Melanippus of Agrigentum: they had at first no quarrel with their tyrants though they saw that these were acting like drunkards and disfiguring the state; but when the tyrants tried to seduce their beloveds, they spared not even their own lives in defending their loves' holy, as it were, and inviolate shrine.' Aristotle (*Eudemian Ethics* 3.1229a) also knew of this episode and believed that it took place at Metapontum: 'If a man is in love he is more daring than cowardly, like the man who murdered the tyrant of Metapontum'. But Parthenius, in the 1st century B.C., attached it to Heraclea and supplied other names: the tyrant Archelaus, and the beloved Hipparinus (*Erotika Pathemata* 7). Lombardo has argued that the episode must have happened at Metapontum, most probably in the late archaic period, that is to say, at the time of the *katapugon* graffito from Pisticci, 20 km further up the Bradano valley.

Lombardo has also argued that the ostrakon indicates that there must have been a Greek community living at Pisticci in the late archaic period. Adamesteanu had already suggested that Pisticci, together with Cozzo Presepe and Pomarico Vecchio was a frontier fort of Metapontum guarding the system of land allotments set up in the territory—*chora*—of the city in the 6th century B.C.[38] Lombardo accepts this view, and takes the argument a step further, suggesting that the ostrakon supports the idea that the garrison consisted of ephebes, i.e. youths aged 15–17 or so, who were commonly used in the Greek world to man garrisons in their first years of military service.

That is possible; but as we have seen, the pot from Santo Mola shows that native aristocrats shared the symposiac practices of the Greek élite. The burials of the late archaic period at Pisticci were

---

[38] D. Adamesteanu, *La Basilicata antica* (Cava dei Tirreni, Di Mauro, 1974) 144.

still of 'native' type in spite of a large number of Greek imports among the grave goods,[39] and there can be no doubt that the settlement remained firmly indigenous. The simplest explanation of the graffito on the ostrakon is that the élite inhabitants of Pisticci, like those of Santo Mola, had absorbed the practices of the Greek symposium, and that homosexuality had the same ambiguous status in Pisticci as it did in the Athens of Aristophanes.

The recorded history of the Greek colonies in South Italy is largely concerned with war, both between the Greek cities, and between the Greeks and natives; and this gives us the impression that Greek and native cultural identities were clearly defined, and polarized. The evidence discussed here suggests a more complex picture. Already by the end of the 6th century, there was a good deal of cultural interaction between Greek and 'native' aristocratic élites, who probably shared a concern to protect their traditional privileges, and who may have had more in common with each other than with the common people of their communities. The Greek/barbarian dichotomy might be useful for political propaganda,[40] but in practice there must have been a good deal of more peaceful communication between the cities of Magna Graecia and their neighbours.

The Italic élite of south east Italy in the early 5th century lived at the intersection of two cultures. The numerous Attic black and red figure vases of high quality that they imported into Monte Sannace and other Peucetian sites demonstrate the importance they attached to the consumption of wine, and to overt symbols of hellenization.[41] But the pots discussed in this paper give a more ambiguous message. In adapting traditional vase forms for use in the symposium, and inscribing them with Greek words, the native élite retained symbols of their Italic origins while at the same time they emphasised their understanding of Greek culture and their social superiority.

---

[39] F.G. Lo Porto 'Civiltà indigena e penetrazione greca nella Lucania orientale', *Monumenti Antichi* 48 (1973) 154–181.

[40] Nenci, 'Il βάρβαρος πόλεμος', 719–738.

[41] E.g. the Attic black and red figure vases in the Museum at Gioia dell Colle: *CVA Gioia del Colle* I, ed. A. Ciancio, (Rome, 1995). For the significance of Greek imports in Messapia see G. Semiraro, *ἐν νησυσί Ceramica e società nel Salento arcaico* (Lecce and Bari, 1997) 350–55.

Acknowledgments

I am very grateful to Angela Ciancio, Direttore Archeologo of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Gioia del Colle for providing the photographs of the stamnos-krater and its associated tomb group; also to Ruth Whitehouse and Edward Herring who gave me photographs of the deer on the biconical pot from Gravina ahead of publication. At an early stage in writing this paper I benefitted greatly from discussion of some of the themes with Jasper Griffin and Gordon Howie. I wish specially to thank David Konstan who read the penultimate draft and made several suggestions for improving it. I remain responsible for the main drift of the argument, and for any errors that it may contain.

Appendix: Peucetian stamnos-kraters in datable contexts

1. Noicattaro, Tomb 1.6: with two Ionian type cups and five 'indigenous' pots (two fragmentary): A. Ciancio, 'Tombe arcaico-classiche nei territori di Noicattaro e di Valenzano—Bari (Scavi 1978–1981)', *Taras* 5 (1985) 45–107, at pp. 49–51 and pl. XX. Ciancio (98–102, 104) dates the tomb group to the second quarter of the 6th century on the evidence of one of the cups, with a lustrous black glaze, which she identifies as probably an Attic ST cup of the type of *Agora* XII p. 88, pl. 18, n. 4. In that case it was presumably an 'heirloom' because such a high date puts the stamnos out of close relationship with the other pots in this group.
2. Turi, Tomb 5/1978, with two Ionian type cups, nine 'indigenous' pots, several bronze items and (?) beads: E.M. De Juliis, *La ceramica geometrica della Peucezia*, Rome, Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale, 1995, 67 and pl. LXVIII.B.
3. Turi, Tomb 1, proprietà Lanera, with an Attic late black figure cup-skyphos of the circle of the Lancut Group broadly datable in the second quarter of the 5th century B.C.: De Juliis, *Ceramica geometrica della Peucezia*, 92 and pl. LXXV. Cf. B.B. Shefton, 'The Lancut Group. Silhouette technique and coral red. Some Attic Vth century export material in pan-mediterranean sight', in *Céramique et peinture grècques. Modes d'emploi*, 463–477, Rencontres de l'École du Louvre, 1999.

4. Ceglie del Campo (= Ceglie Peuceta) Tomb F XXIII, with an Attic black glazed kylix and an Italiote (?) black-glazed stemmed dish which together suggest a date for the tomb group not later than ca. 460 B.C.: R. Moreno Cassano, 'Scavi del 1930–1931', in M. Miroslav Marin et al. *Ceglie Peuceta* I, Bari, Edizioni Dedalo, 1982, 162–164 and pl. XXV.
5. Bari, S. Scolastica Tomba IV, with several Italiote black-glazed pots (a trefoil oinochoe, a skyphos, and three olpai) datable around the middle of the 5th century B.C.: G. Andreassi, F. Radina, ed., *Archeologia di una città. Bari dalle origini al X secolo*, Bari, Edipuglia, 1988, 202–204 and fig. 230 (by Arcangelo Fornaro).
6. Bari, Via Giovanni Amendola Tomb 8, with an Italiote black-glazed olpe of similar date: Andreassi and Radina *Archeologia di una città*, 273–274 and fig. 355.
7. Monte Sannace Tomb 5.14. This pot was found in fragments outside the sarcophagus (which contained some traces of an infant burial), in a cache which included an assortment of black-glazed and 'indigenous' wheel-made pots: B.M. Scarfì, 'Gioia del Colle.—Scavi nella zona di Monte Sannace. Le tombe rinvenute nel 1957', *Monumenti Antichi* 45 (1961) cols. 145–332, at cols. 246–256. The excavator dated both the main burial and the cache not earlier than the middle of the 4th century on the evidence of a guttus found in the sarcophagus; but some of the black-glazed pots in the cache (notably a skyphos, olpe, and squat lekythos) are certainly earlier, and it seems probable that they and the stamnos-krater derive from a 5th century burial disturbed when the sarcophagus was interred.

Bibliography

Adamesteanu, D. *La Basilicata antica*. Cava dei Tirreni: Di Mauro, 1974

Andreassi, G., Radina, F., ed., *Archeologia di una città. Bari dalle origini al X secolo*. Bari: Edipuglia, 1988

Berger, S. *Revolution and Society in Greek Sicily and Southern Italy* (Historia Einzelschriften, 71). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1992

Bremmer, J.N. 'Adolescents, Symposium, and Pederasty', in O. Murray, ed., *Sympotica. A Symposium on the Symposium*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, 135–148

Buffière, F. *La pédérastie dans la Grèce antique*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1980

Burkert, W. *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972

De Juliis, E.M. *La ceramica geometrica della Peucezia*. Rome: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale, 1995

Donvito, A. 'Santo Mola. Un insediamento peuceta inedito in territorio di Gioia', in M. Girardi, ed., *Gioia. Una città nella storia e civiltà di Puglia. III*. Fasano: Schena, 1992, 23–126

Dover, K.J. *Greek Homosexuality*. London: Duckworth, 1978

Gervasio, M. *Bronzi arcaici e ceramica geometrica del Museo di Bari* (Documenti e monografie della Società di storia patria per la Puglia 16). Bari, 1921

Herring, E., Whitehouse, R.D., Wilkins, J.B. 'Wealth, wine and war: some Gravina tombs of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C.', in D. Ridgway, F.R. Serra Ridgway, M. Pearce, E. Herring, R.D. Whitehouse, J.B. Wilkins, ed., *Ancient Italy in its Mediterranean Setting. Studies in honour of Ellen Macnamara*. London: Accordia Research Institute, 2000, 235–256

Jeffery, L.H. *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece. A study of the origin of the Greek alphabet and its development from the eighth to the fifth centuries B.C.* (Revised with supplement by A.W. Johnston). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990

Konstan, D. *Friendship in the Classical World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997

Lomas, K. 'The Polis in Italy: Ethnicity, Colonization, and Citizenship in the Western Mediterranean.' in R. Brock, S. Hodkinson, ed., *Alternatives to Athens. Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 167–387

Lombardo, M. 'Nuovi documenti di Pisticci in età arcaica. II. Il graffito', *Parola del Passato* 40 (1985) 294–307

Lo Porto F.G. 'Civiltà indigena e penetrazione greca nella Lucania orientale', *Monumenti Antichi* 48 (1973)

Mele, A. 'Il Pitagorismo e le popolazioni anelleniche d'Italia', *Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica* (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli) 2 (1981) 61–96

Massa-Pairault, F.-H. *et al.*, *Crise et transformations des sociétés archaïques de l'Italie antique au V*^{e} *siècle av. J.C.* Rome: École Française de Rome, 1990

Mayer, M. *Apulien vor und während der Hellenisirung mit besonderer Berucksichtigung der Keramik*. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1914

Murray, O. 'Sympotic History', in O. Murray, ed., *Sympotica. A Symposium on the Symposium*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, 3–13

Nenci, G. 'Il βάρβαρος πόλεμος fra Taranto e gli Iapigi e gli ἀναθήματα tarentini a Delfi', *Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa* 6.3–4 (1976) 719–738

Orlandini, P. 'Aspetti dell'arte indigena in Magna Grecia', *Atti del 11*^{o} *Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia*. Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1971, 273–308

Pontrandolfo, A. 'Simposio e élites sociali nel mondo etrusco e Italico,' in O. Murray, ed., *In Vino Veritas*. London: British School at Rome, 1995, 176–195

Riccardi, A. 'Fase IIb. L'edificio tardoarcaico (2a metà VI–metà IV secolo a.C.)', in A. Ciancio, ed., *Archeologia e territorio. L'area peuceta*. Putignano: Nuovo Servizio, 1989, 132–154

Scarfi, B.M. 'Gioia del Colle.—Scavi nella zona di Monte Sannace. Le tombe rinvenute nel 1957', *Monumenti Antichi* 45 (1961) cols. 145–332

Semiraro, G. *ἐν νησυσί. Ceramica e società nel Salento arcaico*. Lecce, Martano, and Bari: Edipuglia, 1997

Tagliente, M. 'Nuovi documenti di Pisticci in età arcaica. I. Lo scavo', *Parola del Passato* 40 (1985) 284–294

Wuilleumier, P. *Tarente des origines à la conquête romaine*. Paris: de Boccard, 1968. (Reprint of 1939 edition)

This page intentionally left blank

HECATAEUS' KNOWLEDGE OF THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

Thomas Braun
Merton College, Oxford

The Author

'Much learning does not teach sense, or it would have taught Hesiod, Pythagoras, Xenophanes and Hecataeus'. With this dictum, the lone genius, Heraclitus of Ephesus (12 B 40 Diels = *FGH* 1 T.21), placed Hecataeus in illustrious company. He was surely targeting Hecataeus' four books of *Genealogies*[1] which followed Hesiod's *Theogony* in connecting the scattered Greek myths in one grand synthesis, and Xenophanes in rationalising them. We have Hecataeus' defiant opening words: 'Hecataeus of Miletus narrates as follows. I write as I think true, for the stories of the Greeks are many and ridiculous in my opinion' (*FGH* 1 F.1). What he made of one of the Labours of Heracles we know from Arrian (*Anab.* 2.16.5 = F.26): 'Gēryonēs, against whom the Argive Heracles was sent by Eurystheus to drive away the cows of Gēryonēs and bring them to Mycenae, had nothing to do with the land of the Iberians according to Hecataeus the logographer, nor was Heracles sent to some island Erytheia outside the Great Sea; but Gēryonēs was king of the mainland around Ambracia and Amphilochia, and it was from that *Epirus* (mainland) that Heracles drove the cows, nor was this a mean achievement.'[2] Others were to follow Hecataeus in arbitrarily reducing, but not eliminating, the improbable features of myth. The ultimate futility of this endeavour can be seen in the revised versions assembled in Plutarch's *Life of Theseus*. Rationalisation dulled the excitement of fable while rendering puerile what remained of the marvellous.

---

[1] *FGH* 1 F1–35. Text now also in R.L. Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography I: Introduction and Text* (Oxford, 2001); commentary to come.

[2] Hecataeus' 'quaver in the voice' reduces Cerberus to realistic proportions but accepts the story of Orestheus' bitch giving birth to a stump, Fowler 'Herodotos and his contemporaries', *JHS* 116 (1996) 71–72 on *FGH* 1 F26, 27, *cf.* 78 on F19.

As a geographer, however, Hecataeus seems to have commanded respect unquestioned until Herodotus, and not eclipsed until after Alexander's conquests. Herodotus portrays him as a warning figure on the strength of his geographical knowledge. He advised the Ionians against their revolt of 499–3, 'cataloguing all the peoples which Darius ruled and his power'; finding the Ionians bent on revolt, he tried and failed to persuade them to acquire mastery of the sea by appropriating the treasures of Apollo's temple at Branchidae which, in the event, fell to the Persians (Hdt 5.36). Then, when defeat was imminent, he pressed successfully against emigration to Sardinia, but in vain for fortification of the island of Leros, and against Aristagoras' scuttle to Myrcinus in Thrace (5.124–5). If these warnings were a later invention, they illustrate Hecataeus' posthumous reputation;[3] but they need not be disbelieved any more than Smuts' warning against the harsh terms of the Treaty of Versailles, and Churchill's against appeasing Hitler. Whether evacuation to Leros would have done anything to prevent the Ionians' impending naval defeat is, moreover, far from clear. That one questionable counsel confirms the historicity of those that were right in retrospect.

Hecataeus, as the designer of a world map, was in direct line from the pioneer scientists of Miletus. 'Anaximander the Milesian, who had heard Thales, was the first to venture to engrave the inhabited world on a *pínax*. After him, Hecataeus the Milesian, a much-travelled man, improved its accuracy wonderfully' (Agathemerus *Geographiae Informatio* I.1 *GGM* II 469 = *FGH* 1 T12a, following Eratosthenes). There can be little doubt that this improved map was the bronze *pínax*, taken by Aristagoras of Miletus to Sparta in 500, 'on which was engraved the circuit (*periodos*) of the whole earth, the whole sea, and all rivers' (Hdt 5.49). Pointing to the *pínax*, evidently a big flat disk, Aristagoras showed King Cleomenes the peoples between the

[3] Stephanie West ('Herodotus' Portrait of Hectaeus', *JHS* 111 (1991) 144–160) argues against the genuineness of the warnings, and more convincingly, that Herodotus' story (2.143) of Hecataeus' discomfiture in Egypt can hardly derive from Hecataeus himself. His time-scale of 16 generations since his own descent from a god stands in piquant contrast to the 349 generations—11,340 years—which his hosts are said to have reckoned, by numbering the statues of successive priests of Ptah, to have elapsed since the beginning of the Egyptian kingdom. But the story stands alone. Neither Herodotus nor anyone else used it to set up a systematic alternative chronology—which is just as well, since we now know that Egypt's First Dynasty did not antedate 3000 B.C.

Ionians and 'this Susa on this River Choaspes', with a sideways glance at 'this sea in which lies the island of Cyprus'. A world map on the Hecataean model underlies the accounts the journeyings of Io in *Prometheus Bound* and Heracles in *Prometheus Freed*, as I hope to show elsewhere. Hecataeus and his followers are meant by 'the Ionians' and 'the Greeks' whom Herodotus criticized for drawing maps of the world circular as if lathe-turned, encompassed by a circumambient Ocean, divided into conventionally named continents separated from each other by great rivers—assigning the east bank of the Nile to Asia and the west bank to 'Libya' (Africa), by which reckoning, Herodotus remonstrates, the Delta should count as a fourth continent—and making Asia equal to Europe (2.15–17, 20–22, 4.36–45). In breaking away from this schematism he did not criticize Hecataeus by name. As Hermogenes of Tarsus (περὶ ἰδεῶν II 12 p. 411,12 Rabe = *FGH* 1 T18) and the *Suda* (*s.v.* Ḥekataios = *FGH* 1 T1) aver, Herodotus owed much to his great predecessor, accepting and improving as well as contradicting his description of Egypt (Diels 1888, Jacoby 1912, 2678–2686).[4] It is a sign of respect that he quoted word for word a passage from Hecataeus about Lemnos (6.137.1–2), and not of disrespect that he copied without acknowledgment Hecataeus' accounts of the crocodile, hippopotamus and phoenix (Hdt 2.70–73, Porphyry *ap.* Euseb. *P.E.* X 3 = *FGH* 1 F 324a).

Such a *pínax* could not, however, have shown much detail, any more than a modern globe, or even the globe of at least ten feet in diameter which Crates of Mallus was to construct in the second century B.C. (Strabo 2.5.10, 116). It was in the two books of his *Periōgēsis Gēs* (Circuit of the Earth) that Hecataeus recorded a multiplicity of place-names. Some 345 surviving fragments are ascribed to this work. The present discussion must take account of a scattering of 76, and encompass the toe of Italy, Sicily, the entire North African coast—Hecataeus' *Libya*—westward from Egypt, and a few places west of Gibraltar. These are meagre gleanings from what must have been a good harvest. While taking care not to go too far beyond the attested fragments, we need not doubt that Hecataeus' gazetteer also included sites whose importance has been shown by archaeology: Euboean Pithecusae and Cumae, for instance, and Phocaean Emporion.

[4] R. Thomas, *Herodotus in Context, Ethnography, Science and the Art of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2000), 75–101.

The fragments derive from a genuine original. From the direct quotations, it is at once evident that Book I, 'Europe', was in the same Ionic dialect and by the same hand as Book II, 'Asia'. Book II included 'Libya'; but the book titles are unlikely to be Hecataeus' own; Libya is not subsumed under Asia in any of the fragments. Book II seems to have reached the Alexandrian Library independently, and was catalogued by Callimachus under the name of one Nēsiōtēs (Athen. II 82, 70 = *FGH* 1 T15a). Eratosthenes, later Head of the Library and the greatest geographer of his age, recognized Hecataeus' authorship of the entire work by reason of its similarity to his other writings, and gave him his due place as geographer after Homer and Anaximander (Strabo I 1.1, 11 = *FGH* 1 T15a, Jacoby *ad loc.*). Unfortunately for the general reader, How and Wells' *Commentary on Herodotus*, still useful and used, summarises (1.24–27) Wells' weak attempt of 1909, in the face of an authoritative article by Diels (1888), to revive the notion that the Alexandrian Library had been sold a forgery. This was refuted politely by Max Otto Bismarck Caspari (1910), later Cary, and with peremptory conclusiveness in Jacoby's article which, with his edition and commentary (*FGH* 1, 1923, revised 1957), has laid the foundation for all future study. The authenticity of the fragments as set out by him shines out. They contain no anachronisms and conform remarkably well to what we know independently about the world of Hecataeus' time.

Transmission through Stephanus of Byzantium

All but two of our 76 fragments, and 295 out of the total of 345, derive from Stephanus of Byzantium, whose geographical lexicon in 50 to 55 books was compiled over a millennium after Hecataeus, between A.D. 528 and 539. Of this lost work, which would have required eleven octavo volumes in print, and could not have been achieved without assistants, we have a concise edition, following several different patterns of summary, but ascribed in the *Suda* to one Hermolaus. How reliable is it? The learned Blackwell's assistant who many years ago sold me Meineke's one-volume edition of 1849[5] did

[5] Soon to be replaced by a critical edition with German translation and notes by Margarethe Billerbeck. Her vol. I is due for publication in 2003, in the *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Series Berolinensis*.

so with the air of Jerome K. Jerome's shopkeeper responding to George's request for 'a good cap'. 'A good cap—no: we don't keep them. But wait a minute, I have a cap here. It is not a good cap, but it is not so bad as most of the caps I sell.' Stephanus was a grammarian, interested in the forms, not the history, of the place-names to be found in Greek literature. He only cites Hecataeus for *Nárbōn* because of the unusual ethnic derivative *Narbaîoi*. Stephanus' concern for *ethniká* resembles that of the French-speaking élite of Tambacounda, when in 1960, the Paris-educated President who had led Senegal to independence addressed them as 'Tambacoundiennes, Tambacoundiens.' There was a flurry of excitement, for was not the received form 'Tambacoundoises, Tambacoundois'? Not sharing this concern, we deplore Stephanus' lack of interest in Latin evidence,[6] his use of Josephus but never of the Bible,[7] his failure to cite Ptolemy's *Geography* except indirectly through Marcianus,[8] and numerous instances where his team expose themselves as naive though harmless drudges.

Yet within its limitations, Stephanus' enterprise was praiseworthy. One of the few surviving full entries, fortunately relevant to our discussion, is that for Ἰβηρίαι δύο the 'two Iberias' copied for Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The entry (323.5–325 Meineke) distinguishes the two. It begins by explaining that the first is named after the River *Íbēr* (Ebro). Two verses about the Ebro follow from [Ps.]-Apollodorus' *Perì gês* (*FGH* 244 F324). Next come the races of Iberia according to Herodorus of Heraclea (c. 420 B.C., *FGH* 31 F2a) in his tenth book *About Heracles*: furthest west the Kýnētes, then going northwards the Glêtes, then the Tartēsioi, then the Elbysníoi, then the Mastiēnoí, then the Kelkíanoí (*sic*) as far as the Rhône. We shall return to some of these archaic names. To include the Celts in Iberia was a possible mistake before the Gallic invasions, though Hecataeus does not seem to have made it himself. Stephanus now comes to the division of Spain into Roman provinces: he quotes Marcianus for the increase from two to three: Lusitania, Tarraconensis and (as we know, after 27 B.C.) Baetica. He quotes Artemidorus for the line of demarcation between the two old provinces. The second Iberia is 'towards the Persians': modern Georgia. *Íbēres*, the ethnic in the plural, is illustrated

---

6 But at least Rome is an οὔρψ (71.2).

7 Bethlehem figures as our Saviour's birthplace, but is spelt, unbiblically, Βήθλεμα 116.17). Nazareth is not mentioned.

8 From Marcianus comes the reference to Λινδόνιον, London (417,17).

by one quotation from Dionysius Periegetes, two from Aristophanes, and one from Artemidorus. Menander is quoted for the feminine *Ibērís*. *Iberikós* is also possible, exemplified by another quotation from Dionysius. And *Ibērítēs* is attested in an elegiac half-line from Parthenius (1st century B.C.). The grammarian Apollonius is quoted for an explanation, with numerous parallels, of the derivation *Íbēros*, with proparoxytone accentuation, from *Íbēr*. For this usage the grammarian Habron is also invoked, and examples are quoted from C. Asinius Quadratus' *Thousand Years*, a history of the Romans composed in Greek under Alexander Severus, and from a comedy by Cratinus. Finally, Phylarchus' *Histories* (3rd century B.C.) are quoted, not directly but from Athenaeus (2.21.44b): 'all the Iberians are water-drinkers, although they are the richest of all men; he says they always eat only once a day out of parsimony and wear the most expensive clothes' (*FGH* 81 F13).

Here, then, is a survey not in historical order and with no reference to Hecataeus, though he was the first Greek known to have written about Iberia and the Iberians, who occur in eight other lexicon entries taken from Hecataeus. The survey makes no reference to Polybius and Strabo either, though for individual toponyms Stephanus provides five citations from Polybius' record of the Spanish campaigns, and three from Strabo's Book III. History was not Stephanus' prime concern. But he proceeds logically from definition and subdivision to demarcation and grammatical derivatives, substantiated by *verbatim* quotations from twelve writers over six centuries: two grammarians, two prose and two verse geographers, three historians and three comic poets; and he ends with an amusing touch of local colour whose source proves to have been correctly reproduced in every essential.

Nor is the epitome's version contemptible. 'Two Iberias, one towards the Pillars of Heracles, after the River Íbēr, the other towards the Persians. And the ethnic: *Íbēr*. And from *Íbēr* generically: *Íbēris, Iberikós* and *Íbēros*. They are said to drink water (Athenaeus *Deipnosophists* II). And they have one meal a day because of parsimony, and wear the most expensive clothes, being very rich.' Though shorn of their learned justification, the derivatives have been correctly reproduced. If we did not have the text of Athenaeus, we might rightly guess, without being explicitly told, that the sentence after the one remaining citation is part of it. It follows from this example that we should be slow to suspect our epitome of containing ethnics coined only by

analogy, except where it does so explicitly; nor should we expect Stephanus' bookish formations always to agree with those of coins and inscriptions to which he had no access. Absurdities that modern scholars deride, such as *Strymónioi* for the inhabitants of the River Strymon and *Thalasseús* from *thálassa*, may have made sense in the unabridged version: we ourselves, after all, speak of the Nilotic and Sea Peoples. Blemishes could not but burgeon in the boiling down. One such is *Ōtieîs*, 'a Cypriot *moîra*', from Ephorus (*FGH* 70 F76). Association with Amathus and Soli proves this to be a mis-spelling of *Kitieîs*: Citium with those two cities resisted Evagoras in 391 (Diod. 14.98.2). The blundered name has been moved from K to Ω. In the Western Mediterranean we shall find a minor slip in alphabetical order (the Eidetes, p. 312) and a strange aberration in the location of Corsica (p. 319) which cannot be the fault of the sage who advised against emigration to Sardinia.

Stephanus seems to pride himself on his site-classifications, of which there are over fifty. Direct quotations, where they can be checked, prove fairly reliable; but these are few. Most citations are so phrased that we cannot be sure whether the description comes from the named source. 2940 places are categorized as *poleis*—but how reliably? Two exemplary studies, emanating from the Copenhagen Polis Centre, have provided answers. By combing through the citations from extant authors, Whitehead[9] has found that when a writer does not call a site a *polis*, Stephanus may well do so for him. However, the reliability rate varies. Homer fares worst, historians better, geographers—explicit themselves—best, *e.g.* Strabo (correct 72%, assumed 21.5%, incorrect 6.5%) and Pausanias (correct 82%, assumed 12%, incorrect 6%). Hansen's study (1997) has gone on to select, out of the 175 *polis*-classifications attributed to Hecataeus, thirty from direct quotations. Thirteen are non-Greek. That the Greeks might call even a small foreign settlement a *polis* is well-known, and confirmed by the Egyptian statuette, found near Priene in 1987, on which a previously unknown Pēdón records that Psammetichus I had rewarded his services with 'a gold bracelet and a *polis*' (*SEG* 37.994, 39.1266). There is, however, an urban/political sense in which a Greek settlement would be called a *polis*. Stephanus does not so call the Piraeus

---

[9] D. Whitehead, 'Site classification and reliability in Stephanus of Byzantium', in D. Whitehead, ed., *From Political Architecture to Stephanus of Byzantium, Sources for the Greek polis* (Stuttgart, 1994), 105 n. 19.

or, as a rule, the Attic demes. Hansen has therefore carefully analysed the remaining seventeen Greek *polis*-classifications. He has found only one anomaly: Hecataeus described Thorikós as a *polis*, not a deme. But a *polis* it had been long ago, before Theseus' synoecism. Hansen lets Hecataeus off the hook by inferring that the quotation derives not from the *Periēgēsis* but from Theseus' deeds in the *Genealogies*. So Copenhagen confers confidence. When viewing Hecataeus through Stephanus' glass we may be fairly sure that we are not seeing darkly, and that Hecataeus knew what he was about, for all his limitations as a flat-earther with schematic misconceptions, unaware of latitude and longitude, and, however well travelled, inevitably dependent on second-hand information.

Order and Supporting Evidence

Jacoby, deducing Hecataeus' direction from several indications (*e.g. FGH* 1 F88, 108, 335), arranges the fragments of Book I to proceed eastwards from Tartessus and along the European coast of the Mediterranean, taking account of islands and the hinterland on the way, to the Straits of Messina and beyond. We return to the Western Mediterranean from the Orient and Egypt towards the end of Book II, following the North African coast westwards, and finally pass through the Straits of Gibraltar to the Atlantic coast of Morocco. Every arrangement of fragments demands guesswork. Jacoby's has come in for criticism in the case of Posidonius' *Histories*.[10] In this instance none is justified. The reconstructed order is of course geographical, not historical. The first Greek voyage to Southern Spain was undertaken c. 638; the foundation of Massalia dates to c. 600, of Pithecusae to c. 760; Magna Graecia and Sicily were colonized from c. 733 onwards; it will be argued that Euboeans reached the Tunisian coast early in the 8th century, and that Phocaeans were coasting along the Maghreb to Tartessus before the end of the 7th.

The same geographical order is followed by the prose *Periplus of the sea of the inhabited world: Europe, Asia and Libya*, dating from the

[10] K. Clarke, *Between Geography and History, Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World* (Oxford, 1999), 346–373.

mid 4th century though falsely attributed to Darius I's Carian sea-captain Scylax of Caryanda (*GGM* I 15–96).[11] The information preserved in this unfortunately defective text is often valuable for elucidating Hecataeus. 4th century writers before Alexander were still drawing on early geographical tradition: Theopompus in some of the topographical digressions of his sprawling *Philippica* (*FGH* 115), and Ephorus, Books I–III of whose *Universal History* provided a historico-geographical survey of Greece, IV–V of Europe and the rest of the inhabited world (*FGH* 70 F128–172). PseudoScymnus' *Periegesis* in iambic verse (*GGM* I 196–237), dedicated towards the end of the 2nd century B.C. to King Nicomedes [III] of Bithynia, follows the traditional order and seems largely to derive from Ephorus, despite a parade of other sources and a tribute to Eratosthenes' scientific κλίματα and σχήματα, zones of latitude and projections (109–126). A bookish reversion to the earliest geography, all the stranger because its well-born author, Postumius Rufius Festus Avienus, twice proconsul in the late 4th century A.D. (*ILS* 2944, *IG* I2/3^2.4222), had visited Gadir (273–4), is a Latin verse account of the sea-coast, *De Ora Maritima*. Beginning with a promise to take the reader as far as the Black Sea, and a claim to have consulted Hecataeus (42) along with eleven other ancient Greek authors (43–50), he proceeds from the Atlantic, by an indirect and confused course, to Marseilles in 713 iambic lines, only to break off in mid-sentence. Through sporadic spray and debilitating drizzle, important early evidence, relevant to our inquiry, can frequently be glimpsed.[12]

---

[11] A. Peretti, *Il periplo di Scilace. Studi sul primo periplo del Mediterraneo* (Pisa, 1979).

[12] An easy-to-follow Latin text was provided by Adolf Schulten (1870–1950) in his edition of 1922, revised 1950. He 'combed out the old Greek portions from the later accretions and the padding and garnishing of the poetaster, who lived, be it noted, some 900 years after the time when Massaliot ships first sailed to Tartessus' (R. Carpenter, *The Greeks in Spain* (Bryn Mawr, 1925), 50). But the imperious doyen of Iberian studies did not wield a fine-tooth comb. L. Antonelli (*Il periplo nascosto: lettura stratigrafica e commento storico archeologico dell' Ora Maritima die Avieno*, Padua 1998) takes account of archaeological progress since Schulten's time and of Avienus' foibles as a translator, deduced from his *Descriptio Orbis*, a Latin version of Dionysius Periegetes. Murphy (*Rufus Festus Avienus: Ora Maritima*, Chicago, 1977) provides an English translation of *De Ora Maritima* without commentary.

Myth and Discovery: Heracles in the West

The Greeks inherited the notion of πείρατα γαίης, 'boundaries of the earth'. They were marked by the mythical River Ocean, ἀψόρροος flowing back into itself (*Il.* 18.399, *Od.* 20.65), which formed the outermost rim of the shields of Achilles and Heracles that represented human life (*Il.* XVIII 607–8, Hes. *Aspis* 313–317). According to a happy fancy, the Ocean wafted west winds over the Elysian plain where the blest live for ever (*Od.* 4.563–568). A gloomier fancy was the sunless 'Cimmerian' city at the boundaries of Ocean, near which Odysseus was commanded to call up the ghosts of the dead (*Od.* 11.14–19). The language of the *Odyssey*, at first sight vague, can be explained as describing an outward voyage along the southern perimeter of the world to this far western destination from Circe's far eastern island, and a return voyage along the northern, re-entering the broad sea at the last (*Od.* 10.508, 11.13–37, 158–60 with Heubeck's commentary). The fabled Argonauts reached the fair stream of Ocean, at whose lip is the sun's chamber (Mimnermus fr. 11, 11a West). Ocean was believed to be a fresh-water stream, for it was the source not only of all seas, but also of all rivers, springs and deep wells (*Il.* 16.195–7). The poet of the *Shield of Heracles* set swans swimming on it and stocked it with fish. (Hes. *Aspis* 313–317).

'Beyond glorious Ocean on the edge of Night' (Hes. *Theog.* 274–5) were the Hesperides (Western Maidens), 'guarding the fair golden fruit and the fruit-trees' (213–216). An awful snake watched over the golden fruit in the secret places of the earth at its dark limits (333–5). Atlas in the *Odyssey* holds the pillars that keep heaven and earth apart (153–5); the *Theogony* places him 'at the ends of the earth', bearing up Heaven with his head and hands as he stands before the clear-voiced Hesperides (517–8). Hesiod may have told, in some missing lines, how Heracles carried off their golden fruit (West on *Theog.* 216). This, the last of his labours, was expounded in 7th-century epics: the *Titanomachy* (fr. 8, 9, pp. 14–15 Bernabé = fr. 7, 10 p. 18 Davies) and the *Deeds of Heracles* by Peisander of Camirus (fr. 5, p. 168 Bernabé = fr. 6, p. 132 Davies). Heracles crossed Ocean in the cauldron or golden cup on which the Sun-god begins his nightly underground journey, killed the guardian serpent and either plucked the fruit himself, or got Atlas to fetch it, during which time he took over his burden; but he then tricked him into taking it back and

made off with the fruit. Connected with this exploit was Heracles' liberation of Prometheus. Zeus had long before bound Prometheus to a rock at the far end of the earth, sending an eagle to devour his liver every day, and letting it grow again every night; Heracles now shot the eagle and freed him (*Theog.* 521–530). Another of Heracles' labours was also set in the far west. In the island of Erytheia was the 'dim steading beyond glorious Ocean' where three-headed Gēryonēs, strong son of Ocean's daughter Callirhoe by Chrysaor, kept his cows. Heracles crossed the ford of Ocean, killed Gēryonēs, his herdsman Eurytion and his hound Orthus, and drove his cows to Tiryns (*Theog.* 287–194, 979–983).

These are favourite motifs in 6th-century Greek art.[13] The Arcesilas painter (c. 550) shows burdened Atlas facing eagle-tormented Prometheus;[14] a follower of the Cleophrades painter (c. 505–475) anticipates *Prometheus Bound* with a gigantic Prometheus, clutching his wound and supported by two daughters of Ocean.[15] Heracles' fight against monstrous Gēryon(ēs), usually three-bodied as well as three-headed, was a popular subject in art from the mid 7th century until the more fastidious taste of the mid 5th abandoned it.[16] It figured on the Chest of Cypselus at Olympia (Paus. 5.19.1). The red-figure painter Euphronius (c. 510) portrayed Heracles fighting Geryon over arrow-stuck Orthus, while beautiful cows stand waiting.[17]

Exploration and colonization led Greeks to associate new-found places with old myths. The first glimpse of Euboean discoveries in the west may have been vouchsafed to the landlubber Hesiod when he crossed the narrow strait to Chalcis (*Works & Days* 645–662): 'Agrius (wild man) and and Latinus, who ruled over all the famous Tyrsenians far away in a corner of the Holy Islands', Circe's sons by Odysseus (*Theog.* 1011–1016).[18] Of the Iberian peninsula Hesiod's *Theogony* says nothing. The Attic and Cypriot ware of the 8th and

---

[13] K. Schefold, *Gods and Heroes in Late Archaic Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1992), 132–4.

[14] *LIMC s.v.* Atlas 1 = Prometheus 54, Boardman 1998 fig. 422.

[15] *LIMC s.v.* Atlas 22, Schefold 54–55 figs. 57, 58.

[16] M. Robertson, '*Geryoneis*: Stesichorus and the vase-painters', *Classical Quarterly* ns. 19 (1969) 207–221; Schefold, *Gods and Heroes*, 122–9, *LIMC s.v. Geryones.*

[17] J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: the Archaic Period* (London, 1975), fig. 26.2; Schefold, *Gods and Heroes*, figs. 147–8.

[18] Λατῖνος was a personal name at Rhegion in the later 6th century, M. Jameson and I. Malkin, 'Latinos of Rhegion', *Athenaeum* 86 (1998) 477–485.

early 7th centuries found in Southern Spain will have been brought by Phoenicians, as our honorand has argued.[19] When the Phocaeans with their penteconters opened up the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas, Iberia and Tartessus (Hdt 1.163.1)—in the third quarter of the 7th century,[20] though not until after c. 638 if Herodotus was right in saying that Colaeus of Samos was the first to tap the Tartessian market (4.152),[21]—they cannot have doubted that they were following where Heracles had gone before. Specific locations were established for his exploits. Hecataeus, despite his rationalising dismissal in the *Genealogies* (F26, above), had to take account of them in his geographical work.

In the first half of the 6th century, Stesichorus' *Gēryonēis*, a poem of over 1300 lines, set Geryon's birthplace 'almost opposite famous Erýtheia, by the limitless silver-rooted springs of the river Tartessos in the hollow of a rock' (fr. 184 *PMG*, Strabo 3.2.11, 148). The poem told of Heracles' stepping into the Sun's golden cup (fr. 85, Athen. 11.469e, 781d), and of 'the beautiful island of the gods across the waves of the deep brine, where the Hesperides have their all-golden homes' (184a *PMG*). Pherecydes of Athens identified Erýtheia, which for him was both Geryon's island and the home of the

[19] B.B. Shefton, 'Greeks and Greek imports in the south of the Iberian peninsula', in H.G. Niemeyer, ed., *Phönizier im Westen* (Mainz, 1982), 337–343.

[20] Shefton, 'Massalia and Colonization in the North-Western Mediterranean' in G.R. Tsetskhladze, F. de Angelis, ed., *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation* (Oxford, 1994), 72.

[21] First among Greeks, that is (Shefton, 'Greeks and Greek imports', 343); the first Phoenician imports to the Tyrian colony of Gadir date to 770–60 (M. Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West, Politics, Colonies, Trade* (Cambridge, 1993), 222). Tall as the story is that Colaeus was Egypt-bound but swept by an east wind all the way from Cyrenaica to Tartessus, there could be no better evidence for his voyage than the mounted griffin-protome cauldron which Colaeus, according to Herodotus who knew Samos, dedicated in its Heraion as a tithe of his sixty-talent profit. The voyage is dated to c. 638 by its connection with the colonization of Cyrene (Hdt 4.151–3). We need not reject this date because the far western ivory combs in the Samian Heraion were found in an earlier 7th-century context (B. Freyer-Schauenburg, 'Kolaios und die Westphönizischen Elfenbeine', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 7 (1966) 89–108). They may, like many Homeric keepsakes, have come from Phoenicians. Nor need the nine parallel oblong blocks flanking the Heraion's processional way, dating to c. 600, have supported Colaeus' ship, as Buschor suggested (*AA* 1935, 238f.), for it would be strange if Herodotus had overlooked this second dedication. They are indeed the right length for a two-banked penteconter, but we should expect a victorious warship, a *Victory* rather than a *Cutty Sark* (H. Wallinga, *Ships and Sea-Power before the Great Persian War, the ancestry of the ancient trireme* (Leiden, 1993), 49–52 and n. 61).

Hesperides (*FGH* 3 F18a *ap.* Athen. 11.470cd), with Gadir (*FGH* 3 F18b *ap.* Strabo 3.5.4, 169). Pherecydes was writing just before 480/77 (*Suda s.v.* = *FGH* 3 T3), or in 455/4 (Eusebius-Jerome Ol.78.1 = *FGH* 3 T3). But he probably followed an early localisation, for there were no other islands within reasonable distance of the Tartessus (Guadalquivir) except for the three which Gadir anciently comprised; and Heracles was always identified with Melqart, the Tyrian god whose temple stood on the southernmost island. Its Holy of Holies was without an image, and its cult banned swine (Diod. 5.20, Silius Italicus 3.31–2). These resemblances to the Temple in Jerusalem did not prevent it from being revered as a Herakleion into late Roman times.[22] The 'solemnity of Hercules' was all that Avienus found worth seeing when Gadir had fallen into ruin in the 3rd century A.D. (273–4).

Heracles was believed to have driven Geryon's cows along the Western Mediterranean coast fom southern Spain to the toe of Italy, across to Sicily, and back round the Adriatic to Tiryns—with a possible Scythian detour (Hdt 4.8). Diodorus includes some time-honoured traditions in his itinerary (4.18–25). The *Prometheus Freed* (Aeschylus fr. 199 Nauck/Radt *ap.* Strabo 4.1.7, 182–183) told how Heracles had vanquished the Ligurians, when his arrows had given out, by hurling the round stones which are scattered over a vast area on the Plaine de la Crau between Massalia and the outlets of the Rhône (*cf.* Pliny *NH* 21.57, Hyginus *poet. astr.* 2.6, Dion. Hal. 1.41). 6th-century Phocaean colonists of Massalia will have attributed to Heracles a phenomenon which Aristotle and Posidonius were later to explain scientifically (Strabo *loc. cit.*). The Phocaeans must also be behind Hecataeus' reference to Mónoikos (Monaco), 'a Ligurian *polis*' (F57). It was not mentioned again until Roman times, but was then noted for its temple and harbour of Heracles (Philipp. *RE* XVI.1 (1993), 132–133). Perched on the narrow coastal road which was the only land-route to Italy, Monaco cannot have escaped the colonists' notice, though it was just outside their domain, which at that time extended only as far as Antibes.[23] We may reasonably suspect that, as at Gadir,

[22] Aubet, *The Phoenicians*, 223–234.

[23] To the early Massaliot imports at Antibes may be added the evidence of a stone phallus of c. 450–425 (*CEG* I no. 400), inscribed Τέρπων εἰμὶ θεᾶς θεράπων σεμνῆς Ἀφροδίτης | τοῖς δὲ καταστήσασι Κύπρις χάριν ἀνταποδοίη, (I am Pleaser, attendant of reverend Aphrodite; may Kypris reward the erectors with favour). See also Shefton, 'Massalia and Colonization', 80, n. 40.

Phocaean mariners had identified a local deity with Heracles. Hellanicus in the 5th century derived *Italia* from *vitulus*, calf, the first Latin/Italic word to surface in Greek literature. His story was that Heracles had searched after an escaped heifer which had run the length of the coast and swum to Sicily (*FGH* 4 F111 *ap.* Dion. Hal. 1.35). This apparent playfulness, by an inveterate etymologizer,[24] is linked to a supposed feat of Heracles in Sicily that 6th-century Greeks took seriously, with grim consequences. At its north-west corner Heracles was said to have wrestled with king Eryx, wagering his cows for Eryx's land. Eryx lost, but received back his land in trust until a descendant of Heracles should claim it (Diod. 4.23.3). That was the oracular justification for the founding of Heraclea on the site soon after 510 by the Spartan prince Dorieus. Carthage and Egesta joined forces to kill him and most of his colonists (Hdt 5.43, 46).

Hecataeus evidently retained the concept of Ocean. The first Greeks who passed through the Straits found not a river but a salt sea; Stesichorus so described it (184a *PMG*, above). But Ocean Stream had never had a further bank, not even, if the *Odyssey* is rightly interpreted, for the shadowy realm of the dead. What had defined earth's πείρατα, bounds, could with no difficulty be recognized as boundless itself; moreover, τὸ ἄπειρον, the Boundless, had been the world's originative substance for Hecataeus' predecessor Anaximander (Diels-Kranz 12(2) A9–16, B1, Kirk & Raven 103–112). 5th-century poets saw no incongruity between the ancient concept of Ocean Stream and the more recently discovered Outer Sea. Pindar sang of the 'seas of Ocean' reached by the Argonauts (*Pyth.* 4.251) and the 'trackless salt sea' beyond the columns of Heracles (*Nem.* 3.35–40), and 'the waters of Ocean' from which the Fates bore Themis to Olympus (fr. 30 Snell).[25] The Aeschylean Prometheus, bound to the European margin of Ocean (*P.V.* Hypothesis), called upon 'the multitudinous laughter of the waves of the sea' (89–90) but then spoke to the daughters of Ocean as 'children of Father Ocean who winds round all the earth with unsleeping flow' (137–40). Euripides envisaged 'the sea which bull-headed Ocean winds in his arms as he encircles the earth (*Or.* 1376–8). When Herodotus wrote 'I know of no river that is Ocean, but suppose that Homer or some earlier poet invented the

---

[24] Fowler, 'Herodotos and his contemporaries', 72–73 n. 78.

[25] ὠκεανοῦ παρὰ παγᾶν. 'παγαί' here need not mean 'springs' but only 'waters'. cf. Eur. *IT* 1039 (πόντου παγαί) and Eur. *Medea* 410, with D.L. Page's note.

name and introduced it into poetry' (2.23), his principal concern was to reject the preconceived notion of water surrounding the earth (4.8). 'The sea outside the Pillars called the Atlantic', he declared, 'and the Red Sea (*viz.* the Indian Ocean) happen to be one'; but he saw no reason to extend the sea all the way round Northern Europe (4.42.2–45.1). That the Old World is indeed surrounded by water, though not circumnavigable because of the Arctic ice, was not known for certain until 1728. Aristotle in his *Meteorology* followed Herodotus (4.36) in deriding maps that depicted the inhabited earth as circular (2.5.362b15), though not his scepticism about the surrounding water. He writes of 'the Outer Sea whose further limit is unknown to dwellers in our world' (1.13, 350a22), not referring to it as 'Ocean', by which term he suggests earlier writers had hinted at the rise and fall of moisture from the earth as the sun approaches and recedes (1.9, 247a6).[26] Ocean and Atlantic were first fully equated when Pytheas in c. 330 gave the title *On the Ocean* to his account of his voyage beyond the Straits as far as the North Sea (fr. 9a Mette; 'Atlantis (1)', *RE* 2109–2116, Patsch 1897). From now on, the Hellenistic Greeks and the Romans wrote of Ocean in its modern sense.

Hecataeus provides the first known references to the Ἡρακλείαι στῆλαι, the Pillars of Heracles (F39, F41), or just to 'The Pillars' (F356). Heracles was supposed to have set them up to mark the outer limit of his voyage; no one could venture further (Pindar *Ol.* 3.44, *Nem.* 3.35–40, *Isthm.* 4.19–21). Pindar once calls them Πύλαι Γαδειρίδες, Gates of Gadir' (fr. 256 Snell *ap.* Strabo 3.5.5, 170). In later archaizing verse we find the 'Gate of Tartessus' (Lycophr. *Alex.* 643) and the 'Tartessian Strait' (Avienus 54–55; Patsch, 'Atlantis (1)', *RE* (1897) 2109–2116). But Pillars of Heracles the Straits of Gibraltar remained for most ancient writers, including Herodotus, who saw no need to explain the name and knew that Gadir lay beyond (4.8). The Pillars were usually identified with the Rock of Gibraltar (Calpe) on the European and Monte del Acho, the promontory of Ceuta (Abila) on the African side. Heracles, on reaching the bounds of Libya and Europe, was supposed to have built out the capes to narrow the passage and prevent great sea-monsters from entering—or, alternatively, to have forced open a channel through continents

[26] 'The sea outside the inhabited universe is called the Atlantic or Ocean' in *On the Universe* 3.393a17–313b22; but this is a late treatise that has sneaked into the Aristotelean corpus.

previously joined together (Diod. 4.18.4–5). This was no archetypal story, fondly illustrated in archaic art, but one imposed by the discovery of the Straits upon mariners who believed themselves to be on Heracles' track. The capes, however, are not evenly matched. The Rock rises to 425 m, Monte del Acho to 196 m. For those who had never passed through the Straits and even for some who had, the precise significance of the Pillars was elusive. They were undoubtedly the capes for the Spaniard Mela (1.5.27); but others conjectured that they were rocky islands in the Straits (though there are none), landmark columns erected by Heracles on either coast and since demolished, or bronze columns in the Herakleion at Gadir (Strabo 3.5.5–6, 170–2). This last may be what Pindar, from a distance, thought they were, for when he says 'Beyond Gadir to the gloom one may not cross' (*Nem.* 4.111) he is, as the Scholiast underlines, equating Gadir with the Pillars. When he invokes the impossibility of crossing the vast sea westwards, he is saying nothing about Carthage blocking access to Gadir. The Phocaean navy had shrunk to only three triremes by 493 (Hdt 6.8). But traders, Greek or non-Greek, brought an increasing amount of Greek imports to Southern Spain in the course of the 5th century.[27] That Carthage destroyed the *polis* of Tartessus in c. 500 and took over its trade is a likely guess, though unsupported by literary evidence; it has been assumed because we hear no more of the silver trade until the Second Punic War, and find that in later antiquity Tartessus was a lost city whose site was in dispute. In 5th-century Athens that rare delicacy, Gaditane preserved fish, was to be had (Eupolis fr. 199 *PCG*)—probably through the Carthaginians, who also sold rugs and embroidered cushions (Hermippus fr. 63,23 *PCG*), but were said to keep the best fish products from Gadir for themselves ([Arist]. *Mirab.* 136, 843b24–33). To this period are dated the finds at Corinth of Far Western transport amphorae which had contained preserved tunny.[28]

The great Moroccan mountain-range may have been called after Atlas as early as the so-called *Gês Períodos* in the *Catalogue of Women*, in a line which contains the first definite mention of Mount Etna

[27] P. Rouillard, *Les Grecs et la péninsule ibérique du VIII^e au IV^e siècle avant Jésus-Christ* (Paris, 1991), 117f.

[28] Shefton, 'Greeks and Greek imports', 300, 367 n. 90, Addenda 370, R. Jones, *Greek and Cypriot pottery: a review of scientific studies* (London, 1985), 720–3.

(fr. 150,25 Merkelbach-West).[29] Herodotus, though he misconceives Mount Atlas as narrow and round on all sides, a cloud-capped 'pillar of heaven', sees no need to explain its name (4.184.3). The extant Greek translation of the *Periplus of Hanno the Carthaginian* (c. 480) describes it as an expedition 'beyond the Pillars of Heracles' (1, *GGM* I p. 1) but goes on to say that the Southern Lixus (Draʾa) flows from 'high mountains' (7, *GGM* I p. 6). The translator presumably found a recognisable Punic name for the Straits but not for Mount Atlas.

Tartessus

Elibýrge, a *polis* of Tartessos' (F38), was identified by Klausen (1831) with *Iliturgi*; Schulten and García y Bellido agreed. How easily could T have turned into B? B was the reading in Roman times, for the grammarian Arcadius has Λιβύργη 120.18). I suggest that Hecataeus meant *Iliberri* (Elvira), modern Granada. Tartessus' territory evidently extended this far inland, where the script was no longer Tartessian but Southern Iberian.[30] Cut off from the coast by the Sierra Nevada, which was not traversed by road even in Roman times, Granada was in contact with the Bay of Cadiz along the river-valleys. Excavations at nearby Ilurco (Cerro de Los Infantes) show that Greek ceramics were being brought here in the 6th century.[31]

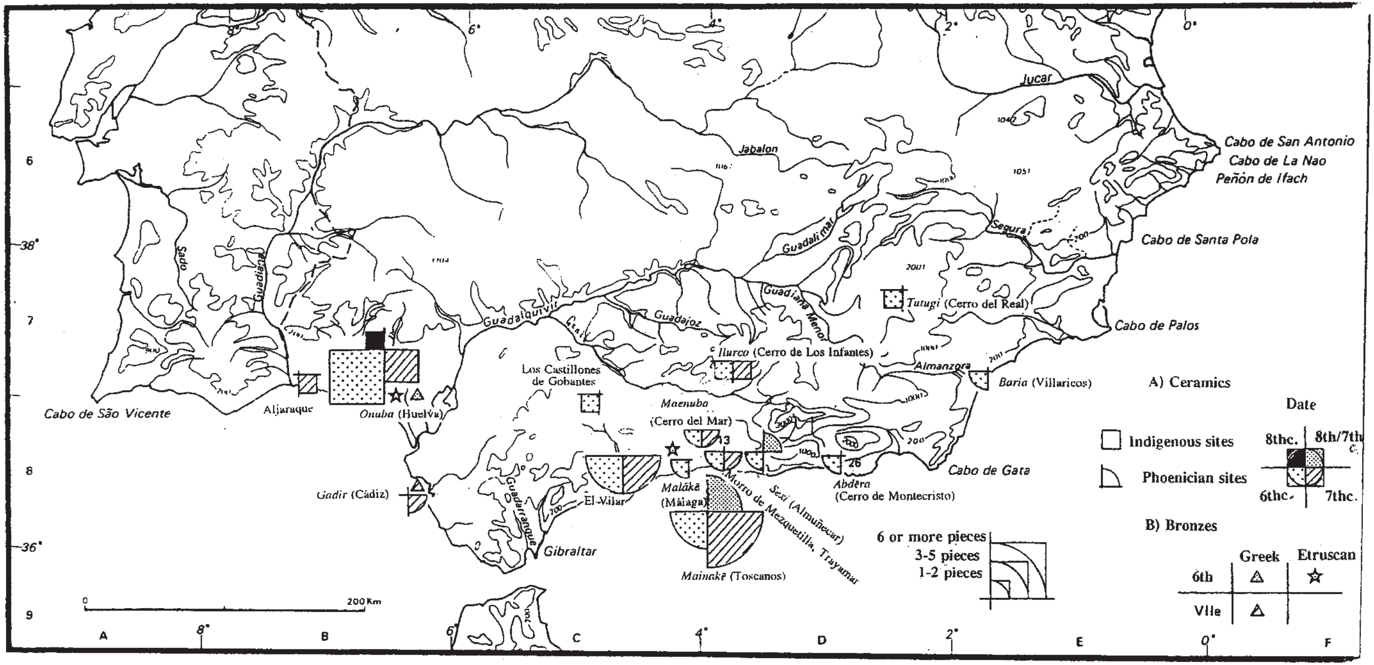
Coupled with the Mastiēnoí, of whom more presently, the Elbéstioi are listed by Stephanus as named by Hecataeus in his 'Europe' (F40), and also by Philistus (*FGH* 556 F30). It may be that Philistus included them among Carthage's mercenaries against Dionysius I; that would explain their being mis-called 'an *ethnos* of Libya'. They would seem to be Herodorus' *Elbysínioi*, between the Tartēsioi and the Mastiēnoí (above, *FGH* 31 F2a *ap*. Steph.Byz. 323.16). Avienus groups the *regna Selbyssina*, rich in soil, near the Pillars of Heracles with the ferocious Libyphoenicians (presumably Phoenician settlers who had come by

[29] Ἄτλαντός τ' ὄρος] αἰπὺ κ[αὶ Αἴτν]ην παιπαλόεσσαν. *Atlas* is West's conjecture; the supplement *Aitna* is authenticated by Eratosthenes *ap*. Strabo 1.2.4, 23 Ἀιδνῆς in *Theog*. 860 cannot be Etna: see West *ad loc*.

[30] J. Untermann, 'Iberia', *Der neue Pauly, Enzyklopädie der Antike* IX.

[31] Rouillard, *Les Grecs*, 667–8, Dominguez and Sanchez, *Greek Pottery from the Iberian Peninsula* (Leiden, 2001), 34.

Map 1: Hecataeus: Spain.



Map 2: Imports of Greek ceramics and Greek and Etruscan bronzes in Andalucia (8th/6th c. B.C.)
Pierre Rouillard, *Les grecs et la péninsule Ibérique du viii^e au iv^e siècle avant J.-C.* (Paris 1991). Carte 2, p. 23.

way of Africa), the Massieni, and the wealthy Tartessians extending to the *Calacticus Sinus*, which may be the Huelva coast (421–4. Antonelli *ad loc.*). Here, because of the similarity of sound, García y Bellido placed Kalathé, 'a *polis* not far from the Pillars of Heracles; Ephorus (*FGH* 70 F51) calls it *Kaláthousa* (F39).' He identified it with Huelva (*Onuba*), the outlet for the silver, gold and copper of the Rio Tinto mines, known from the finds at Cerro Salomón to have been worked as early as the 7th century.[32] Greek archaic wares have been unearthed at Huelva: pottery in the harbour-district,[33] bronzes in the aristocratic necropolis of La Joya. But the Greek name, meaning 'Basket', is unrelated to *Calacticus*, which appears to derive from Καλὴ ἀκτή, Fair Coast'.[34] A more plausible identification is with *Kaldoûba*, 60 km inland from Gadir and only known from Ptolemy (2.4.10 Müller). The Andalusian termination *-uba* may have been interchangeable with the favourite Phocaean *-ous(s)a*. There was a *Kaláthousa* of Pontus too (Steph.Byz. *ad loc.*), and an island *Kalathé* off the North African coast (below, Ptol. 4.3.12 Müller). We shall encounter more of these all-purpose Greek names, cheerfully bestowed by early mariners, which fell into disuse when their commerce was interrupted, to re-emerge as lexical curiosities whose location is not easily recoverable.

Tartessós, Biblical *Tarshish*, had originally been a name applied by Phoenicians and other Near Easterners to a distant coast not clearly localised.[35] It, too, came to be discarded. By the time of the Second Punic War native names had reasserted themselves: the river was the Baetis, and the people, except once in Livy (23.26) and perhaps twice in Polybius (3.24.4, below p. 309, and emending *Thersîtai* in 3.33.9 to *Tarsēitai*), the Turdetani or Turduli. So Stephanus' few references to Tartessus must derive from early or archaising sources.

[32] C. Domergue, *Catalogue des mines et des fonderies antiques de la Péninsule Ibérique* (Madrid, 1987), I 243, Aubet, *The Phoenicians*, 238.

[33] Shefton, 'Zum Import und Einfluss mediterraner Güter in Alteuropa', *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 22 (1989) 209–210, Dominguez and Sanchez, *Greek Pottery*, 5–17.

[34] The uncomfortable possibility cannot be excluded that *Calacticus Sinus* stands for Γαλατικὸς κόλπος, 'Gaulish Gulf'. For Strabo (2.5.28, 128), there were two such: the Gulf of Lions (so also Dion.Hal. 14.1.3) and the Gulf of Gascony, on either side of the Pyrenees. But by Ephorus' time the Gauls were known to be occupying Western Spain as far as Gadir (*FGH* 70 F131 ap. Strabo 4.4.6, 199); so also Eratosthenes (Strabo 2.4.4, 106 on Polyb. 34.7.7).

[35] Braun, 'The Greeks in the Near East', *Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge, 1982), 20–21, Koch, *Tarschisch und Hispanien: historisch-geographische und namenkundliche Untersuchungen zur phönizischen Kolonisation der iberischen Halbinsel* (Berlin, 1984).

One is from Herodorus (above, *FGH* 31 F2a), one from Theopompus (627.8–9). *Ligystínē*, 'a Ligurian city of the west, adjoining Iberia and close to the Tartessós' (416.12–3), is to be associated with the *Ligustinus lacus* from which Avienus says the river Tartessus rises—possibly by confusion with the Anas (Guadiana) which unlike the Guadalquivir rises in a series of small lakes, the Lagunas de Ruydera. Credited with migration over vast areas before settling along the Riviera (Plut. *Mar.* 19.5, Avienus 132–5, 196) the Ligurians were believed to have driven the Sicans from Iberia into Sicily (below, p. 311); Eratosthenes, followed by Hipparchus, held the entire Iberian peninsula once to have been Ligurian (Strabo 2.1.40, 92). Of especial interest is Stephanus' entry (606.15–8) 'Tartēssós, a *polis* of Iberia, named after a river flowing from the *Silver Mountain*, which river (ὅστις πόταμος) carries down tin in Tartēssós.' This unattributed citation may derive from Hecataeus himself, for the use of ὅστις for 'which' instead of 'whichever', is characteristic of the Ionic dialect.[36] Stephanus adds the end of a hexameter line which may be from the Epic Cycle or the Hesiodic corpus: Ταρτήσσιον ὄλβιον ἄστυ, 'fortunate Tartessian city'. The entry is right about the Silver Mountain. It had already gleamed for Stesichorus (fr. 184 *PMG*, above). The Guadalquivir does indeed rise in the Sierra Morena near the mine of Castulo (El Centenillo) (Strabo 3.2.11, 148), which was almost certainly yielding silver for down-river transportation by the 6th century,[37] though the first slag has here, as often elsewhere, been overwhelmed by Roman re-processing. But the entry is wrong about tin. Tin was often alluvial; but the Guadalaquivir never had any. The nearest tin came from the offshore islands of north-western Spain.[38] This combination of truth and error is just what we might expect from early Greek traders who will have learned something of the up-river silver, but not of the provenance of the tin they bought. Ps.-Scymnus repeats it: 'Two days' sail from (Gadir) is so-called Tartēssós, a distinguished *polis*, providing (φέρουσα) tin brought by river, from *Keltikē*, and gold and plentiful bronze' (162–6). Ps.-Scymnus has added one of his

---

[36] ὅστις for ὅς is very rare in classical literature apart from Herodotus', D.L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (1955) 21. Dover argues from its otherwise unexampled use by Thucydides (6.3.1) that his account of Sicilian colonization is taken from Antiochus of Syracuse, who wrote in Ionic, Commentary p. 199 and *ad loc.*

[37] Domergue, *Catalogue des mines*, I, 264–275, 1990 268–269; Domergue, *Les mines de la péninsule ibérique dans l'antiquité romaine* (Rome, 1990), 8, 147, 150–1.

[38] Domergue, *Les mines de la péninsule ibérique*, 10.

questionable sailing-distances and a half-correction, for North-Western Spain was indeed Celtic, but the Sierra Morena was not. The scientific traveller Posidonius, the Alexander von Humboldt of his age, told the truth about tin (Strabo 3.2.9, 147). It was well-known during the heyday of Roman mining (Strabo 3.5.11, 176, Diod. 5.38.4, Pliny *NH* 4.119, Mela 3.47). Later, Avienus returned to the archaic misconception. At the end of a confused account of the several branches of the river Tartessus pouring from the *Ligustinus Lacus*, and the looming *Mons Argentarius*, he tells how the river Tartessus, heavy with tin, brings the rich metal 'into the walls': this can only mean the walls of the *polis* of Tartessus (283–297).

That there had been a *polis* of this name, as well as a river and a realm, was not doubted in Roman times. Some (e.g. Sallust *Hist.* 2.7) identified it with Gadir, despite its Phoenician origins and distance from the Guadalquivir. Avienus, earlier on in his poem, twice inconsistently interposes this identification (85, 269–70). Others identified Tartessus with Carteia, at the head of the Bay of Gibraltar and even further away.[39] The most promising location seemed to be between two mouths of the Guadalquivir (Strabo 3.2.12, 148, Paus. 7.19.3). Schulten, who believed the city to have been destroyed by the Carthaginians in c. 500, made soundings in this waterlogged region in 1922–26, finding only a late Roman settlement which he thought might have re-used Tartessian stones, a Corinthian helmet of c. 630 and a 7th/6th-century ring with a cryptic Greek inscription.[40] He remained faithful to his vision of a lost Tartessus in the Guadalquivir Delta until his death in 1950 at the age of 90. It has never been found. In recent decades scholars, following Täckholm,[41] have refused to be bogged down by the search, maintaining that there never had never been a Tartessian *polis* in the first place, and that Ps.Scymnus invented it. This is not a safe way to scramble to dry land.

Stephanus' *Íbylla, polis* of Tartessia . . . 'near which are mines of gold and silver' (326.1–2) must be the archaic name for what by vowel metathesis became *Ilipa* (Alcalá del Río). 'There is plenty of silver', according to Strabo, 'in the places around Ilipa' (3.2.3, 142).

---

[39] Tovar, *Iberische Landeskunde: Die Völker und die Städte des antiken Spanien* (Baden-Baden 1974), II.1,70–1.

[40] Schulten, *Tartessos, arquelogía protohistórica del bajo Guadalquivir* (Madrid, 1945).

[41] Täckholm, 'Tarsis, Tartessos und die Säulen des Herakles', *Opuscula Romana* 5 (1965) 167–170.

The nearest mine was of quicksilver, at Almadén.[42] The silver of the Sierra Morena mines above Cordoba was further way, but could be brought to Ilipa by river-boat and unloaded there into merchant-vessels (Strabo 3.2.3, 142). It would not be surprising if the *dispensator portus Ilipensis*, as Ilipa was to call itself (*CIL* 2.1085), had found a place in Hecataeus' gazetteer. It was within the Tartessian language-zone, as we know from the copy of an inscription found here and since lost (*Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* IV p. 339, J.53).

The Mediterranean Coast of Spain

We learn nothing about this coast from Herodotus; but if we plot Hecataeus' place-names, we find a striking correlation to Rouillard's distribution-map of 6th-century Greek imports (Map 2). Archaeology has, in particular, established the importance of Phoenician settlements on the Costa del Sol for which Hecataeus provides our only early literary evidence.

Avienus, as we have seen, preserved a tradition of Libyphoenicians and *Massieni* (Herodorus' *Mastiēnoí*: *FGH*31 F2a) adjoining the Tartessians. Stephanus cites Hecataeus for four *poleis* of MASTIĀNOI (Ionic MASTIĒNOÍ), 'an *ethnos* towards the Pillars of Heracles, named from the *polis* MASTÍA (F41). These were the later *Bastētanoí*. Their capital, the high-walled *urbs Massiena* that dominated a curving bay (Avienus 450–2) must be the Μαστία †Ταρσηιον† beyond which the Romans agreed not to sail in their treaty of 348 with Carthage (Polyb. 3.24.2);[43] its description leaves little doubt of its being the predecessor of New Carthage (Cartagena), founded by Hasdrubal in 221 (Strabo 3.4.6, Polyb. 10.10).[44] Another *polis* of the Mastienoi was SIXOS (F43, Almuñecar), a Phoenician settlement of 750/720 which commanded the delta of the Verde and Seco, continued into Roman times, and is attested in various transliterations.[45] Its first settlers[46]

---

[42] Domergue, *Les mines de la péninsule ibérique*, 70.

[43] Usually emended to Ταρσηίου or Ταρσηίων. The ancient Latin text may have read *Mastia Tarseiom*, viz. *Tarseiorum*, Koch, *Tarschisch und Hispanien*, 113. In the mid 4th century the Carthaginians evidently included Mastia in Tartessian territory, for Avienus goes on to describe the River *Theodorus* (Tader, Segura) north of it and writes 'here was once the boundary of the Tartesians' (*Or. Mar.* 456–462).

[44] Tovar, *Iberische Landeskunde*, II.1, 190f.

[45] Tovar, *Iberische Landeskunde*, II.1, 81–2.

[46] Aubet, *The Phoenicians*, 252, 264, 267, 270.

did not know they would one day bedevil chronology by going to the expense of burying the ashes of their dead in Egyptian urns of a dead dynasty (the 22nd, 874–773); their successors innocently gloried in the name of *Sexi* (Pliny *NH* 3.8). Mainobocra (F42) must be *Maenuba* (Cerro del Mar), a native settlement on the other side of River Vélez to *Maińake* (Toscanos), whose ruins, with their squared stones, were anciently believed to have been those of the furthest west Massaliot colony (Strabo 3.4.2, 156, Ps.-Scymnus 146) but prove from excavations in 1964–1978 to have been those of another Phoenician settlement of 750/720.[47] The Vélez is one of several Spanish Mediterranean rivers whose mouths, now silted up, provided anchorage and access to an inland trade-route. Maenuba lasted from the 6th century to imperial times, as Schulten's small excavations in 1939 and 1941 showed, whereas Toscanos, with its residences, fortified precinct and great central warehouse, importing wares from Pithecusae, Corinth, eastern Greece and Cyprus, was destroyed and abandoned in c. 550.[48] The fourth '*polis* of the Mastiēnoí' is Molybdínē (F44), 'lead city'. Lead and silver extraction went together, for all silver in Southern Spain was a by-product of argentiferous galena (lead sulphide, PbS). The mines of Mazarrón near Cartagena were producing loads of lead in Hellenistic-Roman times; we cannot, however, securely date their beginnings, or the lead anchor, 2.50 m long, 635 kg heavy, found off Mazarrón in 1967;[49] Señor Sola Solé was singularly sanguine in ascribing it to the 9th century—a surprisingly early date—and in proposing a transcription of its angular Phoenician (or Punic) monograms. To the south of Cartagena, the Herrerías and the Sierra Almagrera mines are known from Greek and Phoenician sherds to have been worked in the 6th century. Nearby *Baria* (Villaricos) is an acceptable candidate for Molybdínē. In one of its 6th/5th century tombs were found lead clamps and a cupel impregnated with lead oxide.[50] An islet near Dianium (Cape Nao), was called *Plumbaria*, 'leaden' in Roman times (Strabo 3.4.6, 159), but could not have contained a *polis*.

---

[47] Niemeyer, 'Auf der Suche nach Mainake', *Historia* 28 (1980) 165–189.
[48] Dominguez and Sánchez, *Greek Pottery*, 30f.
[49] Domergue, *Les mines de la péninsule ibérique*, 146.
[50] Domergue, *Catalogue des mines*, I.8–10, Domergue, *Les mines de la péninsule ibérique*, 146.

Ibēría was for Hecataeus the coast and hinterland stretching from the Mastiēnoí as far as the Ligurians and Celts in southern France. For Herodorus in c. 420, as we have seen, all coastal peoples from the Algarve to the Rhône were Iberians. A clue to this widened scope is the distribution between c. 500 to c. 50 B.C. of the Iberian script and language, now deciphered and analysed though still largely untranslatable, which extends from Iliberri and Castulo to Narbonne and Béziers (mapped by Untermann). North Iberian takes over from South-Western in the region of Valencia, where Hecataeus' Iberians adjoined the Mastiēnoí. Eventually, the Celtiberians, occuping the vast central tract and the North-West, were incorporated into 'Iberia', though the frontier was withdrawn from the Rhône to the Pyrenees (Strabo 3.19). We may not, therefore, adopt as Hecataean any of Stephanus' Iberian entries that are not explicitly attributed. They could come from any period.

Sikánē, *polis* of Iberia (F45), is located by Avienus (479–80) on the river Sicanus, between Hemeroscopium (in the region of Cape Nao) and the Tyrius (Turia). It should consequently be identified with the town of Sucro (modern Cullera), on the left bank of the river Sucro (Júcar). It offered a trade-route inland but lay in ruins by the time of Pliny (*NH* 3.20). Thucydides says that, in the times of the migrations before the Trojan War, the Sicans of Sicily had been driven from the river Sicanus in Iberia by the Ligurians (6.2.2). The Sucro is not too far south for them, as we have seen (p. 307 above). We need not, with Dover (*ad loc.*), give preference to the identification by Servius (*ad Aen.* 8.328) of the Sicanus with the Sicoris (Segre), a northern tributary of the Ebro. Krabasía, *polis* of the Iberians (F46), must be associated with Avienus' *Crabrasiae iugum* north of the Turia, a high ridge beyond which bare shores stretch to the *Cassae* (*Onussae*? Schulten) *(C)herronesi terminos* (489–491). There was a *polis* called *Chersónēsos*, peninsula, near Saguntum between the Júcar and the Ebro according to Strabo (3.4.6, 159). Various identifications have been suggested (Antonelli *ad. loc.*); but it is strange that anyone should have doubted Schulten's identification of the Crabrasian ridge with the chalk Montes de Irta, and of Chersonesus with Peñiscola, a fortified little town on a rocky islet, 68m high, linked to the mainland by a narrow sandy isthmus. There is no other peninsula along this coast. Here we must place 'Hýops, a *polis* in Iberia Cherronēsou, then the river Lesyrós' (F48). The Lesyrós will be the little river Calig, just north of Peñiscola.

Hecataeus named several native peoples. The Eídētes, an Iberian *ethnos* (F47), are so spelt in Stephanus' lexicon, where they have slipped out of alphabetical sequence and got stuck between Erchiá and Hespería. It would be better to put them back rather than accept Holsten's emendation *Ésdētes*, for they are Strabo's *Ēdētanoí* (3.4.1), Ptolemy's *Ēdētanoí*, occupying the coast between the Bastētanoí and the Iberians, whose territory included Valentia and Saguntum (2.6.62 Müller. Hübner, 'Edetani' *RE* VI.1, 18–19). A black-figure lekythos was found in the necropolis attached to their tribal centre *Édēta or Leíria* (San Miguel de Lliria).[51] The importance to Greek traders of Saguntum (Polybius' and Stephanus' *Zákantha*) is now highlighted by the publication in 1987 of a fragmentary letter from Emporion (Empuries) of the late 6th century, inscribed in East Ionic tinged with aeolicisms, as we might expect from Phocaeans, and probably *h*-less.

> (δεῖ σε ἐπιμελέσθαι) ὅκ]ως ἐν Σαιγάνθηι ἔσηι κἂν [---|---] Ἐ̣μπποριτιαισιν οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ Βα̣[σπεδ--|πλέο]νε̣ς̣ ἢ ἔ̣κοσι κοῖνος οὐκ ἐ.σ[. . .]δ[---|---|(φόρτιον τὸ ἐν)Σαιγάνθηι ὀνωνῆσθαι Βασπεδ[. . .]π[---|---]αν ἄρ̣σαν παρακομίσεν κας[. .]εν [---|---]ωνι τί τούτων ποιητέον [. .]ν[---|---].σα καὶ κελεύε σε Βα[σπεδ[. .]ελκ[ὲν|-ἐρέ]σθαι (εἴ) τις ἔστιν ὃς ἕλξει ἐς δ[.]οστ[---|(τὸ φόρτιον) ἡμ]έτερον· κἂν δύο ὦἶσι, δύο προ[ἐ̣σ̣]θ[ω. .]χ[---|---] . . . ος δ᾽ ἔστω· κἂν αὐτὸς θέλη[ι. .]θ̣α̣ι̣ [---|--τὤ]μυσυ μετεχέτω· κἂμ μὴ ὀ[μολόγη[ι---|---]τω κἀπιστελάτω ὀκόσō ἂν[---|---]ν ὡς ἂν δύνηται τάχιστα[---|--κεκ]έλευκα· χαῖρε.

> (Be sure) to be at Saiganthē . . . for the Emporitans, not even in the case of Ba[spedas]) . . . (more) than twenty, and wine not . . . (the cargo) at Sagainthē which Baspedas is to sell (or buy?) . . . and raise anchor (?) to transport . . . and what of these must be done . . . and tell Baspedas (to tow you?) . . . (ask) if there is someone who will do the towing to . . . our (cargo?); and if there are two (tugs?), let him provide two . . . and let it be so; and if he himself wishes . . . let him have half; but if (he) does not (agree?), let him . . . and let him send to say for how much . . . as quickly as he can . . . these are my orders: farewell.[52]

Here, it seems, is a Massaliot or Emporitan wine-shipper who owns a *holkás*—a 'round' freighter (see below, p. 339)—writing to its cap-

---

[51] Tovar, *Iberische Landeskunde*, II 3 (1989) 289, Dominguez and Sánchez, *Greek Pottery*, 51.

[52] Slings, 'Notes on the lead letters from Emporion', *ZPE* 104 (1994) 111–17; van Effenterre and Ruzé, *NOMIMA, receuil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaïsme grec* II (Rome, 1995), no. 74; Wilson, 'The illiterate trader?', *BICS* 42 (1997–8) 46–47.

tain to arrange for its towing, on arrival at Saguntum, by an Iberian about whom he could not afford to be supercilious, unlike Strabo who found Iberian names so barbarously unpleasant that he preferred not to write them down (3.3.7, 155). The ILARAUGÂTAI (F49) are the *Ilérgētes* between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, with Ilerda as their capital; the River ILARAUGÁTĒS must be another name for the Ebro.[53]

KROMÝOUSA, 'an island of Iberia' (F51), and MĒLOUSA, 'an island towards Iberia' (F52), were identified by Schulten with Minorca and Majorca. Those guesses are as good as any. Twenty transparently Greek names ending in *-ous(s)a(i)* were collected and plotted on a Western Mediterranean map by García y Bellido (71–77, fig. 20). Although there were many such in Old Greece as well as in Ionia, these names were evidently conferred by the Phocaeans, often to be replaced by native ones and half-forgotten. We only happen to know from [Arist]. *Mirab.* 100, 838b20–22 that Sardinia was once called *Ichnoûsa* because it is shaped like a human footprint. Lampsacus, Phocaea's colony on the Hellespont, provides an eastern example. From a citation from its local chronicler Charon (*FGH* 262 F7, Strabo 13.1.18) we know that it was formerly called *Pitýousa*, 'Pine Tree City'. Of this Herodotus was seemingly unaware when seeking to explain why Croesus threatened to destroy Lampsacus 'like a pine tree' (6.67).[54]

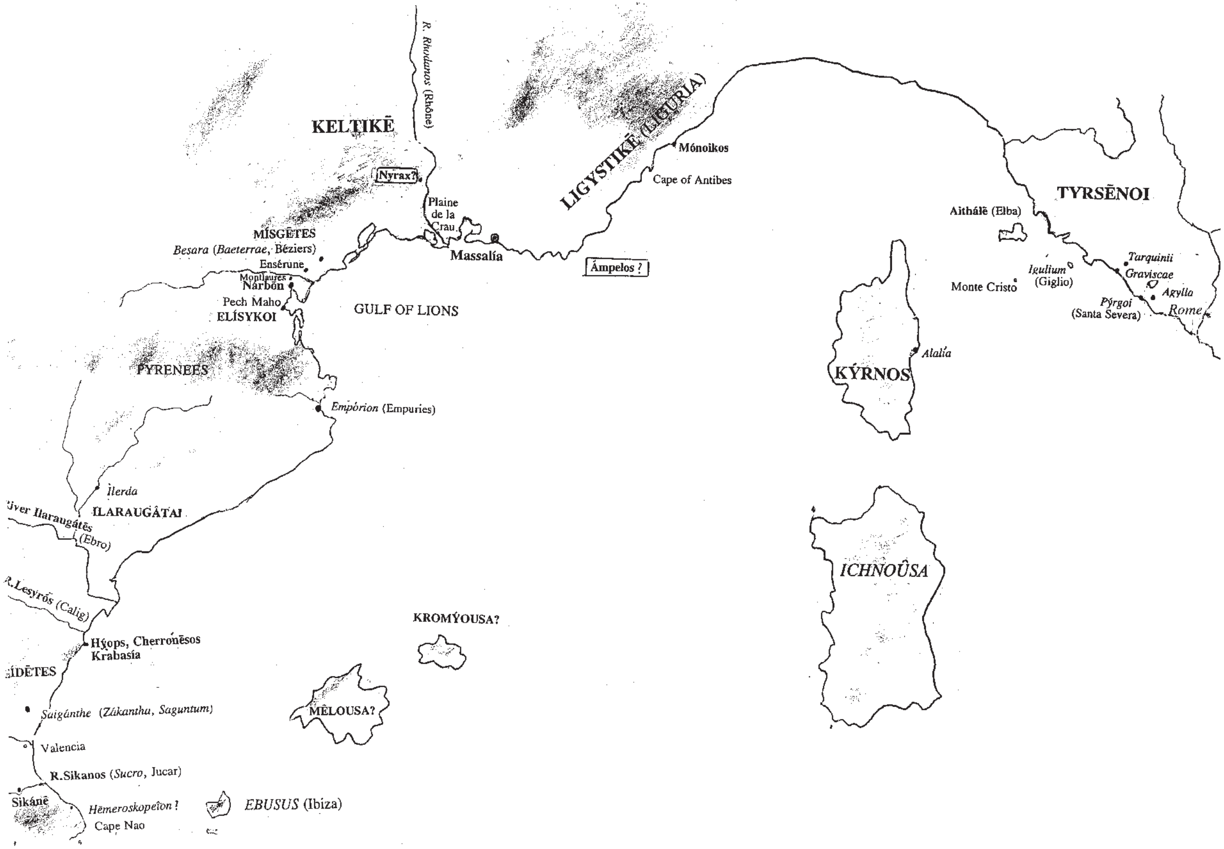
The Gulf of Lions and the Tyrrhenian Sea

Iberia, as we have seen, originally extended to the Rhône. The *oppida* in the Departments of Aude and Hérault are characterized by Iberian painted ware; at Ensérune and Béziers there is evidence of the Iberian script. Iberians here mingled with Ligurians. The MÍSGĒTES, '*ethnos* of the Iberians' (F50) must be Ps.-Scylax's Λίγυες καὶ Ἴβηρες μιγάδες, a mixed Ligurian and Iberian population extending from the Iberians to the river Rhône (3, *GGM* I 17). The ELÍSYKOI, a Ligurian *ethnos* (F53), are mentioned by Avienus in his account of the rivers, lagoons and marshes beyond the Pyrenees, just before coming to

---

[53] Schulten, *Iberische Landeskunde* I (Strasbourg, 1955), 308–9.

[54] This despite Charon's having lived before the Peloponnesian War according to Dion. Hal. *Thuc.* 5.1. Jacoby's arguments for putting him much later are weak, Fowler, 'Herodotos and his contemporaries', 65.



Map 3: Hecataeus: Northern Spain, Southern France and Northern Italy.

Besara (Béziers): 'the *gens* of the *Elesyci* previously held these places, and the civitas of Nar<b>o was the greatest capital of that ferocious kingdom' (586–8).[55] They fought as mercenaries alongside Phoenicians, Libyans, Iberians, Ligurians, Sardinians and Corsicans when Hamilcar of Carthage massed troops to intervene in Sicily in 480 (Hdt 8.165). **Narbū* is a pre-Celtic, probably Iberian name; there is the usual preponderance of Iberian pottery at Montlaurès 4 km to the north, with Phocaean pale grey *bucchero* among the Greek imports ('Narbo', *RE Suppl.* VII 515–548).[56] The Celts had driven the Elísykoi out of NÁRBŌN by Hecataeus' time, for he calls it 'a Celtic emporion and *polis*' (F54). For Polybius, the displacement by Celts was complete. 'From the river Nárbōn (Aude) the Celts inhabit the region as far as the Pyrenees (3.37.8).

In the Iberian *oppidum* of Pech-Maho, 14 km south of Narbonne, an early 5th-century lead docket came to light in 1985. Pech-Maho was evidently an international trading-point: of the amphorae dating to the 6th and 5th centuries, 38% were Phoenician, 30% Etruscan and 32% Greek; and there were 23 types of Greek pottery, mostly East Greek and Attic Black Figure (Wilson 1997–8, 40). Here is what the latest of successive studies has made of the docket, inscribed in the same dialect as the Emporion letter:

> ἀκ̣άτι[--] ἐπρίατο [Κύ]πρι[ος παρὰ τῶν] *vac* | Ἐμποριτέων· ἐπρίατο τε λ[ ] *vac* ἐμοὶ μετέδωκε τὤμυσυ τ[ρίτ]ο ἡ[μι]οκταν̣| ίο· τρίτον ἡμιεκτάνιον ἔδωκα ἀριθμῶ |ι καὶ ἐγγυητήριον τρίτην αὐτος· καὶ κε|ῖν' ἔλαβεν ἐν τῶι ποταμῶι· τὸν ἀρρα|βῶν' ἀνέδωκα ὄκο τἀκάτια ὀρμίζεται· |μάρτυρ Βασιγερρος καὶ Βλερυας καὶ | Γολο[-[βιυρ καὶ Σεδεγων· ο[ὖ]τοι μάρτ-| *vac* υρες εὖτε τὸν ἀρραβῶν' ἀνέδωκα, | *vac* [ε]ὖτε δὲ ἀπέδωκα τὸ χρῆμα τρίτον | *vac* [ἡμ]ι̣οκ-τ̣ᾴν̣ι[ο]ν, [-]αυαρας, Ναλβε[--]ν. Reverse: ΗΡΩΝΟΙΙΟΣ. (Independent Etruscan letter follows Greek text)

> [Ky]pri[os] bought an *akátion* . . . from the Emporitai, and also bought . . . He gave me a half share for two and a half Eights. Two and a half Sixes I counted out to him, and the pledge of a Third personally. And those he received on the river. The deposit I handed over where the

[55] Barruol, 'Les Elisiques et leur capitale *Naro/Narbo*' in *Narbonne, archéologie et histoire* I (Montpellier, 1973).

[56] Goessler, 'Narbo', *RE* supp. VII, 515–548, Solier and Giry, 'Les recherches archéologiques à Montlaurès: état des questions', *Narbonne, archéologie et histoire* I; Jully, *Céramiques grecques ou de type grec et autre céramiques en Languedoc méditerranéen, Roussillon et Catalogne: vii^e–iv^e s. avant notre ère, et leur contexte socio-culturel* (Paris, 1983), 1166–9.

> boats are moored. Witnesses: Basigerros, Bleryas, Golo(.)biur and Sedegon. These men were witnesses when I made over the deposit. And when I paid the money, two and a half Eights, (--auaras, Nalbe(-)n.[57]

Kyprios (?) had evidently taken an *akátion*—a small oared sailing-boat[58]—and another vessel from Emporion to Pech-Maho, to which the shallow lagoon of Narbonitis then extended and where small boats will have been useful. Here the writer bought a half-share in them, paying a deposit of 15 staters, with four Iberians as witnesses. This he did as someone's agent, since he also handed over a third of a stater as a deposit/pledge on his own account.[59] His subsequent payment of the full price of 20 staters was witnessed by two other non-Greeks. On the reverse, visible when the lead was rolled up, is written, most likely, the name of the person for whom the agent was acting on this occasion: Heron of Ios. The agent was evidently re-using a lead which carries on the reverse a brief text in Etruscan; here we see the letter K, obsolete on the mainland but still current in the military settlement that followed the expulsion of the Phocaeans from Corsican Alalia in c. 535. We can make out *Matalia*—Massalia.[60]

Despite the uncertainty of detail, we can see how, in Hecataeus' time, Massaliot trade extended eastward to the Etruscans, despite occasional warfare, and westward not only to Phocaean Emporion but also to the *oppida*, where Greek factors did business with the natives. Other Ionians, and perhaps a Cypriot, had reinforced the Phocaeans, whose own numbers can never have been great in view of their exiguous home territory (Justin 43.3).[61]

---

[57] Rodríguez Somolinos, 'The commercial transaction of the Pech-Maho lead', *ZPE* 111 (1996) 74–78; van Effenterre and Ruzé, *NOMIMA*, no. 75, Wilson, 'The illiterate trader'.

[58] Morrison and Williams, *Greek Oared Ships 900–322 B.C.* (Cambridge, 1968), 245.

[59] Phocaean electrum coins were commonly minted in denominations of a *hektē*, 6th of a stater, Kraay, *Greek Coins*, 355–6. An agent's deposit of two *hektai* makes more sense than that of an object worth a 3rd of fifteen staters, as suggested by Wilson, 'The illiterate trader', 44. Was the counting in Eights and Sixes due to the main payment being made not in coin but by weight?

[60] Cristofani, 'Il testo di Pech-Maho, Aleria e i traffici del V secolo A.C.', *MEFRA* 105 (1993) 833–845.

[61] The involvement of Cypriots in early Mediterranean trade is increasingly recognized (Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, 270). The name Kyprios, if that is what it was, implies a connection; but he need not have been a Cypriot himself, any more than Aigyptios in Homeric Ithaca (*Od.* 2.15) was an Egyptian. How interested Ionians were in each others' colonial ventures can be seen from Archilochus: discontented as one of the Parian colonists of Thasos (fr. 21 West), where 'the dregs of all Greece'

East of the Rhône, Ligystikē, Liguria proper, ran along and behind the Riviera to the frontiers of Etruria. Massalía was for Hecataeus 'a *polis* of Liguria towards Keltikē, colony of the Phocaeans' (F55). The only mention of Massalia by Herodotus is when he tells us that 'the Ligurians who live above Massalia call traders *Sigýnnai*' (5.9.3). He says nothing about Massalia in the context of Phocaean links with Tartessus, which began a generation before Massalia's foundation in c. 600; that should discourage us from rejecting (with Sanmartì-Griego) our honorand's sharp separation on archaeological grounds of Phocaean trade with Tartessus from the southern coastal strip of Spain from Massaliot trade with Emporion and beyond.[62] The Celts, as the lemma indicates, were not far from Massalia's Ligurian hinterland; the otherwise unknown Celtic *polis* Nýrax (F56) must be one of the many places touched by this northern trade, intensified after c. 540, and bringing Massaliot wine-amphorae to many sites east and west along the coast and up the Rhône valley into central Europe. The Phocaeans had been the first to introduce viticulture to the region (Justin 43.4). Grapestones are found in iron-age sites such as Martigues and Le Baou-Roux in Provence (Marinval 1990). Ámpelos, 'Vine', a city of Liguria (F58), could be any one of them. Where the buyers had no choice, they cannot have realised how bad the wines of the Côtes de Provence were compared with others. The Provençal wine sold less well in an open market. Between 500 and 375 the proportion of Massaliot wine amphorae to Ibero-Punic dwindled at Emporion, as it did elsewhere in Iberia and the islands.[63] Mónoikos, a Ligurian *polis* (F57), we have already discussed (above, p. 293).

Aithálē (F59, *Aethalia*, Elba), 'an island of the Tyrsenoi' (F59) is our only Hecataean reference to the Etruscans. Mainland Etruria's absence is less likely to be due to Stephanus' waywardness than to a lacuna in the manuscript he consulted. Kýrnos (F60, Corsica), as 'an island to the north of Iapygia' is an unaccountable error of transmission (p. 293 above). Except for the islets fringing the harbour of

had congregated (fr. 102), he longed for Siris which had been settled by the Ionians of Colophon.

[62] Sanmartì-Griego, 'les relations entre la Sicile et l'Ibérie durant le premier age du fer: témoignages archéologiques et hypothèses', *Kokalos* 39–40 (1993–4) 317–331, Shefton, 'Massalia and Colonization', 72.

[63] Sanmartì-Griego, 'Massalia et Emporion' in M. Bats, ed., *Marseille grecque et la Gaule*, 27–41.

Brindisi, there are no such islands. Nôla, '*polis* of the Aúsones' (F61) is an authentic citation. Kapýa (F62, Capua) and Kapriēnē (F63, Capri), *polis* and island 'of Italy' respectively, will have lost their Ausonian designation because for Stephanus, as for ourselves, Italy meant the whole peninsula as far as the Alps. An effort is required to remember that *Italia* had been only southern Bruttium (Calabria di Reggio) for Hecataeus. Capua and Nola were formed into large fortified settlements c. 800. Nola, strategically sited and with an extensive territory, remained important in its own right. There is archaeological evidence of an Etruscan presence from c. 650; in the 6th century it was massive, with great tombs bearing witness to the power of the Etruscan rulers of Campania, and to the import of Greek wares on a grand scale. The elder Cato mistakenly held both cities to be Etruscan foundations (Velleius 1.7.2–4). The style of Campanian bronzes, bucchero, black-figure pottery and architectural terracottas remained distinct from Etruscan and more strongly influenced by Cumae and Pithecusae. The native Italic people continued to live in scattered villages; sporadic graffiti show that their dialect was not identical with that of the Samnites who were to infiltrate Campania in the 5th century, conquer Capua in 423, and Nola by c. 400.[64] Strabo's sources gave these original inhabitants the name of *Aúsones* (5.3.6). They were identical, according to Antiochus of Syracuse (c. 430/410, FGH 555 F7, *ap.* Strabo 5.4.3, 242) and Aristotle (*Pol.* 5.10.5, 1329b19–20) with the *Opikoí*; or else the settlements of the two peoples were distinct but contiguous round the 'Crater', as the Bay of Naples was called (Polybius 37.11.7a, Strabo *ibid.*). In A.D. 64 Seneca was to watch the Alexandrian grain-fleet sailing between Capreae (Goat Island) and the Sorrento Peninsula into the Bay (*Ep* 77.1). Greek settlers will have been well aware of the island from the time of Pithecusae's first foundation, well before it came into the possession of Naples and had two *políchnai*, presumably Capri and Anacapri (Strabo 5.4.9).

Shipwreck and piracy were ever-present dangers along the rocky coast east of Massalia, even in the last days of sailing, as can be seen in the first chapters of Dumas' *Count of Monte Cristo*. The reader marvels at the intrepid skill of young Dantès, the Massaliot sailor who, though he never existed, has outdone Pytheas in fame. A

[64] Frederiksen, *Campania* (London, 1984), 135–140.

swastika-bedizened geometric crater of Pithecusae shows a dismasted wreck surrounded by corpses and fishes, one of which has a man's head in its maw.[65] Twelve archaic Western Mediterranean wreck-sites (excluding four sites which may just have been anchorages) were listed and mapped in 1992, eight of them along the rocky coast of the French Riviera.[66]

A wreck sunk in c. 600 off Igilium (Giglio), an island 15 km from the Tuscan coast and 52 km SE of Elba, has brought the activities of drowned Greek traders to life. We cannot tell if they were Phocaean, Euboean, or Aeginetan, for the finds, which would have been even richer but for clandestine looting between 1961 and 1982, attest a complex pattern of trade. A decorated Corinthian bronze helmet may have been intended as a prestigious gift; but the nose of another, inferior one, suggests that it was carried for use, as were the 30 socketed bronze arrowheads, from a medley of moulds and therefore not a trade consignment. For shipboard use, too, were the *auloí*: one intact boxwood instrument and 17 fragments, with differences in length, bore and disposition of finger-holes. Four astragals show that waiting-time was beguiled by dicing as well as hornpipes. There were three Greek lamps. 135 lead weights were for fishing with lines, draw nets and casting nets. Of the 10 or 20 stone anchor stocks, one was half-finished. The hull was jointed from nine varieties of timber, all common to the Mediterranean; so we cannot tell the ship's provenance. A silver jug with riveted handle survives. The painted pottery consisted of aryballoi—some 28 Corinthian, six Laconian and one Etrusco-Corinthian—and one banded Samian lekythos. There were fine wares from Etruria and 80 fragments of glazed Ionian bowls. Most of the amphorae were Etruscan, of poor porous clay usually coated inside with pitch or resin. Some had contained olives, some pitch. Olive oil had filled at least four East Greek and six small Samian jars, and one Phoenician jar resembling those found at Mogador on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. Four shield-shaped copper ingots were found weighing over 40 kg each, and nine long

[65] Torelli, 'L'immaginario greco dell' Oltremare', in B. D'Agostino, D. Ridgway, ed., *Apoikia: i più antichi insediamenti greci in Occidente: funzioni e modi dell' organizzazione politica e sociale*, 125.

[66] Long, Miro and Volpe, 'Les épaves archaïques de la pointe Lequin (Porquerolles, Hyères, Var). Des données nouvelles sur le commerce de Marseille à la fin due VI^{e} s. et dans la première moitié du V^{e} s. av. J.-C.', in M. Bats, ed. *Marseille grecque et la Gaule*, 229–230.

flattish lead ingots weighing between 8.4 and 11.4 kg. Small copper nuggets, iron bars and spits seem to have served as currency. There were two pieces of amber from the distant, unknown Baltic. Some wooden objects were utilitarian; but there was part of a finely jointed and ornamented couch-leg, and a boxwood lid with ivory studs, a boxwood writing tablet and (possibly) its stylus.[67]

Etruscan ships traded too: if we did not know better, we might think from the earliest finds that Massalia was an Etruscan foundation.[68] One small Etruscan vessel, which foundered off the Cape of Antibes in c. 540/530, was carrying 40 kantharoi and 20 jugs of *bucchero nero*, and a set of painted Etrusco-Corinthian tableware from Agylla (Caere, modern Cerveteri, where the Etruscans at just this time stoned to death their Phocaean prisoners, Hdt 1.165–167). Only one cup and two jugs were Ionian Greek; there was one Punic lamp (the Etruscans did not make any). 180 pitch-lined Etruscan amphorae, some with cork stoppers, had contained wine. All timbers have gone, but three anchor-stocks of stone and one of lead remain (Bouloumié 1990).

Two wrecks explored since 1985 off Pointe Lequin, which juts out from the island of Porquerolles a little to the east of Toulon, date from Hecataeus' working life. Wreck 1A, of c. 515, is of a vessel of about 5 tonnes, with a cargo of some 1600 fine vessels of tableware (half of them Attic), 100 lamps and bowls without handles, 50 plain pots, 90 amphorae and 10 *pithoi*. 61.7% of the amphorae were Eastern Greek, including 29.4% Milesian, 9.8% Chiot, 7.3% Samian, and 2.9% Thasian. Athenian, Corinthian/Corcyrean and Ionio-Massaliot amphorae were found in equal proportions (11.7% each). Only 1.5% were Etruscan; the merchantman had not put in at an Etruscan port. There were a dozen terracotta statuettes of an enthroned goddess already attested at Massalia. Was the ship Aeginetan? Here, at any rate, is proof that in Hecataeus' time, a quarter of a century after the Phocaean evacuation of Corsica, Massalia was not, as once assumed, 'perilously isolated' (Jullian 1908, 389). Wreck 1B, of a vessel of some 2 tonnes carrying 50 or 60 wine-amphorae, all Massaliot except for one Etruscan, dates to the early 5th century.[69]

---

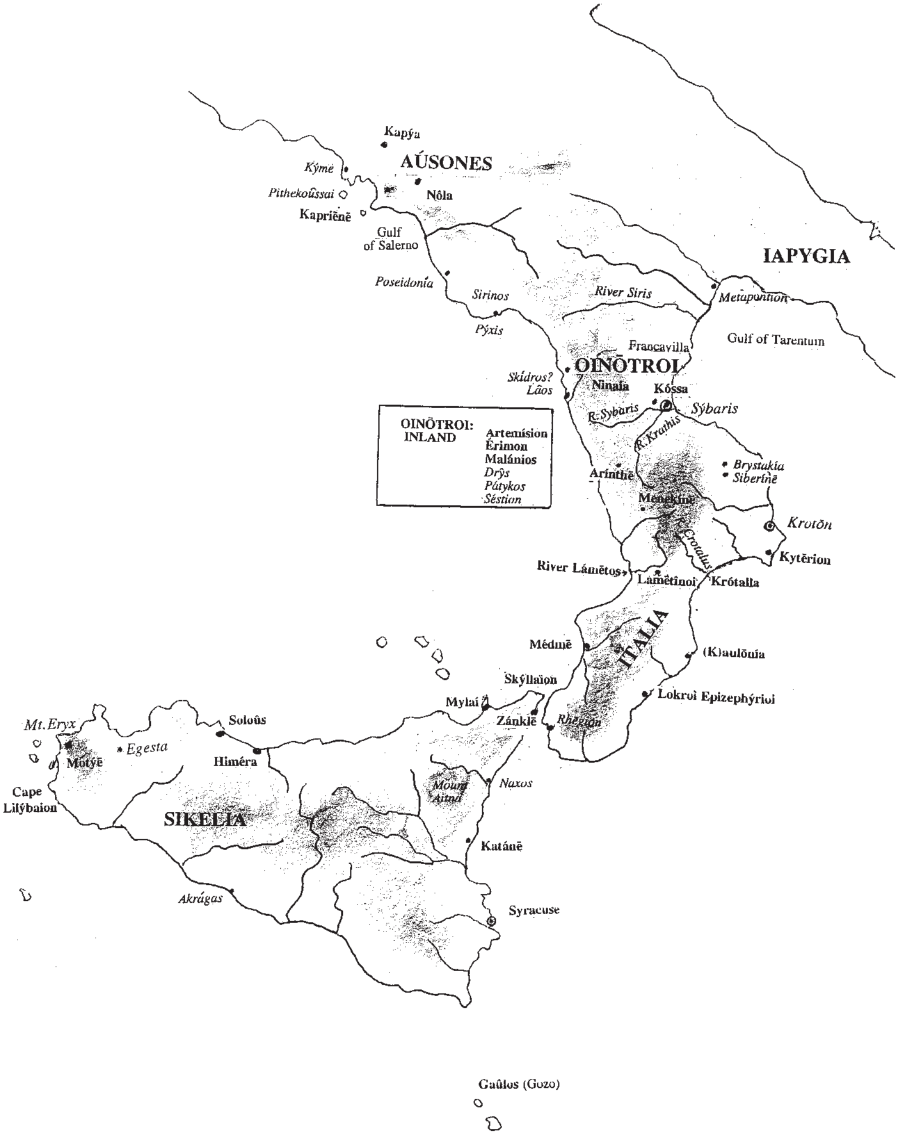
[67] Bound, *The Giglio Wreck, A Wreck of the Archaic Period (c. 600 B.C.) off the Tuscan island of Giglio. An account of its discovery and excavation: a review of the main finds* (Athens, 1991).
[68] Shefton, 'Massalia and Colonization', 63.
[69] Long, Miro and Volpe, 'Les épaves archaïques'.

Magna Graecia and Sicily

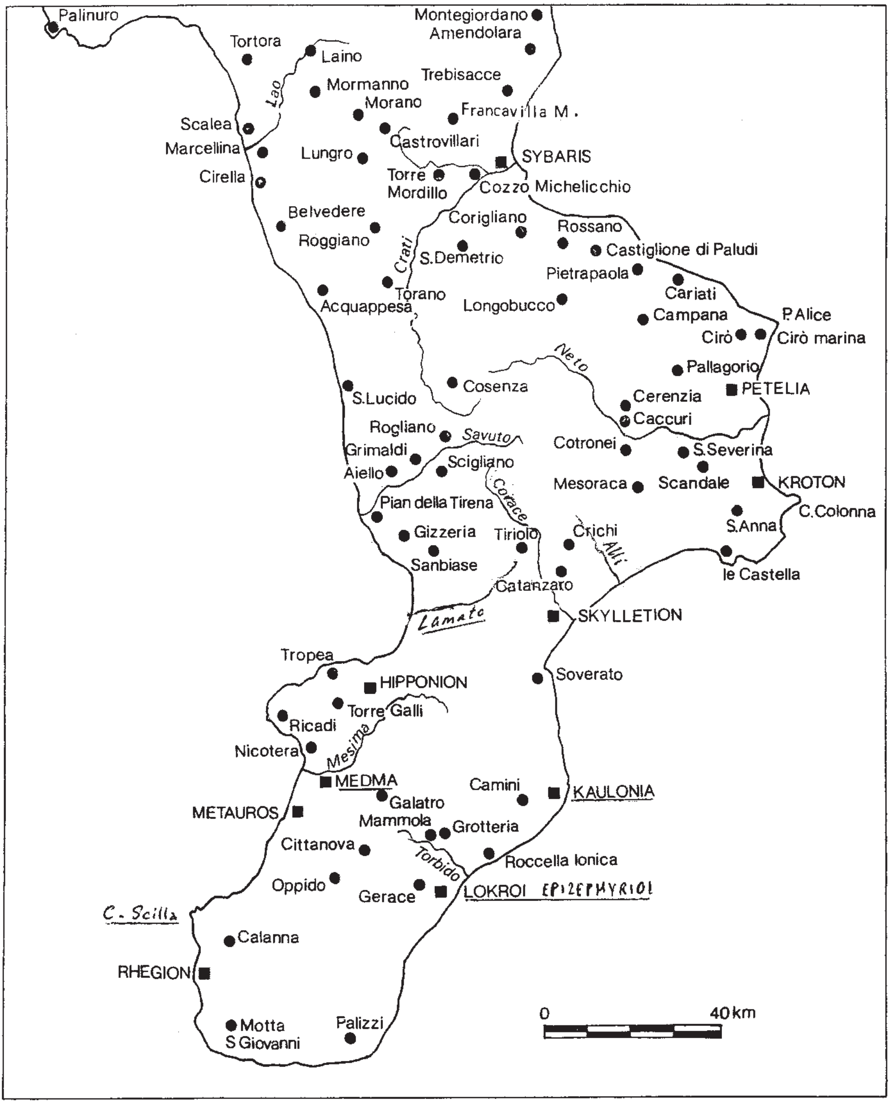
Oinōtría, 'Vinland', was the ancient Greek name for the territory south of the rivers Silarus and Bradanus (*cf.* Strabo 5.1.1, 209, Philipp 1937). Who the Oenotrians had been was an antiquarian question for Strabo (6.1.3, 254–9) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.12–13), who put together what he found in ancient sources: Pherecydes of Athens who had made Oínōtros the brother of Peukétios, eponym of the less elusive Picenes (*FGH* 3 F156); Sophocles' *Triptolemus* where Oenōtría is described as outstretched on the voyager's right before he reaches the Tyrrhenian Gulf and the Ligurians (fr. 541 Radt); and Antiochus of Syracuse (c. 430/410), who held the Oenotrians to be the former possessors of Italia (*FGH* 555 F2, 4–6). Hecataeus, however, distinguished between Oenotria, comprising Lucania and northern Bruttium (modern Calabria), and Italia, which was southern Bruttium only.

Stephanus attributes to Hecataeus nine *poleis* of the Oenotrians ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ/-ῳ, in the interior. It is safe to assume that six other *poleis* so described by him are from Hecataeus too, for the expression occurs nowhere else. Nothing has been found to confirm, disprove or add to the identifications of 19th-century travellers who noted villages with similar-sounding names, sometimes distinguished by Roman ruins. These are set out by Philipp and Dunbabin.[70] If we follow them, Arínthē (F64) is Rende, on the river Arento, a tributary of the Crathis. Ixiás (F67a) is unrecognisable; but Menekínē (F67b), with which it is coupled, is Mendicino, south of Cosenza. Kóssa (F68) should be *Cosa in agro Thurino* which, according to Caesar (*B.C.* 3.22) Milo was attacking when a stone hit his head and killed him; this will be Cassano all'Iónio just north of Sybaris. Kytérion (F69) is Cutro, south of Croton. Nínaia (F71) is San Donato di Ninea; *Brystakía* (Steph. 188.4) could be Umbriatico; *Siberínē* (Steph. 563.16) is Santa Severina, the only Italian village of that name. *Pýxis* (Steph. 540.9) is *Pyxoûs*, Buxentum, on the coastal route from Laus to Poseidonia. Its joint coinage with neighbouring *Sirinos* (Sirino), inscribed ΠΨΧ and ΣΙΡΙΝΟΣ in the Achaean alphabet, has the backward-looking bull of Sybaris on the obverse (Kraay 304, pl. 76:214).

[70] Philipp, 'Oenotri', *RE* XVII.2 2023–2031; Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (Oxford, 1948), 156; Greco, 'L'imperio di Sibari: bilancia archeologica topografica', in *Sibari e la Sibaritide* (Taranto, 1992).



Map 4: Hecataeus: Southern Italy and Sicily.



Map 5: Calabria: principal archaeological sites, after Pier Giovanni Guzzo, "l'archeologia delle colonie archaice" in (ed.) Salvatore Settis, *Storia della Calabria antica* (Rome *c.* 1988), fig. 109, p. 138.

That leaves Artemísion (F65), Érimon (F66) and Malánios (F70) unidentified along with *Drŷs* (Steph. 240.3), *Patykos* (513.1), and *Séstion* (Steph. 562.5).

Only Kytérion cannot have belonged to the territory of Sybaris, which at the height of its prosperity ruled from sea to sea over four native peoples and 28 subject cities (Strabo 6,1.13). Of the 15 Oenotrian place-names from Hecataeus, only four are unmistakeably Greek. Some 35 archaeological sites in the region have been explored (mapped by Guzzo, *c.* 1988, 138 = MAP 5). The native sites of Amendolara and Francavilla Maritima, 13 km from Sybaris, show progressive hellenization from the 8th century on. Francavilla had a shrine of Athena where an Olympic victor, Cleombrotus, dedicated a bronze plaque (*LSAG*² 456 1a). Another, found at Olympia itself, records a treaty of c. 550–525, guaranteed by Poseidonia (Paestum), of everlasting friendship between 'the Sybarites and their allies' and the Serdaioi (Meiggs & Lewis 10, *LSAG*² 456 1b). Their coins, inscribed ΣΕΡ in Achaean, conform to the South Italian standard, but not to the Sybarite key-type. From their coins they would appear to be colonists from Sicilian Naxos (Kraay 305, pl. 79:224). Sybaris' allied and dependent states in Sybarite territory were not extinguished in 510, when the Crotoniates destroyed the capital by diverting the river Crathis (Diod. 12.9–10, Strabo 6.1.13, 263). Staters showing the Crotoniate tripod and, on the reverse, ΣΥ and the backward-looking Sybarite bull, illustrate some kind of accommodation (Kraay 206, pl. 92:266). The Sybarites who had settled in to Laus and Scidrus were still independent in 493 (Hdt 6.21); Laus was minting staters with the Sybarite bull, now human-headed (Kraay 304, pl. 76:215).

Hecataeus knew about Sybaris' territory because of that city's friendship with his native Miletus. When Croton destroyed Sybaris in 510, Milesians of all ages shaved their heads and went into mourning (Hdt 6.21). The Sybarites had worn clothes of Milesian wool and been friends of the the Etruscans (Timaeus *FGH* 566 F50 *ap.* Athen. 12.17.519bc). Miletus must have sent its wool to Sybaris, where there may have been a river-port.[71] Bags of wool will then

[71] Bullitt, *Search for Sybaris* (London, 1971), 165–6. Timaeus was to claim that the Sybarites happily consumed most of their own produce in the absence of a harbour (*FGH* 566 F50 *ap.* Athen. 12.18.519f.). But Amphinomus and Sons dedicated a wooden cow and calf at Lindos as a thank-offering for the safe passage of their ship 'from the broad land of Sybaris' (Lindus Chronicle, *FGH* 532 (26), citing

have been carried across the isthmus by pack-animals: up the Sybaris valley, northwards along what was to be the Via Popilia, and down the Laus valley for shipment to Etruria. In this way Miletus' traders could avoid the Straits, controlled by Zankle and Rhegion, Chalcidian foundations which are likely to have been hostile. The Milesians had helped Eretria against Chalcis in the distant past; the Eretrians in 500 repaid them by sending them five ships against the Persians (Hdt. 5.99.1). The Chalcidians will have been resentful for as long as the Eretrians were grateful.

'LAMĒTÎNOI, a *polis* (of Italy), from the river LÁMĒTOS πρὸς Κρότων' (F80), presents no great problem. The river Lamato flows westward into the Gulf of Santa Eufemia, where a British force landed in 1806 and made its way through marshland into the Plain of Maida. According to the regimental record, they passed through 'the streets of Lamato' before crossing the shallow river to win the battle against the French after which Maida Vale got its name. We should look for it in or near San Pietro a Maida. Though 65 km from Croton, Lamētînoi will have been in or near Crotoniate territory. Following the *Lámētos* to its source, one is not far from the watershed from which a number of little rivers, including the *Crotalus* (Alli), run east (Pliny *NH* 3.96); here must have been KRÓTALLA (F85). *Kaulōnía*, a *polis* of Italy which Hecataeus called AULŌNÍA 'because it was in the middle of an αὐλών, hollow' (F84), was further south on the Adriatic coast, a colony of Croton (Ps.-Scymnus 318–9). LOKROÌ EPIZEPHÝRIOI (F83) and its colony MÉDMĒ (F81) are well known, as is CAPE SKÝLLAION (F82), at the western entrance to the Straits of Messina; it was supposed to have been the rock of Scylla of the *Odyssey*, So are the *poleis* of Sicily for which we have Hecataean references. Five are Greek: ZÁNKLĒ (F72), KATÁNĒ (F73), SYRACUSE (F74), HIMÉRA (F78), MYLAÍ (F79). Two are Phoenician: MOTÝĒ (F76) and SOLOŪS (F77). We need only note that these names are all rooted in the late 6th century. Zánklē was renamed Messēnē in 490; it has never looked back and is Messina today. Katánē was refounded as *Aítnē* by the tyrant Hieron in 476 (Diod. 11.49.1) but regained its old name in 451 (Diod. 11.76.3). Of LILÝBAION (F75) the lexicon says 'the western

---

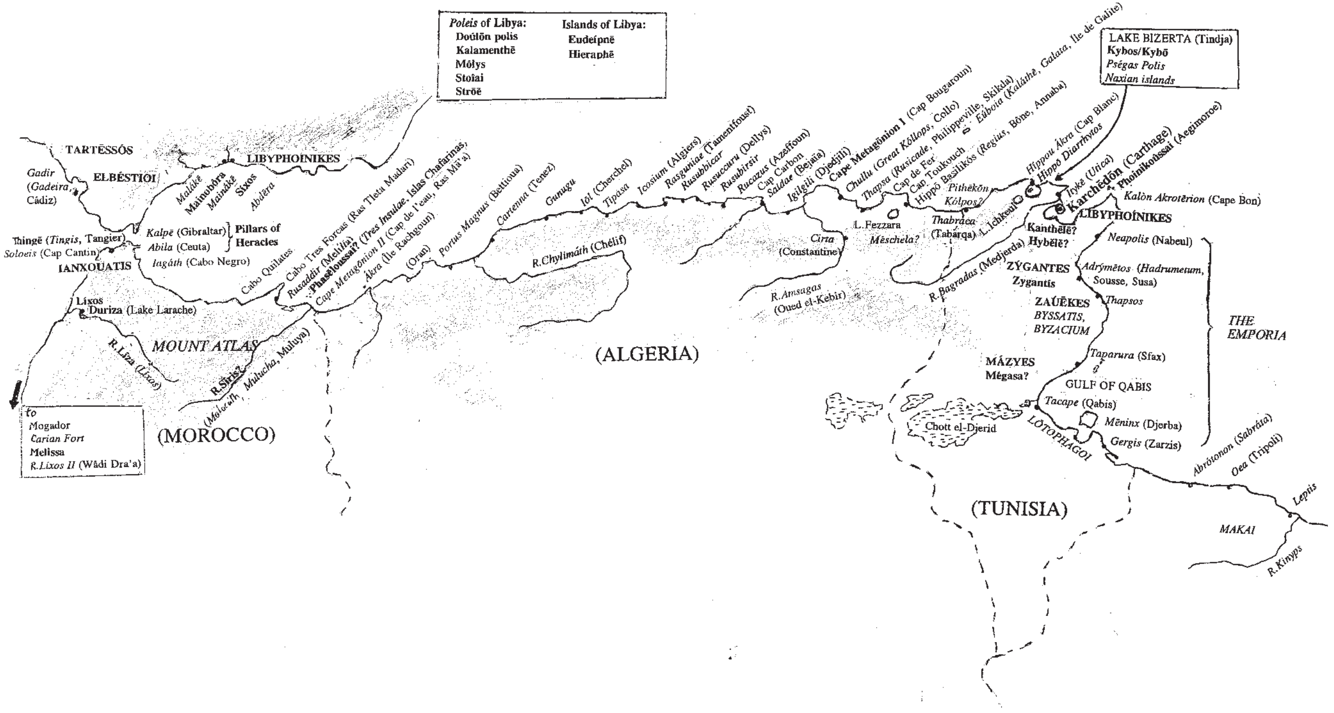
Xenagoras who wrote in Hellenistic times but copied the ancient inscription, *FGH* 20 F14). Smindyrides is said to have voyaged from Sybaris to Sicyon in a private penteconter in *c.* 570 (Diod. 8.19). There seems to have been a river-quay in Roman times (Bullitt *loc. cit.*).

cape of Sicily, Hecataeus, 'Europe'. And there is a *polis*'. It was indeed a cape in Hecataeus' time; the *polis* of Lilýbaion (Marsala), only doubtfully attested for 454 (Diod. 11.86.2), was founded by the Carthaginians in 396 (Diod. 20.10.4).

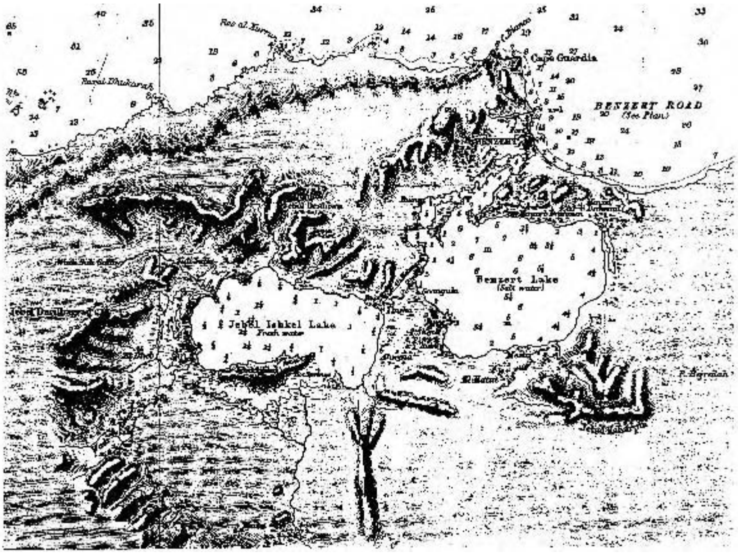
North Africa

Of the places that Hecataeus locates in Libya, as the Greeks called Africa, some can be assigned on good evidence to the Eastern Mediterranean. A headland Kynóssēma, Dog's Barrow (F329), jutted out a short way west of the Delta. Three towns belong to Cyrenaica: Aúsigda (F330), Zēbyttis (F331) and Maskōpos (F333). The Psýlloi tribe lived in the barren hinterland of the Psýllic Gulf (F332), which is to be identified with the Great Syrtis; Herodotus repeats a Libyan account—at second-hand?—of how they went to war against the South Wind, which buried them in a sandstorm (4.173); descendants of the survivors were famous in Roman times for their immunity to snake-bite (Pliny *NH* 7.14, Dio 51.14). Some mariners, including Carthaginians with cargoes of wine, braved the treacherous shallows of the Great Syrtis, 'for the daring disposition of man induces him to attempt everything' (Strabo 17.20); but it was best by-passed by sailing three days and nights straight from (Eu)hesperides in Cyrenaica to Neapolis (Nabeul in Tunisia), Ps-Scylax 109, *GGM* I 84.

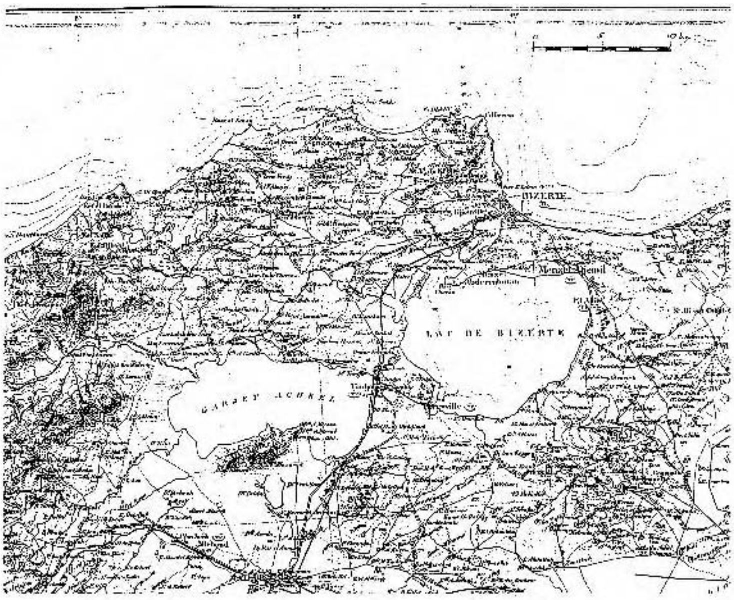
Proceeding westward, Herodotus seems to be following, with variations, Hecataeus' account of the North Africa tribes, for Hecataeus mentioned not only the Psýlloi but also the Mázyes (F334), Herodotus' *Máxyes* (4.191), the Zaúēkes (F336, Hdt 4.193) and the Zýgantes (F337, Herodotus' *Gýzantes*, 4.194). These three peoples lived in Northern Tunisia, as is clear from Herodotus' tribe-by-tribe account. The ferocious topknot-wearing *Mákai*, whom the Carthaginians suborned to drive out Dorieus' Spartan colonists from the desirable territory of Kinyps in c. 512 (Hdt 4.177, 5.42), had as western neighbours the permissive *Gindánes*; next came the *Lōtophágoi* on a coast which must front the island of Djerdja, where the sloe-sized reddish-yellow sweetish jujube, the fruit of the scrubby *Ziziphus Lotus L*, provides food and a sort of palm-wine. Its description and identification with the food of Homer's Lotus Eaters (*Od.* 11.91–97), by both Herodotus (4.177) and Ps.Scylax (110), may derive from Hecataeus (Jacoby



Map 6: Hecataeus: North Africa.



Map 7a: Commander Groves' mapping of the Benzert Lakes of 1845. Admiralty Chart 250 of 1865/7.



Map 7b: Service géographique de l'Armée: *Bizerte* révision de 1902, complété en 1928.

1912, 2733–4). Polybius (12.2 *ap*. Athen. 14.65, 651DE, *cf.* Pliny *NH* 5.41 was to give a correct description of what, if it is like the Indian jujube which I have tried, is a fruit to forget. Further along the coast Herodotus set the *Máchlyes*, jujube-eaters too, but not exclusively so. (Dates were available and olives could have been planted in the region of *Gérgis* (Zarzis), as they were in the 1950s). Beyond the Machlyes Herodotus brings us to the great River Triton and the shallows of Lake Tritonis. We are forced to identify Tritonis with the vast land-locked saltpan of the Chott el-Djerid, though it is hard today to envisage it as a lake, connected to the sea by river. However, beyond it, now as then, nomadism gives way to agriculture (Hdt 4.187.1). There is no definite boundary: small cultivated patches dot the arid steppe. So it is not surprising that Herodotus' punkish *Máxyes* (4.191) are husbandmen, whereas Hecataeus' MÁZYES (F334), clearly the same people, are nomads. Hecataeus names a *polis*, MÉGASA, that divides the desert and the sown: 'from here are bread-eaters and ploughmen' (F335). Beyond the Maxyes were the ZAÚĒKES (F336), noted for their women drivers (Hdt 4.193). Herodotus' *Gýzantes*, vermilion-painted monkey-eating beekeepers (4.194), are Hecataeus' bee-keeping ZÝGANTES, with a *polis*, ZÝGANTÍS (F337). We are now in Pliny's *Zeugitana regio* (*NH* 5.23), the arable country behind Carthage. Zeugitana recurs in the 4th century A.D. as a name for the Roman province of Africa Proconsularis.

Hecataeus' North African *poleis* and islands fill a void left by Herodotus, who describes tribes only, and does not even, at this point of his work, include Carthage. 'An island over against Carthage' is GAULOS (F341), Maltese Gozo, settled, like Malta itself, by Carthaginians according to Ps-Scylax 111. It was named after the Phoenician round-ended cargo-ship,[72] the *gaûlos* or 'tub'. Gulos is a Semitic word, related to Hebrew *gōl*, bowl (Zechariah 4:2). A *gaûlos*, 'big and full of all sorts of goods', was escorted by two triremes on a spying mission from Sidon to Southern Italy soon after Darius I's accession in 522 (Hdt 3.136–8). The island's coins were to bear the name ΓΑΥΛΙΤΩΝ, five other place-names assigned by Hecataeus to the Carthaginian/Libyan-Phoenician domain are Greek. HYBÉLĒ is a *polis* near Carthage (F340), as is KANTHĒLÍA, 'pack-saddle' (F338a), otherwise KANTHĒLĒ, 'a *polis* of the Libyphoinikes' (F338b). EUDEÍPNĒ, 'good dinner' is a

[72] Casson, *Ships and Seafaring in Ancient Times* (London, 1994), 41.

Libyan island of Phoenicians (F339). The PHOINIKOÛSSAI (F342) are two islands in the Libyan Gulf near Carthage. KÝBOS, 'dice', is 'a *polis* of the Ionians in Libya of the Phoenicians'. Stephanus goes on to cite Hecataeus' actual words: '. . . and a harbour, Horse's Cape, and KYBŌ' (F343).[73]

The two Phoinikoussai must, I believe, be the pair of uninhabited islets at the mouth of the Gulf of Tunis, Djezîret el-Djamûr and Djezîret es-Seghîr, known to Pliny as the *Aegimoroe* (*NH* 5.42). We cannot identify Good Dinner Island. On landing upon a strange island, Odysseus killed a stag for his men (*Od.* 10.154–182); but not even a hare or a wild boar was necessary for feasting, for Greeks relished fish, as the Giglio wreck's fishing-weights confirm. Or did Phoenicians serve the dinner? We cannot say to which places near Carthage were given the Greek names of Hybélē and Kanthēlē. But they are indicators of the 'happy symbiosis' of Greeks and Phoenicians in the late 8th and early 7th centuries, for which our honorand argued in 1982, and which was consequently confirmed when the Hamburg excavators found abundant Pithecusan and Euboean pottery—skyphoi, kotylai, jugs and juglets—in Carthage's earliest levels.[74] It is not surprising that the names given by Greek pioneers were discarded later. Few residents of Hawaii now remember that its first European discoverer called their archipelago the Sandwich Islands.

The lemma and *verbatim* quotation about Kybō connects with Ps.-Scylax's east-to-west description of the coast of Northern Tunisia, bringing to us an echo of 8th-century Euboean penetration:

> beyond *Itýkē* (Utica) is the *Híppou ákra* (Horse's Cape or Height) or *Hippōn Polis*, and a *límnē* by it, and islands in the *límnē*, and round the *límnē* [in the islands] these *poleis*: Pségas Polis . . . and opposite it many Naxian islands. Pithekoûsai and harbour. And opposite them an island and a polis in the island, Euboea. Then Thápsa, *polis* and harbour . . . (*Periplus* 111, *GGM* I 89–90).[75]

---

[73] Κύβος [ἢ Κυβὼ], πόλις Ἰώνων ἐν Λιβύηι Φοινίκων. Ἑκαταῖος Περιηγήσει αὐτῆς "καὶ λιμὴν που (Ἵππου Meinecke ἄκρη καί Κυβώ)."

[74] Shefton, 'Greeks and Greek imports', 337–343, Docter and Niemeyer, 'Pithekoussai: the Carthaginian connection', in B. D'Agostino, D. Ridgway, ed., *Apoikia. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner*, 104–108.

[75] ἀπὸ Ἰτύκης Ἵππου ἄκρα [ἢ] Ἱππὼν πόλις, καὶ λίμνη ἐπ᾿ αὐτῇ ἐστι καί νῆσοι ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ, καί περὶ τὴν λίμνην πόλεις [ἐν τοῖς νήσοις] αἵδε· Ψέγας πόλις καὶ ἐναντίον αὐτῆς Ναξικαὶ πολλαί. Πιθηκοῦσσαι καί λιμήν· κατ᾿ ἐναντίον αὐτῶν καὶ νῆσος καί πόλις ἐν τῷ νήσῳ Εὔβοια· Θάψα καὶ πόλις καί λιμήν . . .

Between Utica and Thapsa (*Rusicade*, Philippeville/Skikda) we know of two *Híppou ákrai*, each one near a *límnē*, 'lagoon'. The Greek word is ambiguous: it can denote a bay, lake or marsh. One *Híppou ákra* was taken by Agathocles in his anti-Carthaginian campaign of 307 (Diod. 20.55.3), and was known in Roman imperial times as *Hippo Diarrhytus* (Bizerte, Banzart). It commanded the channel to the Mediterranean from a *navigabile stagnum* which was a pleasure resort in the time of the Younger Pliny (*Epp.* 9.33.2), and which, by deepening the channel in 1895, the French made into the magnificent harbour-bay of Bizerta. This Hippo was still the *polis* of the *Hippakrítai* for Polybius, who tells of its siege, surrender and reconquest during the Great Mutiny of Carthage's mercenaries in 240–237 (1.70–82). The second *Híppou ákra* lay further to the west. Captured in the campaign of 307 by Eumachus, an officer of Agathocles' son, 'it was of the same name as that captured by Agathocles', and near a large *polis, Meschéla*, of which we should like to know more, for it claimed to have been 'founded by Greeks returning from Troy' (20.57.6). This second Hippo was the *Hippo Regius* (*Basilikós*) of Roman times, St Augustine's see, modern Bone/Annaba. Soon after taking it, Eumachus conquered a monkey-worshipping settlement, translated into Greek, was *Pithēkoûssai*, Monkey Town (Diod. 20.58.2–5). We should connect it with Stephanus' *Pithēkōn kólpos*, Monkey Bay, in Carthaginian territory (523.3–4, from Hecataeus?)[76] This may be the Bay of Thabraca (Tabarqa), half-way between the two Hippos, for there were monkeys in the woods here (Juvenal *Sat.* 10.195). But there will have been monkeys everywhere along that coast.[77]

Which of the two *Híppou ákrai* is that of Hecataeus and Ps.-Scylax? Treidler, who published two exhaustive studies of the question, preferred Hippo Regius, because it is in the lee of a more prominent cape, the Cap de Garde ('Psegas Polis', *RE* XXIII.2 (1959), 1322–1341). But Lake Fezzara near Hippo Regius is some way from the sea, and was described by nineteenth-century travellers as a tract of malarial flats with uninhabited shores. It cannot compete with Lake Bizerta, which with the neighbouring shallow, bird-frequented fresh-water Lake Ichkeul yields up to 3000 kg of fish a day.[78] The bay of Bizerta

[76] Πιθήκων κόλπος, λιμὴν ἐν τῇ Λιβὺῃ περὶ Καρχηδόνα· τὸ ἐθνικὸν Πιθηκοκολπίτης.
[77] Just possibly Monkey Bay was the Gulf of Stora. Near Stora, to the west of Thapsa (Skikda), Admiralty Chart 1712 (1963) shows an offshore *Îlot des Singes.*
[78] Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea* (Oxford, 2000), 192.

today has a big and a little island, Djezîrat el-Kebîra and Djezîrat el-Sagihîrat. It is likely that the level of Lakes Bizerta and Ichkeul was higher in antiquity; they may have formed one body of water. Marshes combined with Lake Ichkeul to make Djebel Ichkeul (308 m.) into an island as late as 1845, when Commander T. Groves charted the two lakes. Other heights, now on dry land, may have once been similarly surrounded. The Commander marked [‘[ruins’ at four points between the lakes (Admiralty Chart 250, 1865/7).[79] We cannot now precisely locate Kybo and Psegas Polis, or deduce from the faulty text whether the Naxian islands were in the *límnē* or offshore. There is, however, only one eligible candidate for Euboea: the Île de la Galite, 65 km from Tabarqa and 10 km square. By Roman times it had acquired the name of *Kaláthē*, ‘basket’ (Ptol. 4.3.12 Müller), Latin *Galata.* It affords a sought-after anchorage, and is home today to a small community of crayfish-fishers. Bourguiba, Tunisia’s president-to-be, was exiled there by the French in 1952. The absence of scorpions may have cheered him: Pliny believed the island’s soil to be fatal to them (*NH* 5.42, 35.202).[80] A foreign island named after a Greek one did not need to resemble it, or, for all we know, have Greek inhabitants. Hecataeus listed Nile islands which the Greek settlers in Egypt called Ephesus, Chios, Lesbos, Cyprus and Samos (F310).

Kybō, the forgotten Ionian colony in North Africa, associated with new Naxian islands and a new Euboea, is comparable to the Ionian colony of Naxos in Sicily, founded in 734 by Euboean Chalcidians with a contingent from Aegean Naxos (Thuc. 6.3.1, Hellanicus *FGH* 4 F82, Ephorus *FGH* 70 F137). Kybō may have been an even earlier foundation: we should take seriously the suggestion that it was after the North African Pithēkoûssai that the Euboeans named Ischia in c. 760. Modern discussion cannot get away from the awkward fact that no monkeys have ever been indigenous to Italy. Ovid’s story of the divine punishment of the mischievous Kérkōpes, trans-

[79] Admiralty Chart 250 of 1865/7 follows Commander Groves’ mapping of the Benzert Lakes of 1845. His main concern was to take soundings. French military cartographers later mapped and measured the surrounding and intervening heights: Djebel Ichkeul (308 m), Djebel Zarour (167 m), Djebel Berna (271 m), Douar Bechouk (168 m), Douar Faroua (79 m), Sidi Yahia (70 m): Service géographique de l’Armée: *Bizerte* 1:200,000, révision de 1902, complété en 1928.

[80] The editor of *RE* VII.1 (1910) did not realise that the two articles by Egon Weiss and Hermann Dessau on p. 515 were about the same Galata.

formed into yellow monkeys and packed off to Pithecusae/Ischia where Aeneas visited them (*Met.* 14.88–100), can be traced back no further than Xenagoras' *On Islands* (*FGH* 240 F13), written over half a millennium after the first settlers came to Ischia. The Kérkōpes were monkeyfied in South Italian farce c. 380–370, as we know from an Apulian bell-crater (*LIMC s.v.* Kerkopes no. 23). But archaic Greek artists never portrayed them as monkeys, though the twins were a favourite subject, slung head down from a pole on Heracles' shoulder.[81]

Symbiosis was not so happy in the 6th century. The Phocaeans won a sea-battle against the Carthaginians when founding Massalia in c. 600 (Thuc. 1.13.6). Carthage joined with the Etruscans in the battle of c. 540, which the Phocaeans won at so great a cost that they evacuated their colony of Alalia in Corsica (Hdt 1.165–167).[82] *Ágylla* (*Caere*, modern Cerveteri), where the Etruscans stoned to death their Phocaean prisoners, continued to be closely linked with Carthage, as is shown by the gold tablets found at Agylla's port Pyrgi (Santa Severa), inscribed in Etruscan and Punic and recording the dedication of a temple, dated c. 500, to the Phoenician goddess Astarte.[83] Carthage enjoyed exemplary commercial relations with the Etruscans (Arist. *Pol.* 3.9.6, 1280a31–40), but was often at war with Greeks. A fleet from Barca, presumably before the Persian subjection of Cyrenaica in 525, defeated the Carthaginians in their own waters (Servius *ad Aen.* 4.42). The Carthaginians, with the Makai and Libyans, expelled Dorieus' Spartan colonists from Kinyps in c. 512 (Hdt 5.42) and, with help from Egesta, from Eryx in Western Sicily soon after 510 (Hdt 5.46). They now set up an exclusion zone. Their treaty of 509 with the nascent Roman republic included a clause forbidding Roman ships to sail beyond the Fair Promontory (Cap Bon) to the *empória*, ports, of the excellent land of Byssatis (*Byzacium*): the fruitful Sahel

[81] Schefold, *Gods and Heroes*, 145–6.

[82] Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides* vol. I (Oxford, 1991), 47 opposes attempts to 'force into agreement all those pieces of evidence which happen to survive'; but scholars, most fully and interestingly Michel Bats, 'Les silences d'Hérodote ou Marseille, Alalia et les Phocéens en occident jusqu' à la fondation de Velia' in B. D'Agostino, D. Ridgway, ed., *Apoikia. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner*, 143–147, keep trying to identify Thucydides' battle for Massalia with Herodotus' battle of Alalia. It remains the case that the first battle exemplified Phocaean sea-power, but the second was a 'Cadmean' or Pyrrhic victory amounting to a disaaster.

[83] Pallottino, 'Nuova luce sulla storia di Roma arcaica dale lamine d'oro di Pyrgi' *Studi Romani* 13 (1965) 1–13; Finley, 'The Etruscans and Early Rome: New Discoveries and Ancient Controversies', *Aspects of Antiquity* (London, 1968), 116–119.

of *Adrýmētos* (*Hadrumetum*, Sousse) and *Taparura* (Sfax), and the Lesser Syrtis (Gulf of Qabis) (Polyb. 3.22–23).[84] Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, reproached the mainland Greeks in 481 for not having helped him to avenge Dorieus' death and free the *empória* from Carthage (Hdt 1.158). Warfare with the Etruscans became the preoccupation of Kýmē (Cumae), founded from Pithekoussai by the Chalcidians (Livy 8.22), who by this time had deserted the island (Strabo 5.4.9, 247), leaving it as a dependent *chōra* of scattered holdings.[85] Kýmē defeated an Etruscan invasion in 524 (Dion. Hal. 5.36.1–2, 7.3–4), and with local allies won another victory over an Etruscan force in 505 (Dion. Hal. 7.5–6). The stage was set for Gelon's great victory over the Carthaginian invasion of Greek Sicily at Himera in 480 (Hdt. 7.165–7, Diod. 11.20–26), and for his successor Hieron's naval triumph in the Bay of Naples in 474 which delivered Kýmē from the Etruscans (Diod. 11.51, Meiggs & Lewis 29).

Yet the conflicts of the 6th century by no means amounted to a Hundred Years' War. It took five years for the Carthaginians to move against the indiscriminate piracy of the Phocaeans of Alalia, and three to expel Dorieus from the settlement at Kinyps, which had been the object of high hopes in Greece.[86] Most Greek states, as Gelon complained, had no quarrel with Carthage. Aegina had none with the Etruscans. The inscribed stone anchor dedicated by Sostratus to Aeginetan Apollo at Graviscae, the port of Agylla's neighbour Tarquinii, indicates that the Aeginetans had a shrine there in the late 6th century, as they had at Naucratis.[87] Sostratus of Aegina

[84] Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* (Oxford, 1957) *ad loc.*, Marek, 'Die Bestimmungen des zweiten römisch-punischen Vertrags über die Grenzen des karthagischen Hoheitsgewässer', *Chiron* 7 (1977) 1–7.

[85] Greco, 'L'imperio di Sibari'.

[86] The hopes, circulated in oracular texts at the time (Hdt 5.43), and subsequent attempts to explain why they were belied, are reflected in two 5th-century versions of the Argonaut myth. Herodotus reports a story of how the god Triton gave Jason a safe passage out of the shallows of Lake Tritonis and a tripod, over which he spoke magic words, prophesying that when one of the descendants of the Argonauts took it away, a hundred Greek cities would be built around it—whereupon the Libyans hid the tripod (4.179). Heracles was an Argonaut and Dorieus his descendant. Pindar tells of the clod of earth given by Triton to the Argonaut Euphamus; colonists would have left Sparta and the Argive Gulf to take over Libya, if only the advice of the prophetic Medea had been respected, and the clod taken to Euphamus' shrine of Taenarus in Laconia instead of being washed overboard to Thera (*Ol.* 4.1–49).

[87] Torelli, 'Il santuario di Hera a Gravisca', *PP* 26 (1971) 44–67; Harvey, 'Sostratus of Aegina', *PP* 148 (1976) 213.

made profits beyond comparison with any other merchant (Hdt. 4.152.3); his mark is found on nearly a hundred Attic vases in Etruria.[88] The Carthaginian exclusion zones never kept non-belligerents out of Carthage itself. The treaty of 509 allowed Romans to sail there and trade on fair terms, as also to Sicily, Sardinia and the African coast west of Cape Bon. Akragas acquired prodigious wealth in the years before 406 by exporting its olive oil to Carthage (Diod. 13.81). Only in the treaty of 348 did Carthage bar the Romans from sailing westward along the Spanish coast beyond Mastía Tarsēion (Cartagena, above, p. 309, n. 43). Even then, Carthage and the Carthaginian possessions in Sicily remained open for legitimate trade (Polybius 3.22.4–23.13).[89]

On the Maghreb coast was Metagōnion 'a polis of Libya' according to Hecataeus (F344). There were two capes with that name, 'the Corner': the Cap de l'Eau (Ras el-Māʾa) and Cape Bougaroun. Strabo described the first of these as 'a great cape near the river (*Molocháth*, Muluya) . . . a waterless and miserable place' (17.3.6). Just west of the present border of Morocco with Algeria, its modern name belies this description; but it is not a city site. The *Metagōnion* of Hecataeus is more likely to be Cape Bougaroun, Algeria's northernmost point (Mela 1.7.33; Schwabe, 'Metagonium' (1), (2), *RE* XV.1 (1932) 1320–1), sheltering the seaport of *Chullu*, Ptolemy's *Great Kóllops* or *Koúllou*, now Collo. Dilapidated today, it had a thriving purple industry in Roman imperial times (Solinus 26.1), and was exacting harbour-dues as late as A.D. 445 (*Nov. Valentin.* III, XVIII 1,1, cf. *CIL* 8.700, Dessau 1899). Stephanus writes θηλυκῶς δὲ αὐτήν φασι, which suggests a missing regional name *Metagōnîtis*; this, says Pliny, had been the Greek name for Numidia (*NH* 5.22).

Ianxoúatis (F346) may be tentatively associated with Ptolemy's *Iangakaunoí* in Northern Morocco (4.1.10, p. 586 Müller) and with Cape *Iágath* (IV 1 13, p. 581 Muller), now Cape Negro, the last promontory jutting into the western Mediterranean before one reaches Ceuta and the Pillars of Heracles. 'In the region of the Pillars' was Thrínkē (F356), which may be Strabo's *Trínx*, a little to the west of them (17.3.2); but it is not easily distinguishable from Thíngē (F354, *Tingis*, Tangier). How well Hecataeus' informants knew the Moroccan

[88] Johnston, 'The rehabilitation of Sostratus', *PP* 147 (1976) 416–423.
[89] Marek, 'Die Bestimmungen des zweiten römisch-punischen Vertrags'.

coast opposite Gibraltar and beyond it is shown by his reference to Doúriza, 'a *límnē* by the river Líza' (F355). The *Lixus* (Lukkûs) flows into the sea alongside Lake Larache, one of the world's most valuable wetlands. 3600 hectares of swamps and lagoons survive where storks stalk, and food and rest is found by countless other birds whose migratory route is over the Straits. The Phoenician origins of the *polis* of Lixus, on the north bank opposite modern Larache, can be traced back to the 7th century,[90] though Pliny thought its shrine of Heracles even older than Gadir's (*NH* 19.63). Mélissa, *polis* of the Libyans (F357), must have been the otherwise unidentified *Mélitta*, one of five colonies settled or afforced by Hanno the Carthaginian somewhere on the long stretch of coast between *Solóeis* (Cape Cantin) and a second River Lixus, identified as the Wâdi Draʾa which until recently divided Morocco from Spanish Sahara (*Periplus* 5, *GGM* I 4–5). Phoenician jars found at Mogador, 670 km from Tangier, confirm this southward penetration. We dare not linger outside the Pillars and the scope of this article, but hastily retreat to the Western Mediterranean, away from the ocean of modern discussion that has overwhelmed Hanno's brief narrative. It surges in a bibliographical web-site under seven headings, one of which is 'Nationalists and Nuts' (http://www.isidore-of-seville.com/hanno/). We pause only to observe that another of those five colonies was named *Carian Fort*. Some of Hanno's followers must have been Carians, whose compatriots had flocked to join the Greeks as mercenaries in Egypt. Here is one further instance of symbiosis.

We may venture upon an identification of the Phasēlóussai (F353), Bean Islands, 'two islands of Libya near to the River Sîris'. *Sîris* is a common Greek name;[91] it was given to the river (modern Sinni) near Metapontum which stirred Archilochus' longing (fr. 22 West), and to the Nile above Syene (Steph. Byz. 590.5 *s.v.* Syene; Dion. Per. 223, *GGM* II 114). The Upper Nile could not, however, have had islands 'close to' it, and for Hecataeus it would have been in Aethiopia. An African Siris flowing into the Mediterranean might be the great River Muluya (*Molocath*), whose mouth is opposite the Islas Chafarinas. These will have been known to Greek mariners

[90] Aubet, *The Phoenicians*, 247.

[91] The Colophonian colony at Siris was named after the river (Archilochus fr. 22 West *ap.* Athen. 12.523e); there were also settlements called Siris in Paeonia (Hdt 8.15, modern Serres) and in Euboea (Nonn. 13.163.6).

because they offered the best natural anchorage, wind-sheltered and usable even in winter, between Bizerta and Gibraltar. There were three of them, but only two of note.[92]

We are left with seven unidentified places 'of Libya': one island, Hieráphē (F347), and six *poleis*: Doúlōn polis, 'Slave City' (F345), where any slave could obtain his freedom,[93] Kalaménthē, 'Mint' (F348), Kremmýōn, 'Onion' (F349), Môlys (F350), Stoîai (F351) and Strōē (F352). Some or all of these must belong to the Algerian coast, which is studded with settlements. We know of some half-dozen towns which in Roman times had outlandish names: *Rusicade, Rusazus, Rusubirsir, Rusucurru, Risibbicar, Rasguniae.* These derive from the Phoenician or Punic word for 'head(land)', related to Hebrew *rōʾsh*, Arabic *râʾs*.[94] Greek mariners will have bestowed on these and other Algerian sites their own names that fell into oblivion when their regular contacts ceased, only to reappear in Stephanus' lexicon. Stora, which gives its name to the Bay of Stora and lies close to Rusicade (Skikda), is more plausibly derived from Phoenician *Astaroth* than from Greek Stroe.

Though we cannot place them exactly, these Greek names point to the use, between c. 630 and c. 546, of the North African route by the Phocaean penteconters which, Herodotus tells us (1.163.1), opened up the way to Tartessian silver first tapped by the Samian Colaeus (4.152), and won the favour of the king of Tartessus, Arganthonius, who invited them to settle in his domain and, when they declined, paid for the fortifications of Phocaea, but had died, aged 120, by the time of the Persian conquest of Asia Minor (1.163). It has often been assumed that the Phocaeans steered clear of the Maghreb. 'We may be sure their vessels did not hug the coast of Africa, dependent on the goodwill of the Carthaginians', Gomme wrote.[95] But even if places along the Algerian coast already had

[92] Anchorage: *Mediterranean Pilot* I (1885) 208–9. In the little Chafarinas archipelago, known as *Tres Insulae* to the Romans (*It. Ant.* 11.5), the Isla del Congreso is the largest; the Isla Isabella II is smaller but inhabited. The Isla del Rey is inconsiderable, though it once housed a garrison.

[93] Followed by Mnaseas *FHG* 155 fr. 38. Other Slave Cities said to be in Egypt and Crete: Hdt. 2.113, Cratinus fr. 223 *PCG*, Eupolis fr. 212 *PCG*, Sosicrates *FGH* 461 F2. In 1969, the British Resident of Abu-Dhabi wrote to me that he had just liberated two slaves from adjoining Saudi Arabia by virtue of their touching his flagpole.

[94] Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 125.

[95] Gomme, 'A forgotten factor of Greek naval strategy' *JHS* 53 (1933) 191.

Phoenician occupants, there is no evidence that the city of Carthage controlled it before the 3rd century. Rhys Carpenter argued that the Phocaeans must have avoided that coast because it 'is swept by a steady eastward current from the Atlantic; there is little properly sheltered harborage'.[96] It has, to be sure, no natural harbours. Its ancient moles and breakwaters do not date back to archaic times,[97] as do several built by the maritime powers in the Greek homelands.[98] But it provides a sequence of anchorages, serviceable in summer though not offering complete protection: ships have to put out to sea when there is an on-shore wind.[99] Coasting in both directions is possible for sailing-ships between May and September, when there is usually fine weather and an easterly wind. The west-east current from the Straits to Cape Bougaroun runs at not more than one mile an hour.[100] Penteconters could be beached;[101] this was possible at Tipasa and near Tabarqa. Land and sea-routes, to be sure, naturally ran to the magnificent harbour of Carthage in antiquity, and to nearby Tunis thereafter; but from the Geniza archive in Cairo we know of a medieval voyage westwards from Alexandria past Tunis and Cape Bougaroun to Bejaïa.[102]

Carpenter painted an attractive picture of Phocaean voyagers discovering the passage between Corsica and Sardinia and crossing the open sea to island-hop the Balearics before reaching the Spanish

---

[96] Carpenter, *Beyond the Pillars of Heracles*, 31.

[97] Lehmann-Hartleben (*Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres*) in 1923 catalogued Roman harbour constructions westward from Carthage: at Hippo Diarrhytus (111), Thabraca (284), Hippo Regius (112), Rusicade (243), Saldae (Bejaïa, 249), Rusubirsir (280), Tipasa (293), Gunugu (101), and Rusaddir (243).

[98] The 8th-century quay of Delos (81 m) seems to have been the first, followed by the colossal mole of Eretria (600–700 m). The mole of Corinth's port Cenchreae (200 m) is dated to the Cypselid tyranny (c. 657–c. 585). The fortified harbour of Samos, built by Polycrates (c. 535–522) and admired by Herodotus (3.54) was enclosed by two moles, one of 370 m, the other of 180 m (Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die antiken Hafenanlagen*, 50–57).

[99] Nineteenth-century sailing-ships used temporary anchorages listed (from west to east) by *The Mediterranean Pilot* I (1885) 206–251, esp. 231: the Bay of Algiers by Cap Matifou, Djinned-Dellys, Mers el-Farm Bay by Cap Corbelin, Bejaïa, Collo, the Gulf of Stora, Toukouch, and Tabarqa. The Islas Chafarinas and the Île de Galite offered anchorage year-round. See the modern admiralty charts 2717 *Strait of Gibraltar to Barcelona and Alger* (1995) 2437 *Cabo Quilates to Oran* (1976) 822 *Approaches to Oran, Arzew and Mostaganem* (1988), 1910 *Cherchell to Bejaïa* (1976) 252 *Cap Corbelin to Cap Takouch* (1972) 2121 *Ras el Hadid to Îles Cani* (1991).

[100] *Mediterranean Pilot* I (1885) 22–23.

[101] Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1971), 361.

[102] Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* I, 211–12.

coast at the Cabo del Nao, 'Cape of the Ship', in whose neighbourhood they planted their colony *Hēmeroskopeîon*, 'Day Look-out'. Carpenter hoped it would be found nestling under the great isolated rock of the Peñon de Ifach; we remain at a loss for the precise location.[103] An objection to Carpenter's proposed route is that excavation has turned up next to no archaic Greek material in Minorca and Majorca, and that the Greek rôle of Ebusus (Ibiza), on reconsideration, proves to be negligible. This led our honorand, a quarter of a century ago, to reject the Balearic route in favour of the North African coast.[104] He pointed to the finds at Tipasa, west of Algiers: an Ionian cup, an Attic Little Master cup and an Attic Droop cup.[105] Were it not for past preoccupation with the dominant Roman remains, and recent political instability, more such material might well be available in Algeria today.

A regular route 'across the couple of hundred miles of completely landless sea that separates Sardinia from the easternmost of the Balearics', to quote Carpenter again, would not have suited penteconters. 'Round' ships or *holkádes*, capacious freighters sparingly manned, could sail straight courses with cargoes of grain from Egypt or the Ukraine to Greece; one such vessel carried wine from Massalia or Emporion to Saguntum, as we have seen (above, p. 312). But a penteconter, with fifty rowers and a couple of officers, could hardly afford to stay away from land for too long, though it did not depend on a friendly shore as much as the trireme, which was to supersede it as a warship in the second half of the 6th century at the cost of space-saving construction that made it an endurance test for its full complement of 170 rowers and 30 armed men to spend a single night at sea ([Demosthenes] 50 (*Against Polycles*) 22, 47).[106]

The penteconter, the capital ship from the late 8th century to c. 525, served both as warship and merchantman. Our knowledge of it derives from pictorial and literary evidence, not from wrecks, since of sunken hulls only those parts survive which are covered with

---

[103] Carpenter, *The Greeks in Spain*, 19–24, 117–126; *Beyond the Pillars of Heracles*, 45–49, Shefton, 'Massalia and Colonization', 72.

[104] Shefton, *Die rhodischen Bronzekannen*, 52f., 61; 'Greeks and Greek imports', 354 and n. 47; 'Massalia and Colonization', 72.

[105] Shefton, 'Greeks and Greek imports', 357 n. 54 referring to *BAAlger* 3, 1968, 94–96, figs. 13–16.

[106] Gomme, 'A forgotten factor of Greek naval strategy'.

jars.[107] The penteconter was usually two-banked, some 23 metres long, as compared to the trireme's 32, was fitted with a bronze ram,[108] and had adequate but not excessive cargo space. When their city was about to fall to the Persians, the Phocaeans filled a fleet of penteconters for Corsica 'with their women and children and goods and statues and dedications to the gods, *except* works of bronze or stone or pictures' (Hdt 1.164). On arrival, they used their penteconters for piracy. Against 120 enemy ships at the Battle of Alalia in c. 540, the Phocaeans deployed sixty penteconters; twenty survived victorious, but with their rams disabled. Polycrates used his hundred penteconters for piracy too:[109] they will have carried the loot as well as his thousand archers (Hdt 3.39.3). Such penteconters as Xerxes retained in his own armada carried 30 men besides oarsmen (Hdt 7.184.3). Euripides, imagining the hi-jacking of a first-class Sidonian penteconter by Menelaus, has him embark a Greek crew in disguise, as well as a bull for sacrifice and Helen; but this undue number of passengers causes murmurings among the still unsuspecting Phoenician rowers (*Helen* 1530–1576).

We may envisage the Phocaeans progressing to Tartessus in squadrons. Homeric squadrons were often fifty-strong;[110] the Phocaean emigrants took sixty penteconters to Corsica; so did Hanno to West Africa (*Periplus* 1, *GGM* I 1). Smaller squadrons will have been enough

[107] Casson, *Ships and Seafaring*, 103–4, Morrison and Coates, *Greek and Roman Oared Warships* (Oxford, 1996), 178–190.

[108] Morrison and William, *Greek Oared Ships*, 109–112, 162, 194–5, Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, 55, 59 and n. 82. Two-banked oared sailing ships with rams are first illustrated, together with roundships, in Sennacherib's Nineveh palace reliefs of the King of Tyre's escape to Cyprus in 701 (Barnett, 1956) 91–3, Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, 56, fig. 78). They may be penteconters, despite being carved with only 8 to 11 oars on each side and a few heads; compare the Assyrian illustrations of besieged cities with only a few outsize warriors on the towers to represent the defenders. A relief of c. 700 at Cilician Karatepe (Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, pl. 79), where King Azitawandas proclaimed his virtues in Phoenician and hieroglyphic Neo-Hittite, shows a single-banked ship with ram. The three men on board stand for the crew of a victorious warship, for the waters beneath are full of corpses. One big bronze brute of a ram, found near Haifa in 1980, has survived from a second-century B.C. supergalley (Casson, *Ships and Seafaring*, 73–74, figs 59, 60).

[109] Ramming was a pirate tactic as well as boarding and grappling. An Attic black-figure cup of c. 540 has two scenes of a two-banked pirate penteconter about to ram a merchantman (Casson, 'Hemiolia and Triemolia', *JHS* 78 (1958) 14–18; *Ships and Seafaring*, fig. 37, Morrison and William, *Greek Oared Ships*, 109 fig. 85, Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases*, fig. 180).

[110] Morrison and William, *Greek Oared Ships*, 46–57.

to overawe the dwellers on the African coast. These could offer water and provisions, and also skins, ostrich eggs and ivory from the untamed Numidian hinterland, where wild beasts, including elephants, abounded. We may safely guess that the Phocaeans, like the Aeginetans who also had only a small homeland, engaged in a carrying trade, including among their goods Milesian and Levantine textiles irrecoverable by archaeologists. Did the coastal dwellers respond to the arrival of the Phocaean penteconters as did the cities of Magna Graecia to the Athenian triremes on their way to Syracuse in 415: unwilling to oppose their power outright, ready to provide a landing and a market, but only too pleased to see the back of them? Did King Arganthonius befriend the Phocaeans not only as traders but also because of their display of power, as potential allies against local enemies? His willingness to admit them as settlers has been compared to the welcome which the Saite kings of Egypt gave to 'bronze men from the sea' as mercenary soldiers (Hdt 2.152).[111] And did he make it to anywhere near 120?[112] His long life was at any rate linked with *eudaimonia*, happiness (Strabo 3.2.14, 232, citing Anacreon fr. 361 *PMG*). We hope that Brian Shefton, abounding in energy in his ninth decade, will for many more years enjoy happiness as well as long life, and continue to befriend the Phocaeans, the world of Greek art, and his many wellwishers.

Acknowledgements

My appreciative thanks are due to David Harvey, Robin Parker, Peter Rhodes, Peter Derow and Stephanie West for corrections and additional references.

[111] Wallinga, *Ships and Sea-Power*, 75.

[112] There is a tendency to invent extreme longevity for persons in the remote past, such as Moses, who also scored 120 according to *Deuteronomy* 34:7, or among barely accessible peoples, such as the Ethiopians (Hdt 3.114) or the modern Georgians. But Jeanne Calment of Arles died on 4 August 1997 at the authenticated age of 122 years, five months and two weeks.

Bibliography

Ackermann, H.C. *et al.*, ed., *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Zürich: Artemis, 1981–1999

Antonelli, L. *Il periplo nascosto: lettura stratigrafica e commento storico archeologico dell' Ora Maritima die Avieno* (saggio di antichità e tradizione classica 22), Padua: Esedra, 1998

Aubet, M.E. *The Phoenicians and the West, Politics, Colonies, Trade*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993

Barruol, G. 'Les Elisiques et leur capitale *Naro/Narbo*' in *Narbonne, archéologie et histoire* I. Montpellier: Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon, 1973, 49–63

Bats, M. 'Les silences d'Hérodote ou Marseille, Alalia et les Phocéens en occident jusqu' à la fondation de Velia' in B. D'Agostino, D. Ridgway, ed., *Apoikia. I più antichi insediamenti greci in occidente: Funzioni e modi dell'organizzazione politica e sociale: Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner, = Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli)* n.s. 1 (1994), 133–148

Boardman, J. *Athenian Black Figure Vases*. London, Thames and Hudson, 1991

——. *Athenian Red Figure Vases: the Archaic Period*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1975

——. *Early Greek Vase Painting*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1998

——. *The Greeks Overseas*, 4th ed., London: Thames and Hudson, 1999

Bouloumié, B. 'L'épave étrusque d'Antibes', in M. Aubert, B. Lescure, ed., *Voyage en Massalie. 100 ans d'archéologie en Gaule du Sud*. Marseilles: Musées de Marseille, 1990

Bound, M. *The Giglio Wreck, A Wreck of the Archaic Period (c. 600 B.C.) off the Tuscan island of Giglio. An account of its discovery and excavation: a review of the main finds* (ENAΛIA supplement 1). Athens: Hellenic Institute of Marine Archaeology, 1991

Braun, T.F.R.G. 'The Greeks in the Near East', *Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd ed., vol. III (3). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1982, 1–31

Bullitt, O.H. *Search for Sybaris*. London: Dent, 1971

Carpenter, R. *Beyond the Pillars of Heracles, the classical world seen through the eyes of its discoverers*. New York: Delacorte Press, 1973

——. *The Greeks in Spain*. Bryn Mawr: Bryn Mawr College, 1925

Caspari, M.O.B. 'On the γῆς περίοδος of Hecataeus', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 30 (1910) 236–244

Casson, L. 'Hemiolia and Triemolia', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 78 (1958) 14–18

——. *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971

——. *Ships and Seafaring in Ancient Times*. London: British Museum Press, 1994

Clarke, K. *Between Geography and History, Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999

Cristofani, M. 'Il testo di Pech-Maho, Aleria e i traffici del V secolo A.C.', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome: Antiquité* 105 (1993) 833–845

——. *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum* I.4. Florence: Centro di studio per l'archeologia etrusco-italici, 1970

Docter, R.F., Niemeyer, H.G. 'Pithekoussai: the Carthaginian connection', in B. D'Agostino, D. Ridgway, ed., *Apoikia. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner, = Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli)* n.s. 1 (1994) 101–115

Domergue, C. *Catalogue des mines et des fonderies antiques de la Péninsule Ibérique*. Madrid: Boccard, 1987

——. *Les mines de la péninsule ibérique dans l'antiquité romaine*. Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1990

Dominguez, A.J., Sánchez, C. *Greek Pottery from the Iberian Peninsula*. Leiden: Brill, 2001

Dunbabin, T.J. *The Western Greeks*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948

Effentere, H. van, Ruzé, F. *NOMIMA, receuil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaïsme grec* II, Rome: École française de Rome, 1995

Finley, M.I. 'The Etruscans and Early Rome: New Discoveries and Ancient Controversies', *Aspects of Antiquity*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1968, 113–128

Fowler, R.L. 'Herodotos and his contemporaries', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 116 (1996) 63–87

Frederiksen, M. (ed. N. Purcell) *Campania*. London: British School at Rome, 1984

Freyer-Schauenburg, B. 'Kolaios und die Westphönizischen Elfenbeine', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 7 (1966) 89–108

García y Bellido, A. *Hispania Graeca*, vols. I–III. Barcelona: Instituto Español de Estudios Mediterraneos, 1948

Goitein, S.D. *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*. 5 vols. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1967–1988

Gomme, A. 'A forgotten factor of Greek naval strategy' *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 53 (1933), 190–203 (= *Essays in Greek History & Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937)

——, Andrewes, A., Dover, K.J. *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, vol. IV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970

Greco, E. 'L'imperio di Sibari: bilancia archeologica topografica', *Sibari e la Sibaritide. Atti del 32º Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia*. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia 1992, 459–483

Guzzo, P.G. 'L'archeologia delle colonie archaice' in S. Settis, ed., *Storia della Calabria antica* I. Rome: Gangemi, 1988, 137–226

Hansen, M.H. 'Hekataios' use of the word *polis* in his *Periegesis*', in T.H. Nielsen, ed., *Yet more studies in the ancient Greek polis*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1997, 17–27

Hansen, P.A. *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca* I. Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1983

Harvey, F.D. 'Sostratus of Aegina', *La Parola del Passato* 148 (1976) 206–214

Heubeck, A., West, S., Hainsworth, J.B. *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998–92

Horden, P., Purcell, N. *The Corrupting Sea, a Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000

Hornblower, S. *A Commentary on Thucydides* vol. I. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991

Jacoby, F. *Fragmente der Griechischen* Historiker. Leiden: Brill, 1957

Jameson, M. and Malkin, I. 'Latinos of Rhegion', *Athenaeum* 86 (1998) 477–485

Johnston, A.W. 'The rehabilitation of Sostratus', *La Parola del Passato* 147 (1976) 416–423

Jones, R.E. *Greek and Cypriot pottery: a review of scientific studies*. London: British School of Athens, 1985

Jullian, C. *Histoire de la Gaule* II, *La Gaule indépendante*. Paris: Hachette, 1924

Jully, J.J. *Céramiques grecques ou de type grec et autre céramiques en Languedoc méditerranéen, Roussillon et Catalogne: vii^e–iv^e s. avant notre ère, et leur contexte socio-culturel*. Paris: Les Belles lettres, 1982–3

Klausen, R.H. *Hecataei Milesii Fragmenta*. Berlin: Berol, 1831

Koch, M. *Tarschisch und Hispanien: historisch-geographische und namenkundliche Untersuchungen zur phönizischen Kolonisation der iberischen Halbinsel*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984

Kraay, C.M. *Greek Coins*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1966

Lehmann-Hartleben, K. *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres* (*Klio* Beiheft XIV) Leipzig: Dieterich, 1923

Long, L., Miro, J., Volpe, G. 'Les épaves archaïques de la pointe Lequin (Porquerolles, Hyères, Var). Des données nouvelles sur le commerce de Marseille à la fin due VI^e s. et dans la première moitié du V^e s. av. J.-C.', in M. Bats, ed. *Marseille grecque et la Gaule, actes du Colloque international d'histoire et d'archéologie et du V^e Congrès archéologique de Gaule méridionale*. Aix-en-Provence: Centre Camille Jullian, 1992, 199–234

Marek, C. 'Die Bestimmungen des zweiten römisch-punischen Vertrags über die Grenzen des karthagischen Hoheitsgewässer', *Chiron* 7 (1977) 1–7

Marinval, P. 'Le Baou-Roux', in M. Aubert, B. Lescure, ed. *Voyage en Massalie. 100 ans d'archéologie en Gaule du Sud*. Marseille: Musées de Marseille, 1990, 95

——. 'Martigues', in M. Aubert, B. Lescure, ed. *Voyage en Massalie. 100 ans d'archéologie en Gaule du Sud*. Marseille: Musées de Marseille, 1990, 65

Meiggs, R., Lewis D.M. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988

Merkelbach, R., West, M. *Fragmenta Hesiodea*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967

Morrison, J.S. and Coates, J.F. *Greek and Roman Oared Warships*. Oxford: Oxbow, 1996

—— and Williams, R.T. *Greek Oared Ships 900–322 B.C.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968

Murphy, J.P., ed., *Rufus Festus Avienus: Ora Maritima*. Chicago: Ares Publishers, Inc: 1977

Niemeyer, H.G. 'Auf der Suche nach Mainake', *Historia* 28 (1980) 165–189

Pallottino, M, 'Nuova luce sulla storia di Roma arcaica dale lamine d'oro di Pyrgi', *Studî Romani* 13 (1965) 1–13

Peretti A., *Il periplo di Scilace. Studi sul primo periplo del Mediterraneo*. Pisa: Giardini, 1979

Robertson, M. '*Geryoneis*: Stesichorus and the vase-painters', *Classical Quarterly* ns. 19 (1969) 207–221

Rodríguez Somolinos, H. 'The commercial transaction of the Pech-Maho lead', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 111 (1996) 74–78

Rouillard, P. *Les Grecs et la péninsule ibérique du VIII^e^ au IV^e^ siècle avant Jésus-Christ*. Paris: De Boccard, 1991

Salmon, E.T. *Samnium and the Samnites*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967

Sanmartì-Greco, E. 'les relations entre la Sicile et l'Ibérie durant le premier age du fer: témoignages archéologiques et hypothèses', *Kokalos* 39–40 (1993–4) 317–331

——. 'Massalia et Emporion' in M. Bats, ed., *Marseille grecque et la Gaule, actes du Colloque international d'histoire et d'archéologie et du V^e^ Congrès archéologique de Gaule méridionale,* Aix-en-Provence: Centre Camille Jullian, 1992, 27–41

Schefold, K. (trans. A. Griffiths) *Gods and Heroes in Late Archaic Greek Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992

Schulten, A. *Avieni Ora maritima (Periplo Massaliota del siglo VI a de J.C.) junto con las demás testimonios anteriores al año 500 a. de JC*. Barcelona: Bosch, 1922

——. *Iberische Landeskunde* I. Strasbourg: Heitz, 1955

——. *Tartessos, arquelogía protohistórica del bajo Guadalquivir*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1945

Shefton, B.B. *Die rhodischen Bronzekannen* (Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte Band 2). Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1979

——. 'Greeks and Greek imports in the south of the Iberian peninsula', in H.G. Niemeyer, ed., *Phönizier im Westen. Die Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums über 'Die phönizische Expansion im westlichen Mittelmeerraum'*. Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1982, 337–370

——. 'Zum Import und Einfluss mediterraner Güter in Alteuropa', *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 22 (1989) 207–220

——. 'Massalia and Colonization in the North-Western Mediterranean' in G.R. Tsetskhladze, F. de Angelis, ed., *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation, Essays dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1994, 61–86

Slings, S.R. 'Notes on the lead letters from Emporion', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 104 (1994) 111–17

Sola Solé, J.M., 'Miscelanea punico-hispana', *Sefarad* 27 (1967) 28–33

Solier, Y., Giry, J. 'Les recherches archéologiques à Montlaurès: état des questions', *Narbonne, archéologie et histoire* I. Montpellier: Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon, 1973, 77–111

Täckholm, U. 'Tarsis, Tartessos und die Säulen des Herakles', *Opuscula Romana* 5 (1965) 143–200

The Mediterranean Pilot I. London: Admiralty Hydrography Department, 1885

Thomas, R. *Herodotus in Context, Ethnography, Science and the Art of Persuasion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000

Torelli, M. 'Il santuario di Hera a Gravisca', *Parola del Passato* 26 (1971) 44–67
——. 'L'immaginario greco dell' Oltremare', in B. D'Agostino, D. Ridgway, ed., *Apoikia: i più antichi insediamenti greci in Occidente: funzioni e modi dell' organizzazione politica e sociale: scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner*, Naples, 1994, 119–125
Tovar, A. *Iberische Landeskunde: Die Völker und die Städte des antiken Spanien*. Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1974–89 (II 1: *Baetica* 1974; II 2: *Lusitania* 1976; II 3: *Tarraconensis* 1989)
Treidler, H. 'Eine alte ionische Handelskolonisation im numidischen Afrika', *Historia* 8 (1959) 257–283
Untermann, J. 'Iberia', *Der neue Pauly, Enzyklopädie der Antike* IX. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1998
——. *Monumenta Linguarum Hispaniarum* I–IV, Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1975–97
Walbank, F.W. *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* vols I–III. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957–1979
Wallinga, H.T. *Ships and Sea-Power before the Great Persian War, the ancestry of the ancient trireme*. Leiden: Brill, 1993
West, M. *Hesiod, Theogony, Edited with Prologomena and Commentary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966
West, S. 'Herodotus' Portrait of Hecataeus', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 111 (1991) 144–160
Whitehead, D. 'Site classification and reliability in Stephanus of Byzantium', in D. Whitehead, ed., *From Political Architecture to Stephanus of Byzantium, Sources for the Greek polis*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994, 99–124
Wilson, J.-P. 'The illiterate trader?', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 42 (1997–8) 29–56

I. *Index of Hecataeus' Place-Names Following Numeration in* FGH 1*

Elibyrgē (F38), *polis* of Tartessós
Íbylla (Steph. 326.1–2), *polis* of Tartessia
Kaláthē (F39), *polis* not far from the Pillars of Heracles
Herakleíai Stēlaí (F39, 41, 356), Pillars of Heracles
Elbéstioi (F40), "people of Libya"
MASTIĒNOÍ (F41), people near the Pillars of Heracles
Mastía (F41), *polis* of the Mastiēnoí
Mainobôra (F42), *polis* of the Mastiēnoí
Síxos (F43) , *polis* of the Mastiēnoí
Molybdínē (F44), polis of the Mastiēnoí
Sikánē (F45), *polis* of Iberia
Krabasía (F46), *polis* of the Íbēres
Eídētes (F47), Iberian people
Hyops (F48), *polis* in Iberia
Cherrónēsos (F48), in Iberia
Lesyrós (F48), river in Iberia
Ilaraugâtai (F49), Iberians
Ilaraugátēs (F49), river in Iberia
Mísgētes (F50), people of the Iberians
Kromyousa (F51), island of Iberia
Mēlousa (F52), island over against the Iberians
Elísykoi (F53), Ligurian people
Nárbōn (F54), Celtic emporion and *polis*
Massalía (F55), *polis* of Ligystikē towards Keltikē, colony of the Phokaeîs
Nyrax (F56), Celtic *polis*
Mónoikos (F57), Ligurian *polis*
Ámpelos (F58), *polis* of Ligystikē
Aithálē (F59), island of the Tyrsēnoi
Kyrnos (F60), "island to the north of Iapygia"
Nôla (F61), *polis* of the Aúsones
Kapya (F62), *polis* [of Italy]
Kapriēnē (F63), island [of Italy]
Arínthē (F64), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Artemísion (F65), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Érimon (F66), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Ixiás (F67a), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior

* Names not specifically attributed by Stephanus or Hecataeus, but believed to be taken from him, are italicized. Names in upper case are those of people and countries rather than poleis.

Menekínē (F67b), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Kóssa (F68), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Kytérion (F69), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Malánios (F70), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Nínaia (F71), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Brystakía (Steph. 188.4), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Drycacs (Steph. 240.3), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Pátykos (Steph. 513.1), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Pyxis (Steph. 540.9), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Séstion (Steph. 562.5), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Siberínē (Steph. 563.16), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Zánklē (F72), *polis* of Sicily
Katánē (F73), *polis* of Sicily
Syrákousai (F74), *polis* of Sicily
Lilybaion (F75), cape of Sicily
Motyē (F76), *polis* of Sicily
Soloûs (F77), *polis* of Sicily
Himéra (F78), *polis* of Sicily
Mylaí (F79), *polis* of Sicily
Lamētînoi (F80), *polis* (of Italy)
Lámētos (F80), river towards Krótōn
Médmē (F81), *polis* (of Italy)
Skyllaion (F82), cape (of Italy)
Lokroì Epizephyrioi (F83), *polis* of Italy
Aulōnía (F84) (Kaulōnía), *polis* of Italy
Krótalla (F85), *polis* (of Italy)
Kynóssēma (F329), place in Libya
Aúsigda (F330), *polis* of Libya
Zēbyttis (F331), *polis* of Libya
Psylloi, Psyllic Gulf (F332)
Máskōpos (F333), *polis* of Libya
Mázyes (F334), nomads of Libya
Mégasa (F335), *polis* of Libya
Zaúēkes (F336), people of Libya
Zygantes (F337), people of Libya
Zygantís (F337), *polis* of Libya
Karchēdōn (F338a, 340, 341), Carthage
Kanthēlía (F338a), *polis* near Carthage
Kanthēlē (F338b), *polis* of the Libyphoinikes
Eudeípnē (F339), Libyan island of Phoinikes
Hybélē (F340), *polis* near Carthage
Gaûlos (F341), island over against Carthage
Phoinikoûssai (F342), islands in the Libyan Gulf near Carthage
Kybos, Kybō (F343), *polis* of the Ionians in Libya of the Phoenicians
[**Híp**]**pou ēkra** (F343), Horse's Cape, in Libya of the Phoenicians
Metagōnion (F344), *polis* of Libya
Doúlōn pólis (F345) *polis* of Libya
Ianxoúatis (F346), *polis* of Libya
Hieráphē (F347) island of Libya
Kalaménthē, Kalamínthē (F348), *polis* of Libya
Kremmyōn (F349), *polis* of Libya
Môlys (F350), Libyan *polis*
Stoîai (F351), *polis* of Libya
Strōē (F352), *polis* of Libya
Phasēloûssai (F353), islands of Libya
Sîris (F353), river of Libya
Thíngē (F354), *polis* of Libya
Doúriza, *limnē* by the river Líza (F355)
Líza, river (F355) (of Lybia)
Thrínkē (F356), *polis* near the Pillars
Mélissa (F357), *polis* of the Libyans

II. *Alphabetical Index of Hecataeus' Place-Names*

Aithálē (F59), island of the Tyrsēnoi (F59)
Ámpelos (F58), *polis* of Liguria
Arínthē (F64), polis of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Artemísion (F65), polis of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Aulōnía (F84) (Kaulōnía), *polis* of Italy
Aúsigda (F330), *polis* of Libya
AÚSONES (F61)

Brystakía (Steph. 188.4), polis of the Oinōtroi in the interior

Cherrónēsos (F48), in Iberia

Doúlōn pólis (F345) *polis* of Libya
Doúriza (F355), *limnē* by the river Líza
Drycacs (Steph. 240.3), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior

Eídētes (F47), an Iberian people
Elbéstioi (F40), people of Libya
Elibyrgē (F38) *polis* of Tartessos
Elísykoi (F53), Ligurian people
Érimon (F66), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Eudeípnē (F339), Libyan island of Phoínikes

Gaûlos (F341), island over against Carthage

Hērakleíai Stēlaí (F39, 41, 356), Pillars of Heracles
Hieráphē (F347) island of Libya

Himéra (F78), *polis* of Sicily
[Híp]pou ēkra, Horse's Cape (F343) in Libya of the Phoínikes
Hybélē (F340), *polis* near Carthage
Hyaops (48), *polis* in Iberia

Ianxoúatis (F346), *polis* of Libya
IBĒRÍA, ÍBĒRES (F45–52)
Íbylla (Steph. 326.1–2), *polis* of Tartessia
Ilaraugâtai (F49), the Íbēres
Ilaraugâtēs (F49), river (of Íbēres)
ITALÍA ([F62–63], F80–85)
Ixiás (F67a), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior

Kalaménthē, Kalamínthē (F348), *polis* of Libya
Kaláthē (F39), *polis* not far from the Pillars of Heracles
Kanthēlē (F338b) *polis* of the Libyphoínikes
Kanthēlía (F338a), *polis* near Carthage
Kapriēnē (F63) island [of Italia]
Kapya (F62) *polis* [of Italia]
Karchēdōn (F338a, 340, 341), Carthage
Katánē (F73), *polis* of Sicily
Kybos, Kybō (F343), polis of the Ionians in Libya of the Phoínikes
KELTIKĒ (F54, F55, F56)
Kóssa (F68), polis of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Krabasía (F46), *polis* of the Íbēres
Kremmyōn (F349), *polis* of Libya
Kromyousa (F51), island of Iberia
Krótalla (F85), *polis* (of Italia)
Kynóssēma (F329), place in Libya
Kyarnos (F60), "island to the north of Iapygia"
Kytérion (F69), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior

Lamētînoi (F80), *polis* (of Italia)
Lámētos (F80) river towards Krótōn
Lesyrós (F48), river in Iberia
LIBÝĒ ([F40], F329–357)
LIBYPHOÍNIKES (F338b, F343)
LIGYSTIKĒ, LIGÝES (F53, 55, 57, 58)
Lilybaion (F75), cape of Sicily
Líza, river (F355)
Lokroì Epizephyrioi (F83), *polis* of Italy

Mainobôra (F42), *polis* of the Mastiēnoí
Malánios (F70), polis of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Máskōpos (F333), *polis* of Libya
Massalía (F55), *polis* of Ligystikē towards Keltikē, colony of the Phokaeîs
Mastía (F41), *polis* of the Mastiēnoí
MASTIĒNOÍ (F40–44), people near the Pillars of Heracles
Mázyes (F334), nomads of Libya
Médmē (F81), *polis* (of Italy)
Mégasa (F335), *polis* of Libya
Mélissa (F357), *polis* of the Libyans
Mēlousa (F52), island towards the Iberians
Menekínē (F67b), polis of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Metagōnion (F344), *polis* of Libya
Mísgētes (F50), people of the Iberians
Molybdínē (F44), polis of the Mastiēnoí
Môlys (F350), Libyan *polis*
Mónoikos (F57), Ligurian *polis*
Motyē (F76) *polis* of Sicily
Mylaí (F79) *polis* of Sicily

Nárbōn (F54), Celtic emporion and *polis*
Nínaia (F71), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Nôla, "*polis* of the **Aúsones**" (F61)
Nyrax (F56), Celtic *polis*

OINŌTRÍA, OINŌTROÍ (F64–71)

Pátykos (Steph. 513.1), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Phasēloûssai (F353), islands of Libya
Phoinikoûssai (F342), islands in the Libyan Gulf near Carthage
Phōkaeîs (F55), founders of Massalía
Psylloi, Psyllic Gulf (F332), Libya
Pyxis (Steph. 540.9), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior

Séstion (Steph. 562.5), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Siberínē (Steph. 563.16), *polis* of the Oinōtroi in the interior
Sikánē (F45), *polis* of Iberia
SIKELÍA F72–79, Sicily
Sîris (F353), river of Libya
Síxos (F43), *polis* of the Mastiēnoí
Skyllaion (F82), cape
Soloûs (F77) *polis* of Sicily
Stoîai (F351), *polis* of Libya
Strōē (F352), *polis* of Libya
Syrákousai (F74), *polis* of Sicily

TARTESSÓS (F28)
Thíngē (F354), *polis* of Libya
Thrínkē (F356), *polis* near the Pillars
TYRSĒNOÍ (F59)

Zánklē (F72), *polis* of Sicily
Zaúēkes (F336) people of Libya
Zēbyttis (F331), *polis* of Libya
Zygantes (F337), people of Libya
Zygantís (F337), *polis* of Libya

This page intentionally left blank

THE GREEKS ON THE VENETIAN LAGOON[1]

Lorenzo Braccesi
University of Padua

> Expositis paucis qui loca explorarent, cum audisset tenue praetentum litus esse, quod transgressis stagna ab tergo sint inrigua aestibus maritimis, agros haud procul [proximos] campestres cerni, ulteriora colles uideri; esse ostium fluminis praealti quo circumagi naues in stationem tutam possint [uidisse],—Meduacus amnis erat—, eo inuectam classem subire flumine aduerso iussit.
>
> Having sent a small party ashore to explore the country, and learning that it was a narrow beach that extended in front of them, on crossing which one found behind it lagoons which were flooded by the tides; that not far off level fields could be made out, and that hills were seen rising beyond them, and that a river of great depth—the Meduacus—debouched there, into which they could bring round their ships to a safe anchorage—having learned all this, I say, he ordered the fleet to sail in and make its way up stream.
>
> Livy, 10.2.5–6

This is the first expedition of Cleonymus, master of Corcyra and unsuccessful king of Sparta, in the year 302/301, according to the narrative of Livy, who probably knew the real places from being born in Padua. Cleonymus puts ashore on the coast-line of the modern Lido or Pellestrina, and he enters the Venetian lagoon by a natural passage: the ancient mouth of the river Brenta, the Meduacus, whose name endures in the modern place-name of Malamocco. The river Meduacus gave its name to the landing place of *Meduacus* or *Medóakos*, which was invisible from the sea, because it was in front of the lagoon (see Strabo *Geog.* 5.1.6). From here ancient ships, going through the lagoon by the natural shipway excavated from the river bed of Meduacus, and going up the same river, could arrive in Padua: in other words, by artificial shipways dug out by man, going south they could reach Adria, or, going north, they could reach Altino.

[1] I must sincerely thank Dr. Efrem Zambon for the English version of my own work, which was originally written in Italian.

But there is a question: was Cleonymus, in the first years of the Hellenistic era, the first Greek to see these waters and these lands, unknown to the Greeks before him? Or was he entering places already well-known to the Greeks? Today, we can give an answer: Cleonymus visited a lagoon which was long known to the Greek seamen and traders who sailed the Adriatic, and their presence, as we shall see, is proved by archaeological evidence not only for the archaic and classical age, but even for the Mycenaean period.

As things are, we need to ask ourselves: when does the history of Venice start? The answer is not unequivocal: for the history of Venice starts either when its lagoon shows evidence of archaic contacts (cultural or commercial) with the Aegean world; or it starts when the city forms from the union of the islands of the lagoon.[2] But the chronological difference is clear: more than a thousand years!

Let us pause on the first point of the problem. Which is the Venetian sea? What is its relation with the Aegean world? For the Greek traders, the Adriatic sea on the Venetian lagoon is *Adrías*, the sea which owes its name to Adria and abuts on the *Henetiké* (i.e., the *Venetia maritima* of Pliny *NH* 6.218).[3] It is the same sea travelled by the heroes of the *nóstoi*, founders of cities, such as Antenor and Diomedes; the sea sailed by the Argonauts and flown over by Phaethon.

Venice is at the central point of this little sea but, obviously, the lands and the lagoon were different for the Greek seaman from what we can see today. Unfortunately, we cannot determine the difference with precision. If we believe either the ancient geographers—who tell us about the existence of mysterious Electrides islands off the coast of the river Po—or the *thaumásia* writers—who made information on the above-mentioned islands available[4]—we should think that both of them got information from seamen or traders, who saw

[2] For the data, with a general discussion of the problems, W. Dorigo, *Venezia origini*, 2 vols. (Milan 1983), *passim*. More new data on the presence of the Romans in the Venetian lagoon has been offered by the excavations at Teatro Malibran, which testify to the existence of a Roman settlement at the centre of Venice in late Empire. The first report of the discoveries, which local newspapers have also widely reported, is given by L. Fozzati, in *I Greci in Laguna, La documentazione archeologica* (Venezia 1998), forthcoming.

[3] Concerning the *Henetiké*, see the important conclusions of S. Mazzarino, *Il concetto storico-geografico dell'unità veneta*, in *Storia della cultura veneta*, 1, Vicenza 1976, 1–28, part. 6–7.

[4] A full discussion of the problem can be found in L. Braccesi, *Grecità adriatica*, Bologna 1977², 30ff. See also A. Mastrocinque, *L'ambra e l'Eridano*, Este 1991, 36ff.

a lagoon landscape similar to what we see today. On the contrary, if we remember Livy's description of the arrive of Cleonymus,[5] we can argue that the Greek seaman knew of a direct route to the Venetian lagoon, entering by the mouth of the Meduaco (i.e., by the shore of Malamocco). However, both the Electrides islands and the lagoon voyage of Cleonymus show that the Venetian lagoon was not unknown to the Greeks, either in the archaic period, when they imported metals and precious resins from northern Europe; or in Hellenistic times, when they came for conquest.

As a matter of fact, we cannot imagine a history of the Veneto which leaves out of consideration the history of Venice and her lagoon, not only in the medieval and modern eras, but also in ancient times and in the pre-Roman age. We will now try to show that archeology indicates (as regards the Venetian lagoon, Torcello and Altino) mutual cultural relations, whether in the 2nd millennium or in the 1st, with the areas of the rivers Po and Timavo, in the era of Mycenaean trade just as much as at the time of later trading relations with Athens.

The settlement of Frattesina di Fratta Polesine (which is close to Adria, on southern edge of the lagoon) has yielded fragments of Mycenaean pottery, dating to the end of the 2nd millennium; these are the first finds in the area of the upper Adriatic, and it is evidence of the trading of Mycenaean hand-manufactured goods and, probably, of the presence of Aegean merchants. This is not a unique case, because Frattesina—even more so in the 10th–9th centuries B.C.—is a typical *emporion* of the protohistoric era, where metals and amber from the Baltic and northern Europe were bartered for exotic manufactured goods. In Frattesina, local artists produced ornaments with amber, ivory and horn, all influenced by Mediterranean styles; here, in addition to Mycenaean manufactured goods, there is proof of the import of ostrich eggs and horn artefacts, which are mixed with gold pendants and swords of Italic type.[6] The importance of the *emporion* is due to its geographical position, which is a point of

[5] See L. Braccesi, *L'avventura di Cleonimo* Padova 1990), 25ff.

[6] For general informations, see L. Braccesi, *Indizi per una frequentazione micenea dell'Adriatico*, in *Momenti precoloniali nel Mediterraneo antico (Roma 1985)*, Roma 1988, 133–145; for details, see A.M. Bietti Sestieri, *L'abitato di Frattesina*, in *Este e la civiltà paleoveneta a cento anni dalle prime scoperte (Este 1978)*, supp. *SE* 46 (1980) 23ff. New and important data in E. Di Filippo Balestrazzi, 'Tre frammenti micenei da Torcello', *Hespería* 10, 2000, 203–223, with extensive and careful documentation.

contact between maritime trade-routes and the caravan-routes to the markets of Europe. These routes, crossing the Alps by the valleys of the rivers Isarco and Adige, are scattered with Mycenaean and proto-geometric pottery (see the finds of Este and Montagnana, near Padova; and those of Fabbrica dei Soci, Fondo Panviani and Castello del Tartaro, near Verona).[7]

This kind of connection is the same as that which is fulfilled, in the classical age, by the international *empória* of Adria and Spina. We cannot exclude the possibility that the Greeks of the Classical age remembered, even if vaguely, the markets like that of Frattesina: the historiographic tradition, through Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4 F 4), tells us of the existence, in the same area, of a *proto-Spina*,[8] founded by the Pelasgians, who then migrated to central Italy, where they founded Cortona.

A similar situation, and the same chronology, is indicated by archaeology on the northern shores of the Venetian lagoon, around Caorle. Recent investigations have brought to light a protohistoric settlement similar to an *emporion* (11th–10th cent. B.C.), which attests to persistent contacts with the Aegean world, particularly with Cyprus.[9] Venice, and her waters, are the heart of *Henetiké*, and they were the destination of the Aegean traders. Recently, it has been proved that three fragments of Mycenaean pottery in the Ligabue collection come from Torcello; moreover, another fragment has been found near the island of Mazzorbo.[10]

---

[7] For the documents see Di Filippo Balestrazzi, 'Tre frammenti micenei da Torcello'. Moreover, see G. Gambacurta, A. Ruta Serafini, 'Le necropoli dell'età del ferro di Este e Saletto'; and E. Bianchin Citton, 'Montagnana tra bronzo finale e prima età del ferro' both in "*. . . presso l'Adige ridente . . .*". *Recenti rinvenimenti archeologici da Este a Montagnana* (Padova 1998) respectively 15–99 and 233–433: L. Vagnetti, 'Ceramiche di tipo egeo dal Basso Veronese' in *Dalla terra al museo. Mostra dei reperti preistorici e protostorici degli ultimi dieci anni di ricerca dal territorio veronese* (Forlì 1996), 179–184.

[8] It is the so-called Spina I, as it has been named by S. Ferri, 'Spina I, Spina II, Spina III', in *Spina e l'Etruria Padana* (Ferrara 1957), supp. *SE* 25 (1959), 59–63. See L. Braccesi and A. Coppola, 'I Greci descrivono Spina' in *Spina. Storia di una città tra Greci ed Etruschi* (Ferrara 1993), 71–79.

[9] The documentation can be found in Bianchin Citton, 'Il sito umido di S. Gaetano—Casa Zucca', in *La protostoria tra Sile e Tagliamento. Antiche genti tra Veneto e Friuli* (Padova 1996), 175–182.

[10] The fragments from Torcello (which have been presented by Giancarlo Ligabue to Venice for the Lagoon Museum, which will soon be established) have been published by Di Filippo Balestrazzi, 'Tre frammenti micenei da Torcello'. The fragment from Mazzorbo has been pointed out by Bianchin Citton, in *I Greci in Laguna*.

Their chronology, in almost all cases, relates to Mycenaean III B (before 1200 B.C.). To the same typology and chronology belong the four well-known vases preserved in Torcello Museum, which were once considered to be the collection's only finds of this, because there were no other fragments from the same area to use as a reference-point. Today, on the contrary, we possess four Mycenaean fragments. So, it is time to re-establish the importance of the four vases from the Torcello Museum, because we can show that they are not merely collected pieces; in particular, we have the careful note of a manuscript catalogue of 1888 (edited by Irene Favaretto),[11] relating to one vase; "olla piccola a tre anse in terra cotta, scavata a Mazzorbo nel 1881" (a terra-cotta cinerary urn, with three handles, recovered in Mazzorbo in 1881).

As things seem to be, if the Venetian lagoon were already the arena of trade with the Aegean world in the 2nd millennium, we must argue that the territory of Torcello had a double function: it was a terminal point for the Adriatic routes which entered the Venetian lagoon from the north (i.e., from the Lido); but, in particular, it was a point of contact and transit for a route across the lagoon, which linked Frattesina to Caorle in protohistoric times.

In the 1st millennium, near the southern edge of the lagoon, we find the two great *emporia* of Adria and Spina; the first, which is north of the mouth of the Po, is an Etruscan-Venetic town; the other, which is south of the river-mouth, is an Etruscan town, but it became immortalised in tradition as a πόλις Ἑλληνίς.[12] We do not know if any similar *emporia* existed on the northern shores of the lagoon: possibly there was an *emporion*—and not a negligible one—at *Caput Adriae*, close to the source of Timavo, if we trust the literary tradition and ancestral memory.[13]

I have always supposed that Greek trading ships, leaving the *emporia* of Adria and Spina, could arrive at the harbours of the *caput Adriae* sailing inside the waters of the lagoon; I believed this on the basis of the numerous discoveries of items of Attic pottery found on

[11] I. Favaretto, *Ceramica greca italiota ed etrusca del Museo Provinciale di Torcello* (Roma 1982), 22.

[12] Documentation in Braccesi, *Grecità adriatica*, 135ff.

[13] See P. Cassola Guida, 'Lineamenti di protostoria friulana', in *La protostoria tra Sile e Tagliamento*, 313–320, part. 318. Literary tradition has been examined carefully by L. Braccesi, *La leggenda di Antenore* (Venezia 1997^{2}), 71ff.

the islands of the lagoon.[14] But today we have much more data. Archaeology allows us to reconstruct an entirely new chapter in the history of pre-Roman Altino, which we can consider an *emporion* no less important than Spina and Adria. In the great era of Attic commercial trade, pre-Roman Altino—where Attic pottery and bronzes of Etruscan origin[15] have been recovered—was the central reference point of that route across the lagoon which linked the mouth of the Po with the source of the Timavo: it was the same role that Adria played for the Venetian lagoon, and the hinterland of Mantua and Cisalpine Etruria: and the one which Spina played for Felsina and Cispadane Etruria.

After all, pre-Roman Altino should, in the historic period, have had the same role which Torcello had in the protohistoric age, in relation to Frattesina and Caorle. In both cases, just to provide a lowest common denominator for the trade going on the route across the lagoon, we can choose the movement of amber, which, coming from the Baltic, came to the Adriatic sea by the river Timavo (via the Oder, Morava, Danube and Isonzo) or by Adria (via the Elbe, Moldava, Danube, Brennero/Resia and Adige).[16] The amber trade is linked closely with the tradition of the Electrides islands and with the legend of Phaethon and the Eliades, which is attested, with details, in a work of the Aristotelian *corpus*, the *De mirabilibus auscultationibus* (§ 81 = 836a–b):

> Ἐν ταῖς Ἠλεκτρίσι νήσοις, αἳ κεῖνται ἐν τῷ μυχῷ τοῦ Ἀδρίου, φασὶν εἶναι δύο ἀνδριάντας ἀνακειμένους, τὸν μὲν κασσιτέρινον τὸν δὲ χαλκοῦν, εἰργασμένους τὸν ἀρχαῖον τρόπον. Λέγεται δὲ τούτους Δαιδάλου εἶναι ἔργα, [. . .] ταύτας δὲ τὰς νήσους φασὶ προκεχωκέναι τὸν Ἠριδανὸν ποταμόν. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ λίμνη, ὡς ἔοικε, πλησίον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὕδωρ ἔχουσα θερμόν· ὀσμὴ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς βαρεῖα καὶ χαλεπὴ ἀποπνεῖ, καὶ οὔτε ζῷον οὐδὲν πίνει ἐξ αὐτῆς οὔτε ὄρνεον ὑπερίπταται, ἀλλὰ πίπτει καὶ ἀποθνήσκει. [. . .] Μυθεύουσι δὲ οἱ ἐγχώριοι Φαέθοντα κεραυνωθέντα πεσεῖν εἰς ταύτην τὴν λίμνην. Εἶναι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ αἰγείρους πολλάς, ἐξ ὧν ἐκπίπτειν τὸ καλού-

[14] For information, see L. Capuis, 'Il veneto nel quadro dei rapporti etrusco-italici ed europei dalla fine dell'età del bronzo alla romanizzazione' in *Etrusker nördlich von Etrurien* (Wien 1992), 27–44; *Ead.*, 'Il territorio a sud di Padova in epoca pre-romana' in *Studi di archeologia della X Regio in ricordo di Michele Tombolani* (Roma 1994), 73–80.

[15] For the preliminary excavation data, see M. Tirelli, in *I Greci in Laguna*, forthcoming; *Ead.*, in *Archeo*, 1999.

[16] Documentation in Braccesi, *Grecità adriatica*, 37ff.

μενον ἤλεκτρον. Τοῦτο δὲ λέγουσιν ὅμοιον εἶναι κόμμι, ἀποσκληρύνεσθαι δὲ ὡσανεὶ λίθον, καὶ συλλεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων διαφέρεσθαι εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Εἰς ταύτας οὖν τὰς νήσους Δαίδαλόν φασιν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ κατασχόντα αὐτὰς ἀναθεῖναι ἐν μιᾷ αὐτῶν τὴν αὑτοῦ εἰκόνα, καὶ τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰκάρου ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ. [. . .]

They say that in the Electrides islands, which are located deep in the gulf of Adriatic sea, there are two consecrated statues, one made of tin, the other of bronze, both realized according to the archaic style. It is said that these are Daedalus' works [. . .]. They say that the river Eridanus silted up these islands. There is a lake apparently near the river, containing hot water. A heavy and unpleasant smell comes from it, nor do birds fly over it without falling and dying [. . .]. The local inhabitants say that Phaethon fell into this lake when he was struck by a thunderbolt. There are many poplars in it, from which oozes the so-called electron. They say that it is like gum, and hardens like a stone; it is collected by the inhabitants and brought to the Greeks. They say that Daedalus came to these islands, and putting in there set up on one of them his own image, and on the other that of his son Icarus [. . .].

We must next consider Daedalus. Even in literature we find a memory of the amber trade to the mouth of the Eridanus/Po, and it is implied by the legend of Phaethon and the presence of the Electrides islands. These are not merely imaginary. In our text, they featured as "drift"; so we can locate them almost anywere: the sand-banks off the mouth of river Po; the shores which separate the lagoon from the sea; the thousand islands in Venetian waters; the shelves of the Venetian lagoon.[17] Exactly according to their nature, the Electrides in turn appear and disappear in the waters, and probably for this reason, they induce Greek imagination to make them a centre of the amber trade.[18] The tradition locates them either near the mouth of river Po, or in the gulf of Quarnaro (see Pliny *NH* 3.152). But this is not a problem: we have only to think about the geography—and above all the hydrography—of the *Enetiké*: everywere, as we said before, there are river-mouths, shores, shelves, lagoons. This explains why the Greeks located them across a very wide territory, but between the two poles of the caravan-routes. Moreover, in both places, or on their outskirts, there were sulphurous springs (respectively, in

---

[17] On this problem, with careful attention to the territory, see Mastrocinque, *L'ambra e l'Eridano*, 93ff.

[18] See Braccesi, *Grecità adriatica*, 30ff.

Abano and in the little island of Sant'Antonio, near Monfalcone): a detail to underline their character of *mirabilia*.[19]

But how was the route across the lagoon made? Already in pre-Roman times, it was excavated by man, and secured connections between the delta of Po and the waters of the lagoon with cuttings and cross-channels (*fossae*). We may estimate the first section, from Ravenna to Venice, from Pliny (*NH* 3.20, 119–120, *passim*):

> Augusta fossa Ravennam trahitur, ubi Padusa vocatur, quondam Messanicus appellatus. proximum inde ostium magnitudinem portus habet qui Vatreni dicitur [. . .]. Auget ibi Padum Vatrenus amnis ex Forocorneliensi agro. Proximum inde ostium Caprasiae, dein Sagis, dein Volane, quod ante Olane vocabatur, omnia ea fossa Flavia, quam primi a Sagi fecere Tusci egesto amnis impetu per transversum in Atrianorum paludes quae Septem Maria appellantur, [. . .]. Inde ostia plena Carbonaria, Fossiones ac Philistina, quod alii Tartarum vocant, omnia ex Philistinae fossae abundatione nascentia, accedentibus Atesi ex Tridentinis Alpibus et Togisono ex Patavinorum agris. Pars eorum et proximum portum facit Brundulum, sicut Aedronem Meduaci duo ac fossa Clodia.

> The Po is carried to Ravenna by the canal of Augustus; this part of the river is called Padusa, its name previously being Messanicus. The mouth nearest to Ravenna forms the large basin called the harbour of Vatreno [. . .] At this point the Po is augmented by the river Vatreno [. . .]. The next mouth to this is the Caprasian mouth, then that of Sagis, and then the Volane, formerly called Olane; all of these form the Flavian Canal, which was first made from the Sagis by the Tuscans, thus discharging the flow of the river across into the marshes of the Atriani called the Seven Seas [. . .]. Next come the deep-water mouths of Carbonaria, and the fosses of Philistina, called by others Tartarus, all of which originate from the overflow of the Philistina Canal, with the addition of the Adige from the Trentino Alps and of the Bacchiglione from the district of Padua. A part of these streams also forms the neighbouring harbour of Brondolo, as likewise that of Chioggia is formed by Brenta and Brentella and the Clodian Canal.

In the area of the delta, the Romans extended a pre-existing network of artificial cuttings: so, in Augustan times, they dug the *fossa Augusta*, to link Ravenna to Spina, but they needed only to repair the pre-existing channel, called *Messanicus*. And the same happened

---

[19] See A. Grilli, 'Eridano, Elettridi e via dell'ambra' in *Studi e ricerche sulla problematica dell'ambra* (Pisa 1975), 279–291, part. 287–288, with notes on the morphology of the coast area near river Timavo, which was all lagoon in ancient times (and before the modern works of drainage).

during the first decades of the imperial era, when they dug the *fossa Flavia* to connect the channels made by the river Po at Spina and Adria: in this case, they put into service again a channel dug by the Etruscans. Again, when they dug the *fossa Clodia* (to link the channel of the river Po at Adria with the river Adige, and make them flow into the lagoon), they only enlarged the ancient *fossa Philistina*.

As we can understand from the names *Messanicus* and *Philistina*, not only the Etruscans (mentioned by Pliny) dug channels in the Po delta, but also the Greeks. We need to refer to the cultural and political sphere of those who planned and performed these great works. In both cases, we must think about the only group of Greek *ápoikoi* who had been in the delta: the Syracusans, who colonized Adria in the age of the two Dionysii.[20] *Philistina* is certainly linked with the historian Philistus; and the *fossa Messanica* with the city of Messana (and thus, with the Sicilian and Syracusan spheres).[21]

This widespread canalization, testified since pre-Roman times,[22] is an explanation for the presence of the legend of Daedalus in the Po delta. This legend, as modern scholars have shown,[23] links the Po delta and Etruscan territory with the sphere of hydraulic engineering: if this is true, it is not a mere chance that Daedalus is mentioned by pseudo-Aristotle in connection with the territory where the Etruscans, *egesto amnis impetu*, made their strongest efforts to check the flow of the Po's waters. It seems that even the Daedalus of the Greek tradition assumed the peculiarities of the Etruscan one; from being a hero, he becomes a carpenter (or architect) when managing the waters. We must not forget that in *de mirabilibus auscultationibus* Daedalus is linked with the Electrides islands, and this leads to a one conclusion: if the shelves (so, in the legend, the Electrides islands) are the greatest danger for making the Po delta marshy, Daedalus came to a place where his intervention was particularly required.

---

[20] See Braccesi, *Grecità adriatica*, 211ff and 237ff., with wrong conclusions about the *fossa Philistina*: concerning this, see Braccesi, *L'avventura di Cleonimo*, 48ff.

[21] See S. Mazzarino, 'Interpretazione della storia di Classe dal IV secolo a.C. all'età di F<l>avius (Cassiodorio)', in *Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi sulle antichità di Classe* (Ravenna 1967), 5–15.

[22] General views (with different perspectives) in G. Uggeri, 'Vie di terra e vie d'acqua tra Aquileia e Ravenna in età romana', *Antichità Alto Adriatiche* 13 (1978), 45–79; and A. Peretti, *Dall'Eridano di Esiodo al Retrone vicentino* (Pisa 1994).

[23] G. Sassatelli, 'Spina nelle immagini etrusche', in *Spina*, 115–127, part. 120ff. See the observations of L. Braccesi, 'Ancora su Dedalo', in F. Rebecchi, ed., *Spina e il delta padano. Riflessioni sul catalogo e sulla mostra ferrarese* (Roma 1998), 119–121.

Even for Pliny the canals of the Po (*fossae*) ended in the Venetian lagoon: then as now, it began where the *fossa Philistina/fossa Clodia* formed the harbour of Edrone (named Chioggia from *fossa Clodia*). As Pliny informs us, the harbour was delimited by the two channels of *Meduacus* (the *minor* one, not the the *Meduacus maior*, which flows into the lagoon near Malamocco).[24]

In ancient times, here existed a "great harbour" whose name was the same of the river: it was invisible from the sea, because of its location in front of the lagoon. We have the evidence of Strabo (*Geog.* 5.1.6).

> Ἔχει δὲ θαλάττης ἀνάπλουν ποταμῷ διὰ τῶν ἑλῶν φερομένῳ σταδίων πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἐκ λιμένος μεγάλου· καλεῖται δ' ὁ λιμὴν Μεδόακος ὁμωνύμως τῷ ποταμῷ.

> Patavium offers an inland voyage from the sea by a river which runs through the marshes, two hundred and fifty stadia from a large harbour; the harbour, like the river, is called Medoacus.

From the great harbour, ancient ships could come to Padova, crossing the lagoon along the natural channel dug in the river-bed: otherwise, thanks to artificial channels, they could reach Altino (on the north) and Edrone (on the south), going on to Adria along the *fossa Philistina*. The lagoon linked the harbours of Meduaco and Edrone: and the island of Pellestrina (which joins Malamocco and Chioggia) probably owes its name to the *fossa Philistina*.[25]

The "great harbour" was the starting point of Cleonymus' expedition to Padova: and it was from here, thanks to the legend created *in loco*, that Antenor probably moved to the same town, to found it. Both Cleonymus and Antenor came from the Adriatic; they both went up the Meduacus; they both are mentioned by the same author, Livy (10.2.5–6 and 1.1.1–3), who knew the places well, being born in Padova. Probably Antenor (in local legend) landed in the same place as Cleonymus, the historical character: that is to say on the shores of the Lido or Pellestrina, opposite the shores across the front of the lagoon, where the "great harbour" was located. The

---

[24] On the problem of lagoon topography, L. Bosio, 'Tito Livio e l'episodio di Cleonimo: il probabile luogo dello scontro tra Patavini e Greci', in *Studi di archeologia*, 215–221, part. 216–217.

[25] This data is commonly accepted in modern studies of Venetian topography: see G.B. Pellegrini and A. Prosdocimi, *La lingua venetica* I (Padova-Firenze 1967), 635.

site, as Livy tells us, was known to contemporaries by the name of Troy (*in quem primo egressi sunt locum Troia vocatur*).[26]

In the Greek imagination, all the peoples that the historiographic tradition shows us moving from the East to the West probably moved through the Venetian lagoon. These peoples, whether they came by land or by sea, reached *caput Adriae*: from there, sailing through the canals, they came to the lagoon: the Veneti, who stopped there; and the Pelasgi (whether proto-Greeks or proto-Etruscans), who then went to Etruria and Latium.

According to Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4 F 4), the Pelasgians founded Cortona in Etruria, coming from Spina. How did they reach Cortona? They used a caravan-route, starting from the Po delta, running up the River Savio to its source on Monte Fumaiolo, going down the mountains into the Tiber valley and then coming to Caere.[27] Cortona is exactly in the middle of this route, which linked two seas (Adriatic and Tyrrhenian) and two towns (Spina and Caere). Both the towns are of Etruscan origin; they hosted Greek quarters; they both had a very rich *thesaurós* in Delphi; they both place their origin in the mythical literature of *nóstoi*.[28]

Let us come to a conclusion. If the Venetian lagoon was in ancient times a trading place for Greek merchants, in the historical era this was due to the intense Greek trade at neighbouring international *emporia*: Adria and Spina (and, we can now add, Altino).

Some questions concerning Adria remain: why did this town gave its name to the Adriatic sea? What was its power and its importance as an *emporion*? The answer is possible if we remember that Adria was not only the terminus of a sea-route—reaching to the Aegean—but also the terminus of two great caravan-routes, still in use in the 2nd millennium, which linked the upper Adriatic to the markets of northern Europe. We have already described the two caravan-routes: one comes down from the Baltic sea, the other begins in the Danube area and goes, via the river Isonzo, to the Timavo and the *caput Adriae*. The last one is the so-called 'argonaut's route', and by travelling it one could reach Black Sea.

---

[26] On this see Braccesi, *L'avventura di Cleonimo*, 45–46.

[27] Discussion of the problem and documents in L. Braccesi, *Grecità di frontiera* (Padova 1994), 49ff.

[28] The data on this tradition are collected and discussed by D. Briquel, *Les Pelasges en Italie* (Roma 1984), 3ff. and 652ff.

The commercial importance of Adria is twofold: the *emporion* received goods coming from the caravan-routes and then it distributed them to the Aegean area, via to Greek trade. Because of this exclusive role, Adria gave its name to the Adriatic sea, which was a preferred route to transmit the influence of Greek culture to Italy and Europe.

Bibliography

AAVV *I Greci in Laguna, La documentazione archeologica*, forthcoming

Bianchin Citton, E. 'Il sito umido di S. Gaetano—Casa Zucca', in *La protostoria tra Sile e Tagliamento. Antiche genti tra Veneto e Friuli*. Padova: Esedra, 1996, 175–182

——. 'Montagnana tra bronzo finale e prima età del ferro', in *'. . . presso l'Adige ridente . . .'. Recenti rinvenimenti archeologici da Este a Montagnana*. Padova: ADLE, 1998, 233–433

Bietti Sestieri, A.M. 'L'abitato di Frattesina', in *Este e la civiltà paleoveneta a cento anni dalle prime scoperte* (*Studi Etruschi* supp. 46). Firenze: Olschki, 1980

Bosio, L. 'Tito Livio e l'episodio di Cleonimo: il probabile luogo dello scontro tra Patavini e Greci', in *Studi di archeologia della X Regio in ricordo di Michele Tombolani*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1994, 215–221

Braccesi, L. *Grecità adriatica*. 2nd ed. Bologna: Pàtron, 1977

——. 'Indizi per una frequentazione micenea dell'Adriatico', in *Momenti precoloniali nel Mediterraneo antico*. Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1988, 133–145

——. *L'avventura di Cleonimo*. Padova: Programma, 1990

——. and Coppola, A. 'I Greci descrivono Spina', in *Spina. Storia di una città tra Greci ed Etruschi*. Ferrara: Comitato Ferrara Arte, 1993, 71–79

——. *Grecità di frontiera*. Padova: Esedra, 1994

——. *La leggenda di Antenore*. 2nd ed. Venezia: Marsilio, 1997

——. 'Ancora su Dedalo', in F. Rebecchi, ed., *Spina e il delta padano. Riflessioni sul catalogo e sulla mostra ferrarese*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1998, 119–121

Briquel, D. *Les Pelasges en Italie*. Rome: École Française de Rome, 1984

Capuis, L. 'Il veneto nel quadro dei rapporti etrusco-italici ed europei dalla fine dell'età del bronzo alla romanizzazione', in *Etrusker nördlich von Etrurien*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992, 27–44

——. 'Il territorio a sud di Padova in epoca preromana', in *Studi di archeologia della X Regio in ricordo di Michele Tombolani*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1994, 73–80

Cassola Guida, P. 'Lineamenti di protostoria friulana', in *La protostoria tra Sile e Tagliamento*. Padova: Esedra, 313–320

Di Filippo Balestrazzi, E. 'Tre frammenti micenei da Torcello', *Hesperìa* 10, 2000, 203–223

Dorigo, W. *Venezia origini*. 2 vols. Milan: Electa, 1983

Favaretto, I. *Ceramica greca italiota ed etrusca del Museo Provinciale di Torcello*. Roma: G. Bretschneider, 1982

Ferri, S. 'Spina I, Spina II, Spina III', in *Spina e l'Etruria Padana* (*Studi Etruschi* supp. 25). Firenze: Olschki, 1959, 59–63

Gambacurta, G. and Ruta Serafini, A. 'Le necropoli dell'età del ferro di Este e Saletto', in *'. . . presso l'Adige ridente . . .'. Recenti rinvenimenti archeologici da Este a Montagnana*. Padova: ADLE, 1998, 15–99

Grilli, A. 'Eridano, Elettridi e via dell'ambra', in *Studi e ricerche sulla problematica dell'ambra*. Pisa 1975, 279–291

Mastrocinque, A. *L'ambra e l'Eridano*. Este: Zielo, 1991

Mazzarino, S. 'Interpretazione della storia di Classe dal IV secolo a.C. all'età di F<l>avius (Cassiodorio)', in *Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi sulle antichità di Classe*. Ravenna: A. Longo, 1967, 5–15

——. 'Il concetto storico-geografico dell'unità veneta', in *Storia della cultura veneta* I. Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1976, 1–28

Pellegrini, G.B. and Prosdocimi, A. *La lingua venetica*, 1. Padova-Firenze: Istituto di glottologia dell'Università, 1967

Peretti, A. *Dall'Eridano di Esiodo al Retrone vicentino*. Pisa: Giardini, 1994

Sassatelli, G. 'Spina nelle immagini etrusche', in F. Rebecchi, ed., *Spina e il delta padano. Riflessioni sul catalogo e sulla mostra ferrarese*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1998, 115–127

Uggeri, G. 'Vie di terra e vie d'acqua tra Aquileia e Ravenna in età romana', *Antichità Alto Adriatiche* 13 (1978) 45–79

Vagnetti, L. 'Ceramiche di tipo egeo dal Basso Veronese', in *Dalla terra al museo. Mostra dei reperti preistorici e protostorici degli ultimi dieci anni di ricerca dal territorio veronese*. Forlì, 1996, 179–184

This page intentionally left blank

THE GREEK IDENTITY AT METAPONTO

Joseph C. Carter
University of Texas

When did the first Greeks arrive on the arc of the Ionian shore of Southern Italy between the Bradano and Cavone rivers, the territory of the future colony of Metaponto? Who were they? And what was their relationship with the indigenous Italic population known to the Greeks as Oenotrians? And finally to what degree was the civilization that evolved there a fusion of Greek and indigenous elements? These are the large and fundamental questions that I will raise this morning.

The phenomenon of 'precolonization' has been much discussed—never more lucidly and compellingly than by David Ridgway. In an article entitled 'La precolonizzazione' in Magna Grecia, 1989, he presented the evolution of this concept from the early contributions of Blakeway and Dunbabin down to the present.[1] As you are all aware, the work of Buchner and Ridgway at Pithekoussai has shown the way, illuminating the contacts between Greeks and peoples from the eastern Mediterranean in the west, between them and the pre-existing populations, and the autonomous interactions between these populations.[2] The Greeks, in short, were not the bearers of all innovations, as was once believed, but were attracted by commercial opportunities and economies, which were already well established and highly productive. These first contacts were mutually advantageous and ethnic identity was, in the early stages, at least, a very fluid concept.

These generalizations apply *mutatis mutandis* to the coastal area of Italy that we shall be examining in a slightly later period. Greek colonies were established at Taras and Sybaris in the last decade of the 8th century—a generation after Kyme on the Tyrrhenian. In

[1] D. Ridgway, 'La Precolonizzazione', in *Un secolo di ricerche in Magna Grecia, Atti del 28 Convegno di Taranto 1988* (Taranto, 1989), 111–126.
[2] D. Ridgway, *The First Western Greeks* (Cambridge, 1992).

the area, which by the end of the 7th century B.C. we can properly refer to as the chora of the Achean colony (i.e. '*il Metapontino*'), archaeological activity in the last twenty-five years has been intense, as it has in contiguous areas—in the *chora* of the colony of Siris ('*La Siritide*'), and at numerous indigenous sites in the interior of Basilicata.[3]

Fortunately, many of the most important discoveries concern the period and the problems with which we shall be dealing—in particular, the site of Incoronata '*greca*' on the southern side of the Basento river, about 8 km from the coast, (see figures 1–3) where Professor Piero Orlandini's team has been working since 1974,[4] and the important 9th and 8th century Iron Age necropoleis of San Teodoro and Incoronata '*indigena*,' and Cozzo Presepe on the Bradano excavated by the British School in Rome.[5] To the south, the site of Siris, the Iron Age necropolis of Santa Maria D'Anglona,[6] the later 7th century indigenous necropoleis of Chiaramonte and Alianello[7]—to name only some that have come to light in recent years. No one, however, has done more to establish the archaeological context than Dr. Antonio De Siena, Director of the Metaponto Museum, with his excavations of the Bronze Age sites of San Vito and Termitito,[8] the Iron Age settlements at Incoronata '*indigena*' on the same coastal terraces as Incoronata '*greca*',[9] and the 7th century settlement, known as Andrisani, on the site of the future colonial polis.[10]

For the last quarter century the Institute of Classical Archaeology at the University of Texas has carried out a multi-disciplinary and multi-phase investigation of the chora of Metaponto, including exca-

[3] The most recent comprehensive, regional study: G. DeRosa, A. Cestaro, eds., *Storia della Basilicata* (Bari, 1999).

[4] M. Castoldi, ed., *I Greci sul Basento, Mostra degli Scavi archeologici all' Incoronata di Metaponto* (Como, 1986); for more recent discussion see also M. Castoldi, ed., *Koinà; Miscellanea di studi archeologici in onore di Piero Orlandini* (Milan, 1999).

[5] E. McNamara and A. Small, *et al.* 'The Excavations at Cozzo Presepe (1964–1972)', in D. Adamestean, B.Ch. Artano, J.C. Carter and E. MacNamara, *Metaponto II. NS.*' ser. 8, vol. 3, 1977 suppl. (Rome, 1983).

[6] O.H. Frey, *Eine Nepropole der frühen Eisenzeit bei Santa Maria d'Anglona* (Galatina, 1991).

[7] S. Bianco, 'La prima Età del Ferro', in *Storia della Basilicata* (see note 3) 137–182.

[8] A. DeSiena, 'Metapontino: strutture abitative ed organizzazione territoriale prima della fondazione della colonia achea', in F. D'Andria and K. Mannino, ed., *Ricerche sulla casa in Magna Grecia, Atti del Colloquio-Lecce 23–24 guigno 1992* (Galatina, 1996).

[9] A. DeSiena, 'Scavi in localita Incoronata ed a Metaponto: nuove scoperte', in *Greci sul Basento* (see note 4) 199–214.

[10] A. DeSiena, 'Metaponto, nuove scoperte in Proprietà Andrisani', in *Siris-Polieion, fonti letterarie e nuova documentazione archeologica* (Galatina, 1986).

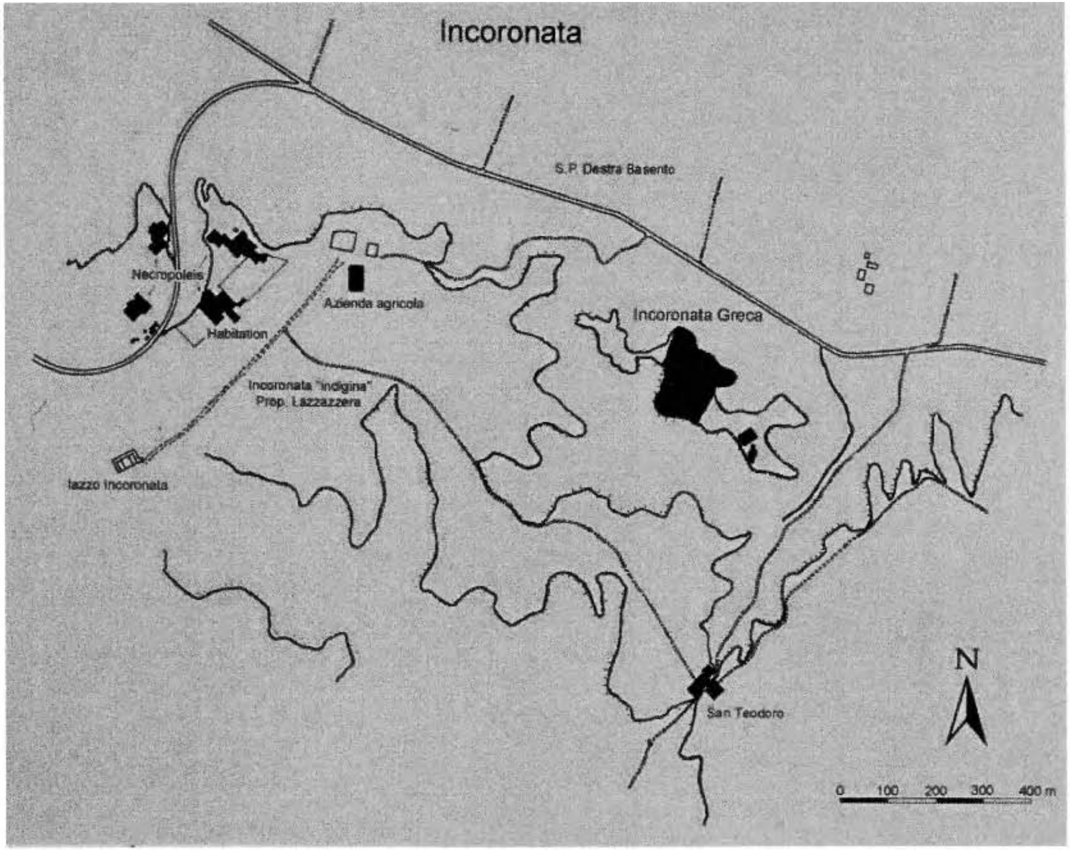


Fig. 1: The area of the marine terrace on the south side of the Basento River, with Incoronata indigena, Incoronata 'greca' and San Teodoro.

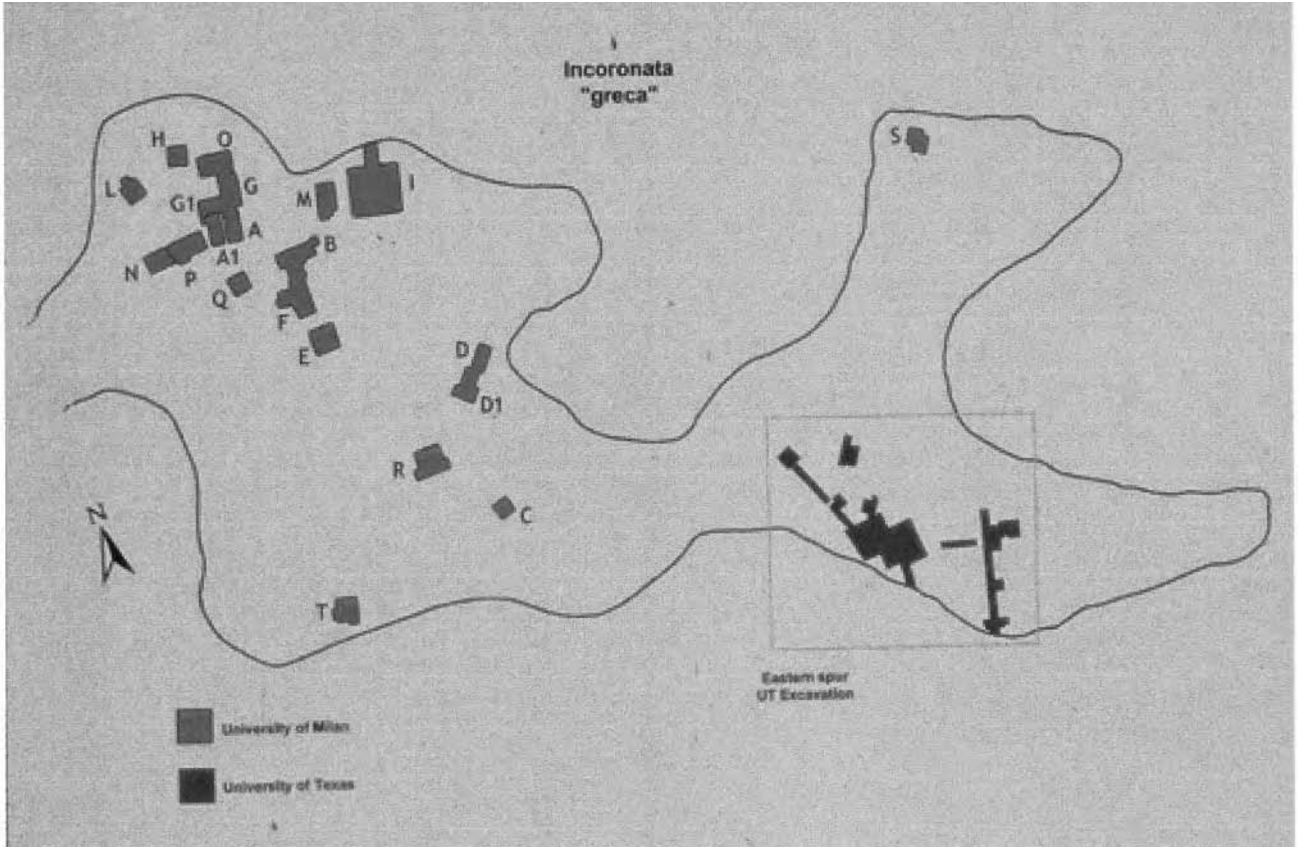


Fig. 2: The plateau known as Incoronata 'greca', showing excavations of the Universities of Milan and Texas.

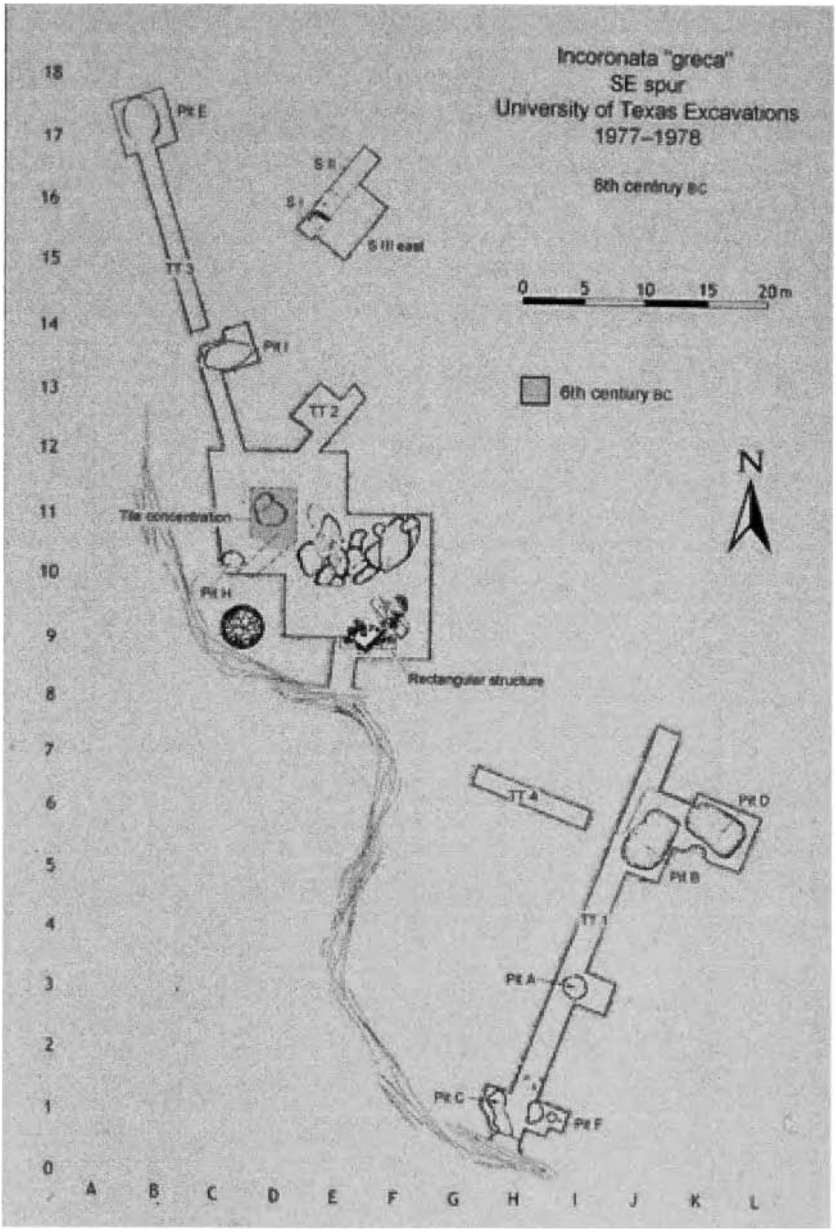


Fig. 3: Detailed plan of the excavations of the University of Texas at Incoronata 'greca' (1977–78).

vations at the neolitic site at Pantanello, at Incoronata '*greca*',[11] the rural necropolis and sanctuary at Pantanello, and at many other later sites throughout the chora. All of us involved in this enormous activity in Basilicata would not hesitate to acknowledge the inspiring leadership—from the beginning, over the years, down to the present—of Professor Dinu Adamasteanu.

Not only has the body of archaeological evidence, the basis of facts, increased dramatically, but also what is equally if not more significant, there have been corresponding advances in the ways the facts have been interpreted. As David Ridgway has shown for the Western Coast of Italy, on the southern coast, too, the indigenous world has come into its own, at last.

We are ready to begin our survey—which because of the time constraints must be brief and selective. If our own work is privileged here it is only because I want to call attention to certain types of evidence which have generally not received the attention they might and which I believe are highly significant, especially in the case of economies that were fundamentally agrarian—namely the preserved remains of plants, animals and of the populations themselves.

The site of Incoronata '*greca*' will be the starting point of our discussion (see figure 2). Chronologically, it covers all the important phases of change and development with which we should be concerned, from the purely indigenous village to mixed Greek and indigenous settlement and finally to the rural sanctuary, an outpost of the Achaean colony in a territory firmly under its control. Incoronata is exceptional, by any standards, for the quantity, diversity, and excellent preservation of the archaeological material from all these phases. There were, undoubtedly, other sites of equal importance historically—at Siris and its environs, for example—but the agents of destruction have been more thorough.

At the time of its discovery, Incoronata '*greca*' seemed to be isolated, but now we know, thanks to the work of Chiartano and De Siena, that it was at the center of an extensive and dispersed indigenous settlement dating from the 9th to the 7th century B.C. The naturally defended plateau of Incoronata '*greca*' consists of three spurs

---

[11] J.C. Carter, 'Taking Possession of the Land: Early Greek Colonization in Southern Italy', in *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Post Classical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown* (1908–1985) (Hanover, NH, and London, 1993), 343–366.

and measures approximately 400 meters along its long E-W axis and 150 meters at the widest on the largest western spur. The total area is about 3.5 hectares (a little less than 9 acres).

The first indication of its archaeological importance and early date, with respect to Metaponto, was the discovery in 1971 of a fragment of an imported South Ionian Late Wild Goat deinos, of about 630 B.C. (according to Dupont's chronology). After the first excavations in 1971 conducted by the Superintendency on the NE spur, the smallest of the three, Dinu Adamasteanu concluded that the hilltop site was shared by Greeks and the indigenous population living in symbiosis. This was, I believe, prophetic, but it was at first not accepted by Orlandini. His excavations of the largest spur have been carried out, annually, over the last quarter century with great skill, dedication, and rigorous scientific method and have been documented in an exemplary publication series that has had unfortunately a limited distribution. All are indebted to him and his team from the University of Milan for this work and, on a personal level, for their generous exchanges of information and frank discussions of problems of interpretation.

The western spur, whose surface area is comparable to that of Emporion in Spain, as well as the other two spurs, were literally honeycombed with structures which fall into two general categories: pits of varying size and profile, ranging from quite small to a meter and a half or more in diameter, and larger, rectangular structures with rough stone foundations above which rose mudbrick walls. It is clear that the ancient surface had been disturbed by later agricultural activity, and in some areas has been removed. Thus, what remains in the case of some of the structures is only the lower part of the original. From the beginning Orlandini has maintained that the pits served the exclusive function of waste disposal. Those that contained mostly indigenous refuse, he interpreted as indigenous rubbish pits and those with a mixture of Greek and indigenous pots, such as the bichrome ware from 'fossa' 5 in Saggio P, as Greek.[12] The rectangular structures that contained a preponderance of Greek pottery, but always some indigenous material, he has baptized as '*oikoi*' or Greek houses. A good example of the Greek so-called 'colonial'

[12] P. Orlandini, ed., *Ricerche archeologiche all' Incoronata di Metaponto, 1, Le fosse di scarico del saggio P, Materiale e problematiche* (Milan, 1991).

ware is this deinos with heraldically placed horses from Oikos T[13] that has a close parallel from a tomb on the site of Siris, and a less close one, from Megara Hyblaea. The Siris parallels have suggested to Orlandini that Greeks from the Eastern Aegean occupied both areas, as Ionian Greeks from Colophon according to tradition, founded Siris. The discovery of much pottery, made in Incoronata, on the site of Metaponto, has weakened the case for an exclusive Incoronata-Siris axis.

In some cases, like that of Oikos S[14] with floor space measuring 1.5 × 2.25 m, or 3.4 m^2, the quantity of pottery is truly amazing—in all 181 objects, including many complete vessels. The assemblage consists of an equally amazing range of types: a small number of Protocorinthian, imported items and imitations, imported commercial amphorae (Corinthian, Attic, SOS, Laconian, and East Greek types), a relatively very large number of the 'colonial' pots—decorated in a variety of subgeometric and figured styles—colonial '*buccheroid*' or grayware, perirrhanteria with moulded decoration, pithoi, cookware, undecorated coarseware, and of course, indigenous impasto and fine wares with the characteristic patterns of the Bradano Geometric type. It is natural to wonder how a dwelling of 3.5 m^2 could have accommodated pots and humans also, or why they would have needed such a large number of pots of such size and variety? Among the finds from this *oikos* was an example of the bellows spout or support (the identification is still in doubt) of a type similar to that found at Pithekoussai and later at Metaponto. In the upper levels, significantly, there were two complete, indigenous vessels and a spearpoint, also, apparently, of an indigenous type.

In the original interpretation of the site in the 70s Orlandini postulated that an indigenous village, dating to the 8th century B.C. had first occupied the plateau. With the arrival of the Greeks, which he placed about 700 B.C., the village was destroyed by Greek settlers who disposed of the remains of the village in the pits referred to as Greek. The evident presence of indigenous material among the preponderant Greek pottery, imported and colonial, in the rectangular '*oikoi*' was explained as archaeological background noise. It was there,

---

[13] P. Orlandini, ed., *Ricerche archeologiche all' Incoronata di Metaponto, 2, Dal villagio indigeno all' emporio greco Le strutture e I materiali del saggio T.* (Milan, 1992).

[14] P. Orlandini, ed., *Ricerche archeologiche all' Incoronata di Metaponto, 3, L'Oikos del saggio S., Lo scavo e i riperti* (Milan, 1995).

he claimed (and in many cases still claims), because the Greek house cut into an existing indigenous pit, the proof being that it was generally found in the lowest levels, often in contact with the sterile or '*terra vergine*'.

One of the problems from the beginning has been the date of the indigenous pottery. To fit Orlandini's original interpretation it should not date later than the earliest Greek pottery, but after Alastair Small's work and Yntema's study, of the early 80s, it began to be clear that some of it, including the bichrome was clearly post 700 B.C.[15] Modifications of the original theory had to be made. At first, the arrival of the Greeks was moved down to the early decades of the 7th century. More recently, in light of the now obvious contemporaneity of some indigenous and Greek pottery, in cases such as oikos S that I have just cited, the probability that there was a phase of cohabitation of Greeks and natives appears to have been accepted by Orlandini and has been elaborated on by his collaborator, Giuliana Stea, in an article in press, that she has kindly shared with me.[16]

Another central problem is the function of the structures. The '*oikoi*', as noted, were very small, and too crowded with objects to afford any degree of comfort to their presumed inhabitants. What are the alternatives? Orlandini has denied, categorically, that any of the pits could be the basements of larger structures whose super structures were swept away when the level of the hilltop was lowered. No evidence for postholes has been found so far. But a strong argument has been made, by De Siena, that this was, in fact, the case.[17] This then would leave open the possibility that the rectangular structures were, as De Siena suggests, storage magazines, or perhaps the warehouses that would have served what Orlandini believes was the principal reason the settlement existed—as an emporium, a place of exchange for the agricultural produce of the territory,

---

[15] D. Yntema, *The Matt-Painted Pottery of Southern Italy* (Galantina, 1985). See the numerous contributions of M. Castoldi in *I greci sul Basento* (note 4) in the series of *Ricerche Archeologiche all' Incoronata di Metaponto* (notes 13–16) and most recently in *Koina* (note 4).

[16] G. Stea, 'Forme della presenza greca sull' arco conico della Basilicata (tra emporia e apoikiai)', in *Koina* (see note 4), with full bibliography of recent discussions of the issues of interpretation.

[17] DeSiena, 'Metapontino: strutture abitative', (note 9) 192–195.

still under indigenous control, and Greek goods, either imported or produced on the site.

Orlandini's excavation has produced evidence for the manufacture of Greek pottery *in situ*, including relief decorated perirrhanteria, such as this unusually complete example, and probably also of metal objects.[18]

De Siena has traced the local evolution of the indigenous dwelling,[19] beginning with his discovery of a very large and deep pit at the important Bronze Age site of Termetito, already well-known for the quantities of imported and local imitations of Myceneanean pottery—pottery that was mixed with the contemporaneous pottery of Appenine type of the Italic Bronze Age. The pit was, he believes, covered by a sizeable wooden structure whose remains collapsed into it. The pit would have been the basement storage area.

An analogous arrangement is documented at the indigenous, 8th century B.C. settlement excavated by De Siena at Incoronata '*indigena*'. Here some of the pits were certainly covered by circular '*capanne*' or oval huts. In some pits, postholes were found. The huts were evenly spaced and they are associated with paved surfaces that may have served as yards. The dwellings were separated from the nearby necropolis by a straight road, carefully paved with river cobbles. The pits contained pottery of the Bradano Geometric type, with the characteristic '*a tenda*' motif, and in one case contained a mould for the manufacture of metal rings of the sort found in the necropoleis, among the indigenous female's typical '*corredo*' from the 9th to the 7th centuries B.C.

A further discovery at Incoronata,[20] of relevance to this discussion, were the later burials of late 8th and 7th century—of an 'important individual' in the supine position—in marked contrast to the flexed burial typical of the '*indigeni*' of this part of Basilicata. The burial is further set off from the rest by its depth and the single, huge slab that covered it. In the area of the huts across the road were found postholes that delineated a rectangular structure, measuring 9.5 × 4 m, without a corresponding pit. If it is what it appears

[18] See M. Pizzo, 'Bacini fittili in discussion of saggio T.' (see note 16).
[19] DeSiena, 'Metapontino: strutture abitative' (note 9).
[20] A. DeSiena, 'Contributi archeologici alla definizione della fase proto-coloniale del Metaponto', in *Bollettino storico della Basilicata* 6 (1960) 72–88.

to be, it proves that the rectangular plan, contrary to the common assumption, was already established in this part of the indigenous world and was not necessarily Greek inspired. Carla Antonaccio has came to a similar conclusion with the rectangular structure on the Citadella of Morgantina. Though the habitation site of Incoronata '*indigena*' was abandoned late in the 8th century B.C.—supplanted, it would seem, by Incoronata '*greca*'—it continued to be used as a burying ground. At a slight distance to the NE, separated from Incoronata '*greca*' 500 m away by a narrow ravine, was a small plot of indigenous burials in the flexed position and enchytrismos burials of children in imported Greek amphorae with Protocorinthian style aryballoi. The similarities with the 7th century B.C. burials at Siris, at the admittedly mixed Madonelle necropolis, are clear. There are parallels, too, as De Siena has noted at Pithekoussai. These are significant because they show that an indigenous population—of reduced economic means, it has been suggested—continued to exist in close proximity to Incoronata '*greca*' well into the 7th century B.C. It reminds us how important will be, one day, the discovery of the necropolis of Incoronata '*greca*', which, up to now, has completely eluded the archaeologists.

The clearest evidence that some of the pits could well have been the lower parts of habitations comes from the excavations that De Siena carried out at Metaponto itself, at the site known as Andrisani.[21] Several pits of large dimensions were found under the level of the street grid of the mid 6th century. *Capanna B* measures 9 m along its long axis and was subdivided by various smaller depressions, probably used to store food supplies or hold terracotta containers. One clearly held an oven. The smaller *capanna A*, measuring 5 m in diameter, had a separate extension for the oven. Cooking pots were found *in situ*. Both pits were filled with much pottery, mudbrick, and the daub used to chink, probably, a roof of canes. Over the whole surface, at a certain level, was a layer of ash which led De Siena to postulate that the lower part of the pits were basements used for storage and other activities, all of which were separated from the living quarters by a wooden floor which collapsed entirely into the pits. This ash layer was covered with a jumble of detritus, including many fragments of both indigenous and Incoronata style 'colonial' ware.

---

[21] DeSiena (note 11).

Parts of this settlement have been found in two areas under the residential quarter grid of the later colony. In the area of the later early 6th century Temple C appeared several fragments of Late Geometric style cups. This material, dating to the second half of the 8th century B.C., among the earliest evidence of Greek contacts yet found at Metaponto. Similar small fragments of Middle Geometric and Late Geometric kotylai have been also found at Incoronata '*greca*' by Orlandini and by our expedition.

That the Greeks along the Basento might have lived in native style huts—and *indigeni* in rectangular structures—should not be a cause for wonder. This has been suggested for the early Greek settlers of Siris, and further afield we have later examples of the dwellings on the outskirts and the environs of Black Sea colony of Olbia. The dug out pits covered by low, hut roofs and the dug-out, rectangular structures contain a similar mix of Greek and indigenous pottery of slightly later date and have presented similar questions of ethnic identity to our Ukrainian and Russian colleagues there—and they are no closer to definitive solutions than we.[22]

Although the discussion so far has helped to put the problem in a wider perspective we cannot—I think you will agree—discover ethnic identity with the evidence of construction practices or, for that matter, of pottery styles, alone. With that I would like to return to Incoronata '*greca*' to say more about both of these topics and add some evidence from other sources.

In 1977 and 1978 the University of Texas carried out an excavation on the southeast spur of the plateau.[23] The archaeological evidence was similar to that discovered by Orlandini and his team, but with some significant differences in the details. There were circular and oval pits, with mostly indigenous or Greek material and a well-preserved rectangular structure. Pit C, for example, contained much evidence of burning and large fragments of indigenous mat-painted

[22] S.L. Solovyv (ed. J. Boardman), *Ancient Berezan, The Architecture, History and Culture of the First Greek Colony in the Northern Black Sea—Colloquia Pontica* (Leiden, 1999).

[23] J.C. Carter, 'Scavi a Pizzica e Incoronata nci dintorni di Metaponto', in *Magna Grecia Bizantina e tradizeone Classica, Atti del 18 Convegno di Taranto, 1977* (Naples, 1978). The definitive publication of the excavations of University of Texas team (1977–1978) on the southeastern spur is under way. The pottery is being studied by Sarah Leach Davis, the paleobotanical finds by Dr. Lorenzo Costantini, and a report on the fauna remains (unpublished) was completed by Prof. Sandor Bökönyi before his untimely death in 1994.

pottery, as did the adjacent Pit F. This example of Bradano Middle Geometric which has been assigned, following Yntema, to the period between 775 and 725 B.C. belonged, thus, to the 8th century indigenous village. The pit's precarious position on the slope indicates, clearly, that some of the site had eroded down the hill. Pit A, in a less peripheral position, on the basis of the Bradano Late Geometric pottery, dated 730 to 680 B.C., was in use a generation or two later, and it also contained mostly indigenous pottery.

Just the reverse ratio was the case with Pit B, larger and decidedly more rectangular in form (see figure 4). If it had a stone socle and mudbrick walls, no trace remained. Pit B measured 5 m on its long axis and was 60 cms deep with a total surface area of 15 m^2. There was no evidence that it was covered by a wooden floor, as '*capanne*' A and B at Metaponto-Andrisani. It could have been similar, instead to the semi-buried rectangular structures at Olbia, not all of which has stone socles. The range of pottery is, in all respects, comparable to that from Orlandini's '*oikoi*'. There was a limited amount of indigenous pottery of 8th century B.C. date, remnants it would appear of the earlier settlement—mixed with imported Protocorinthian and local imitations of Protocorinthian and Protocorinthian geometric wares (see figure 6). The commercial amphorae and pithoi were imports of Corinthian origin. The series of the so-called 'colonial' wares (see figure 5) is remarkable for its variety. Many of the thirty odd vessels are comparable to those from the western spur. I will illustrate a selection, mainly those that are in some way different from others buried at Incoronata, such as an upper part of a stamnos with a curvilinear design that seems to be inspired by products from the Eastern Aegean, as does a one-handled cup. Characteristically, the decoration of the 'colonial ware'—often on large vessels such as hydria, stamnoi, and deinoi—combines motifs from disparate sources. Some are apparently original creations. I have seen such crossed barbells nowhere else. The plate, likewise, has no precise parallels to my knowledge. A type of cup is common at Incoronata and other sites such as Metaponto and Siris, along the arc of the Ionian Sea, but the kantharos, of Western Greek inspiration, perhaps, is not. The assemblage from the pit consists of many complete or near complete vessels, but there were few undecorated pieces and no cooking wares. Its function, I believe, was principally like the '*oikoi*', storage. Finds of metal objects at Incoronata have been few. Pit B contained a small sickle and D, a well-preserved spearhead of

Fig. 4: Pit B, before excavation (1977).

Fig. 5: 'Colonial style' locally-produced stamnos from Pit B (1977).

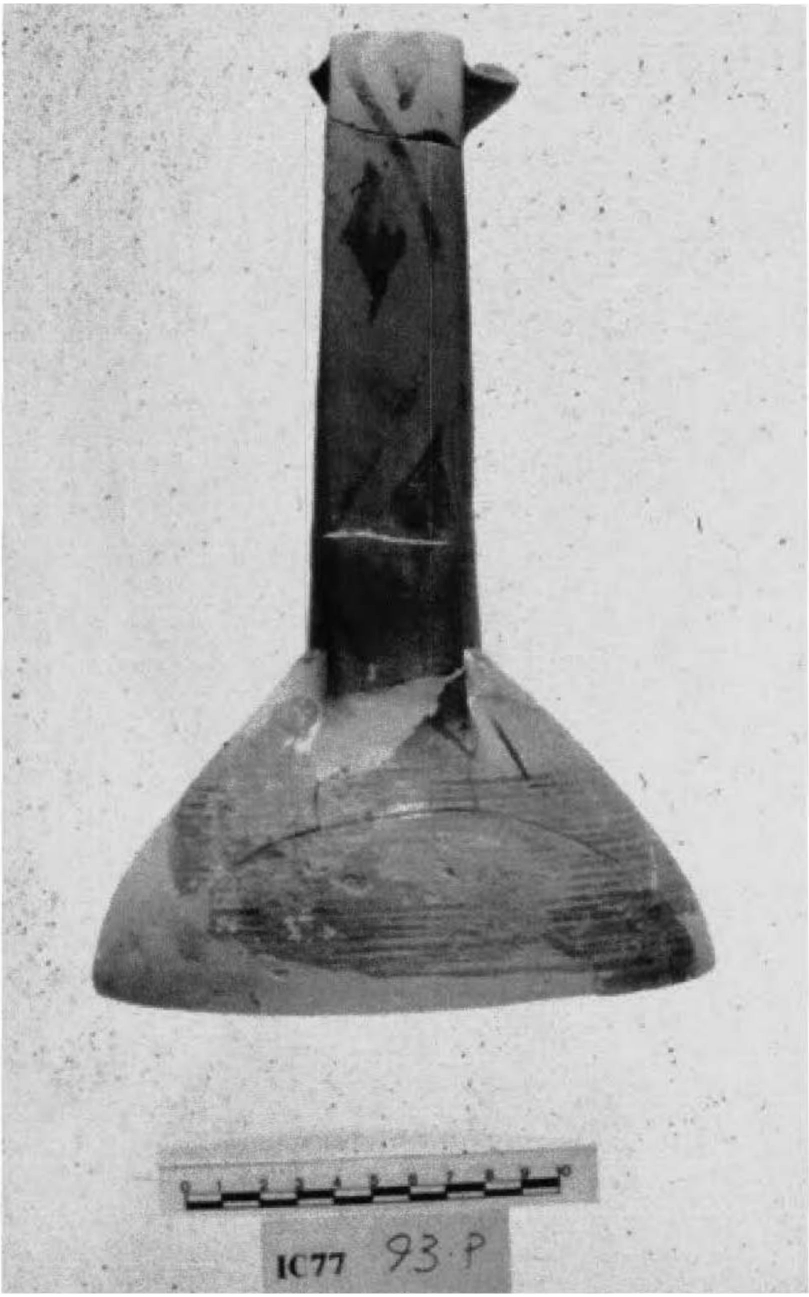


Fig. 6: Conical oinochoe, local imitation of a Corinthian shape, from Pit B.

a type well known in Greece, and quite different from that found in Orlandini's '*oikos*' S.

Where then, you may ask, were the living quarters? The adjacent Pit D of very similar dimensions contained by contrast very few complete vessels. The very fragmented ceramic material consisted of coarse and cooking wares, some decorated sherds of the 'colonial' type of the 7th century date, indigenous impasto, and decorated sherds. There were loomweights and a sizeable number of animal bones. I would suggest that this structure was the dwelling and that the two pits, B and D, were in fact parts of a single domestic unit.

The best preserved rectangular structure found thus far at Incoronata, was excavated some distance to the west of these pits.[24] (see figure 7) Its dimensions were comparable to Pits B and D, measuring 5 m by about 2.5 m, but its design was, apparently quite different. The walls were constructed of mudbrick—a number of examples survived—which rested on a carefully constructed stone base, consisting of several courses. The living surface was found to be well below the lowest foundation course, though the ancient excavation was much shallower than either Pit B or D. The design more closely still, resembles the semi-interred rectangular dwellings of Olbia.

Our comparative evidence is limited, but this would appear to be a new and superior sort of dwelling. In the traditional view, innovation would be attributed to outside influence, that is, in this case, to the Greeks. But that conclusion is not supported by the ceramic evidence. It is again mixed indigenous and Greek. A fragmentary, oversized skyphos of the 'colonial' Geometric type was found in a depression inside the structure in contact with the virgin soil. Next to the short, southwest wall, evidently crushed when the building collapsed or was destroyed was a complete askos, of a type now known from the '*oikoi*' of Western spur and identified by Orlandini's team as 'un-Hellenic'. The evidence from the eastern spur and that from 'oikos' S to NE indicates that a portion of the population continued to make use of indigenous style pottery and inhabited structures belonging to the local tradition until the latest stage in the occupation of the plateau of Incoronata '*greca*'. The 7th century settlement at Incoronata '*greca*' ceased, like the huts on the site of Metaponto, to be occupied, well before the end of the 7th century

---

[24] See Carter, note 12.

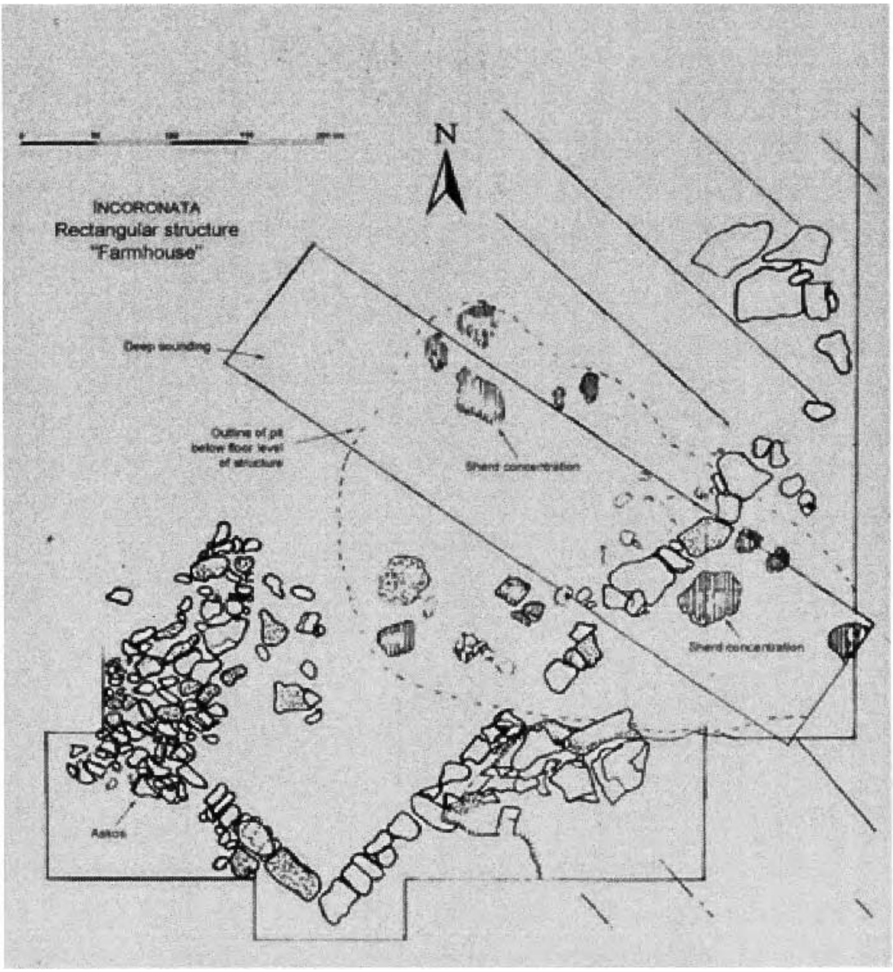


Fig. 7: Plan of the rectangular structure on the south eastern spur of Incoronata 'greca'.

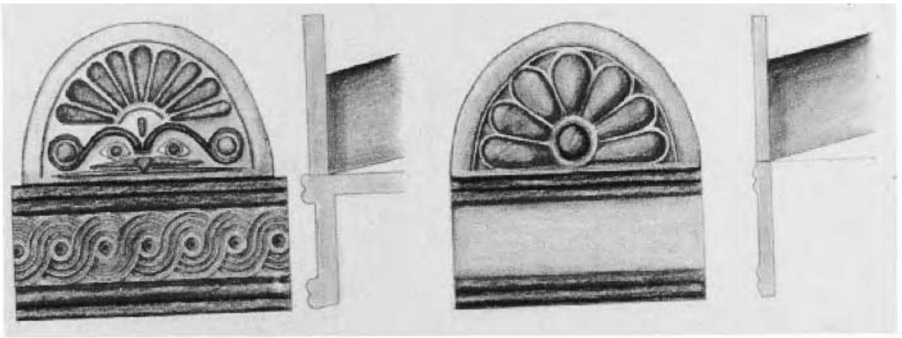


Fig. 8: Reconstruction of the revetments and antefixes from the early 6th century shrine at Incoronata 'greca'.

B.C. The date that is usually given, in view of the total absence of Early Corinthian pottery from both sites, is about 630 B.C. In the area of the Sanctuary of Metaponto, apart from the two geometric sherds mentioned earlier, a consistent archaeological record begins with Early Corinthian.[25] It is generally held that the Achaean colonists arrived at this time, and were directly responsible for the demise of the earlier settlements at both of these sites. This is surely correct.

Incoronata '*greca*', however, was again occupied after a pause of a generation or two. It became the site of one of a series of rural sanctuaries that are an integral part of the settlement of the chora by the Achean colonists in the first half of the 6th century. A small temple was constructed in an area a few meters to the northwest of the rectangular dwelling just described.[26] The surviving elements include fragments of a terra cotta gieson revetment with spiral decoration, (see figure 8) which have an exact parallel from one of the earliest sacred buildings of the Achean colony. The building was roofed with tiles painted red and decorated with palmette acroteria. This is the earliest sacred structure in the chora, according to De Siena, of any architectural pretension.

Not even the earlier and more important sanctuary at San Biagio on the north side of the Basento had such a superstructure at this early date. It was, perhaps, an architectural statement of Achaean

[25] D. Adamesteanu, *Metaponto I, NSc* ser. 8, vol. 29, supp., 1975 (Rome, 1980).
[26] Carter, notes 12, 24.

Fig. 9: Typical figurines from the votive deposit, early to mid 6th century B.C., Incoronata 'greca'.

dominance, placed as it was on the site of the once thriving settlement that controlled a prime area of the territory.

Among other finds from the site were a number of votive figurines of the familiar type, (see figure 9) found in great quantities at San Biagio, and miniature votive vessels and 'Ionic' type cups. For the study of this material, as of the ceramic material from the 7th century site, I wish to acknowledge the invaluable contributions of Dr. Sarah Leach Davis.

The sites of Incoronata '*greca*' and '*indigena*' command a very fertile marine terrace of vast extent, with many resources: good clays, springs, and nearby forests. We know that this is what drew the Achaean settlers there, as it did, I feel sure, the pre-Greek and mixed population that preceded them. As the study of the materials from the site has proceeded towards final publication, two other collaborators have made exceptional contributions to our understanding of it. Though the sample of ancient seed remains from our excavation at Incoronata '*greca*' is quite small, in relation to that from the later rural sanctuary at Pantanello, it provides important elements, and a basis of comparison. In soil samples from the 7th century pits, Dr. Lorenzo Costantini, Director of the Institute of Bioarchaeology in Rome, has identified two cereals, barley and *triticum dicoccum*. The

hulled cereal, known as *farrum* to the Romans, was a staple in Italy from Neolithic times. He believes, the free-threshing *triticum compactum*, in wide use from the Bronze Age, is not represented, only because our sample was so small. The cultivation of grains, as we could have suspected, from the presence of the sickle in Pit B, was a part of the agricultural economy.[27]

Of the two other elements in the Mediterranean food triad, only the grape has been noted at Incoronata. The absence of the olive is probably, again, due to the small sample size. Both were cultivated in Italy, according to Costantini, at least from the beginning of the Iron Age. In addition, the presence of the fava bean, an important food from prehistoric times, indicates the existence of gardens, well kept apparently because no weeds were found in the sample. Vetch was probably cultivated as feed for the animals, which, as we shall see, constituted an important part of the economy. All of the botanical material can be dated to the late 8th–first half of the 7th century B.C. Pit C, which contained only indigenous pottery, yielded only the grape. Pit D which was largely filled with fragments of colonial ceramics had grape and also vetch. The greatest range of plant remains was found in the rectangular structure: barley, vetch, and vetchling, and in the pits just north of it grape, hulled wheat, barely, and vetch. The rectangular structure and Pit D as we have noted were probably dwellings. Significantly, perhaps, no plant remains were found in Pit B. If it was, indeed, a storage place, it held vessels and tools but no agricultural produce.

Faunal material from Incoronata '*greca*' was present in practically all of the contexts we excavated from the 8th to the 6th centuries B.C. The sample was abundant enough—nearly 1600 identifiable pieces of bone—to be statistically significant. The largest quantities of faunal evidence came again from Pits C and D and from the 'rectangular structure' and adjacent pits—where the plant material was also concentrated.

We know now the relative percentage of the principal domesticated and wild animals from the site, which consisted primarily of table remains, and we can compare them with those from eight other

[27] L. Costantini, 'The origin of the Mediterranean diet in Italy', *Rivista di antropologia* (Roma) supp. vol. 76 (1998) 7–15. See *Excavations in The Territory of Metaponto, 1980* (Austin, 1980), 10–13 for prelimenary results from Incoronata.

sites in this territory representing various periods from the late Neolithic to the late Roman. This is, I believe, a unique situation. The late Professor Sandor Bökönyi, one of the foremost archeozoologists of our time, analyzed them all. Furthermore, thanks to Bokonyi's unparalleled knowledge, the data have also been compared with that from sites of various periods in Italy, Central and Eastern Europe, and the Middle East. Of particular interest for this discussion besides Incoronata itself are the Neolithic site at Pantanello, the Bronze Age site of Termitito, which thanks to Antonio De Siena, Bokonyi was able to study, and the early colonial period represented by the Sanctuary site at Pantanello.

Incoronata, thus, can be seen as part of a more or less continuous development concerning its animal populations. It differs from the proceeding periods in that, for the first time sheep (and goats) lose their absolute majority among the domesticated fauna. There were considerably higher percentages of both cattle and swine. Cattle, as it is well known, were the engines of agriculture. At Incoronata the transition from a primarily pastoral economy to crop raising was well underway. In the 6th century, in the chora of the Achaean colony, famous in antiquity for is grain harvests, one finds cattle in absolute majority, for the first time!

In the Neolithic period, the sheep in the area of Metaponto were the equal of the largest in Italy and Central Europe, but decreased in size in the Bronze Age, at Termitito. Their size at Incoronata, in the 7th century was again comparable to that of the Neolithic breed. In our 6th century levels at Incoronata, however, a significantly larger sheep was found, a greatly improved breed. Professor Bokonyi described its arrival as 'an invasion', surely, from southeast Europe and probably from Greece. This is the first dramatic break with the prehistoric and protohistoric animal husbandry, and it coincides precisely with the arrival of the Acheans in the territory. Professor Bokonyi thought that sheep were raised mainly for meat, and that it was with the introduction of improved breeds with the Greeks, that wool production became the important industry that it was, for example, in the countryside around Taras in classical times. We have some material evidence that it was already an important activity in 7th century Incoronata, and probably well before this. A large number of loomweights, spools, and spindle whorls were found in a deposit near the rectangular structure. Similar spindle whorls are found in the 9th and 8th century necropoleis at Incoronata 'indigena'.

Pig raising became at Incoronata, for the first time, a major component of animal husbandry. Among the generally small animals were some large ones, and Professor Bökönyi believed that in the territory of Incoronata it is possible that there was local domestication of wild species and a conscious breeding of pigs for size. In addition, he observed some curiosities, among them: that adult animals, which survived to maturity, were equally divided between male and female. This seemed strange to him because long before this period the farmers of Central Europe had learned that it was not necessary to keep a large number of males to maintain the herd. He found this unusual practice at all later sites in the area of Metaponto, and it occurs nowhere else that he knew of. Could it have been a local, indigenous practice, passed down to the colony along with others, such as some burial customs, which time constraints prevent us from discussing here?

Two species appear for the first time at Incoronata: the horse and the hen. The remains of an ass were found at Termitito in the Bronze Age levels. It, too, was a first—introduced, Bökönyi speculates, directly from Egypt, or through Greece. The presence of the horse at Termitito would not have been surprising because they, too, were in Italy from the early Bronze Age, and its absence is perhaps due to the small sample size. Eight fragments of the horse were found in our excavations at Incoronata. The horse was clearly important. We have seen it represented on the 'colonial' deinoi, and it was dear to the hearts of the Achaean aristocracy, appearing on the architectural decoration of the sanctuary at San Biagio—a hybrid of horse and ass, know as a hinny, on one of the earliest sacred buildings at Metaponto.[28] Now Dal Sasso in the excavations of the University of Milan has identified an equal number of horses. It is reassuring that the ratios of the nearly 600 remains of domesticated and wild animals he found correspond closely to those from the SE spur. The remains of the hen are the earliest yet known in Italy, and according to Professor Bökönyi they resolve a long standing dilemma; whether the chicken came to Italy through Etruscan contacts with the East or was brought by the Greeks.

[28] P. Orlandini, 'Le arti figurative', in *Megale Hellas* (Milan, 1983) figs. 287–289, 322–329, 331–333.

Only a relatively small number of wild animals were found at Incoronata (5%) down very much from the 15% at Termitito. They include only 'meat' animals. Cervus elaphus (red deer or what Americans know as elk) was by far the most numerous. Its presence is ample testimony that dense forests existed nearby. Missing from the record at Incoronata and also Termitito are the aurochsen, the long-horned wild cattle (dear to the hearts of Texans), but it returns later and continued to be hunted in the Roman Period. Contrary to expectations, the percentage of wild animals increased in the assemblages of the colony and in the period of Roman domination. Professor Bokonyi concluded that they were relatively unimportant as a food source and hunting must always have been, primarily, a pastime.

At this point, I think we can safely conclude that the first Greeks to arrive on this coast encountered native communities with experience in the crafts of pottery production and metallurgy, long experience in construction, and were actively engaged in fully developed agriculture and animal husbandry. These communities were functioning well, with long established traditions. The Greeks, in short, were not bringing an advanced civilization to a cultural and economic backwater. They were attracted to the area, probably because of its location and the success of the indigenous society. They must have wanted to share in its wealth and were willing to accommodate themselves, to that end, to what they found. We may further conclude that they arrived not later than the first half of the 7th century B.C.

But, to return to the questions with which I began. Who were they? In classical archaeology, the documentary sources have generally been privileged. Discussions of material evidence begin by citing the written sources, and proceed to attempt to reconcile the archaeological evidence to the written word or vice versa. Documentary sources for Metaponto are few: the archaic inscriptions in Achaean dialect from the site of the city and some rural sites, historical texts, the most extensive of which is the passage of Strabo citing several much earlier sources, and an Ode of Bacchylides. All are extremely difficult to reconcile with the material evidence and with each other.

Alphonso Mele has done a heroic job of trying to untangle the various conflicting myths about the founding of Metaponto and he has succeeded very well in showing how each of the three separate strands he identifies were the products of particular political exi-

gencies at different times in the colony's history.[29] The first is constituted by the tradition relative to Metabos and Léukippos, which emphasizes the indigenous component in the creation of Metapontion. The sources are Hecataios of Miletus, an ally of Achaean Sybaris, and Antiochos who had a strong pro-Tarentine bias. Antiochos tried to eliminate Melanippe of Euripidean fame and the pro-Athenian tradition about Metaponto. Antiochos denied any early Achaean or even a Tarentine presence in the area of Siris and Metaponto, which allowed Taras an equal claim. In the period that he wrote, Taras was attempting to found a colony at Siris. Metabos, in any case, represented an indigenous reality. Antiochos knew of an heroon of Metabos. The conclusion for Taranto—pre-Achaean Metaponto was an indigenous community, facing a Greek port, analogous to Kallipolis, and open to the interior. Leukippos founded the colony—but according to the text was responsible for a synoikismos or merging of various elements into a single unit, which agrees well with the fact that our sources emphasize Metaponto was not the foundation of a particular city, but of an ethnos (Strabo, ps Scymnos, and Antiochos).

The second strand takes in the traditions about Metapontos (no longer an indigenous leader) and Melanippe, Sisyphos, and Neleus. It aimed to underline the Achaean claim to the entire area between Siris and Metaponto. The Metapontines with their foundation and conquest of Siris are characterized in ethnic terms and given ethnic motivations in founding the colony—hostility to the Dorians of Taras and to the Ionians seen in the destruction of Siris. They are Aeolians, as expressed in the Melanippe myth.

The third strand takes in a wide group of traditions (of 4th century B.C. origins) concerning, on the one hand Metapontos and Arne, and on the other Daulios of Crisa. These are the latest and in them Mele sees the progressive disintegration of the Achaean image of Metaponto.

The documentary sources do not permit us to single out a particular group of Greeks as the 'first', and that is surely because there was none, but rather a mixture of heterogeneous origins. In the course of time, the Achaean element prevailed. One thing is clear,

---

[29] A. Mele, 'Culti e miti nella storia di Metaponto', in Siritide e Metapontino storie di dire territori coloniali, Atti dell' incontro di studio, Policoro, 31 Ottobre–2 Novembre 1991 (Naples-Paestum, 1998), 67–90.

though: the indigenous population played a significant role from the start.

Ethnicity is defined in cultural terms, but there is also a biological component, or at least, a shared sense of descent from a common ancestor or group. That the mixed population, which by the late 7th or early 6th century B.C. referred to itself as Metapontine and was known to others as such, contained a strong indigenous element can, I believe, be demonstrated with archaeological evidence. The bones—more specifically the teeth—of this population provide the clues.

Briefly (and in conclusion) I would like to refer to the major study of two large Metapontine populations, the rural necropolis at Pantanello (3.5 km from the city) dating from the late 7th to the early 3rd century B.C. and the contemporaneous Crucinia necropolis just outside the city's walls. Over 300 burials from each have been studied in depth and over a long period of time by Professor Maciej Henneberg and Dr. Renata Henneberg of the University of Adelaide.[30] With numbers such as these, statistics are valid and have been rigorously employed. Both the size and morphological characteristics of teeth are genetically determined, and can indicate biological relationships.

One of the hypotheses of Renata Henneberg's study of the teeth is that if mixing of Greek and indigenous peoples is going on, their biological characteristics should be intermediate. She has compared the metrical characteristics of both the urban and rural necropoleis, using the student's test and Penrose's generalized distances for multivariate analysis. She used these tests to compare the two necropoleis against each other and with a number or contemporary and later sites in Italy, and Europe where this sort of through, anthropological analysis has been carried out. Her conclusions, using the metrical data, indicate that the rural Metapontines were distant from most populations outside of Italy. Unfortunately, there is no corresponding metrical data for Greece. She has shown that the difference between the rural and urban Metapontines was not statistically significant, although 7th–5th century rural females differed from their urban counterparts, but in the 4th–3rd centuries they are the same.

---

[30] M. Henneberg, R.J. Henneberg, 'Biological Characteristics of the Population Based on Analysis of Skeletal Remains', in J.C. Carter, *The Chora of Metaponto: The Necropolis* (Austin, 1998), 503–559; R.J. Henneberg, *Dental Health and Affiliations of Inhabitants of the Ancient Greek Colony in Metaponto, Italy* (Johannesburg, 1998).

Rural males did not differ from males at the coeval Italic sites of Alfedena and Pontecagnano, while the rural females were closely related to those of the local Italic samples.

Thirty-seven non-metric characteristics were studied, the most important being Carabelli's cusp and the so-called 'Etruscan' upper-lateral incisor. The chi-square statistical test was used. It showed significant distance, in contrast to the metrical study, between the inhabitants of Metaponto, and those of its chora at Pantanello and at two smaller rural necropoleis. We are cautioned that metric and non-metric traits could be controlled by different genetic and environmental factors. The rural population from Pantanello showed the highest frequency of the 'Etruscan' incisor characteristic among all the populations studied, but there was no significant difference between these and five coeval Italic populations. No examples of the 'Etruscan' trait have been found in admittedly small samples from Mainland Greece. In short, the teeth show that a biological relationship existed between the Metapontines and other Italic populations, and that relationship was even more pronounced among the inhabitants of the Metapontine chora.

I will conclude with a quote summarizing the Hennebergs' more general anthropological study of the Pantanello necropolis:

> The results of other biological comparisons between rural Metapontine, Italic, Greek, and European populations, such as frequencies of blood groups, morphologic, metric, and non-metric characteristics on skulls and long bones, seem to agree with the results of the 'Etruscan' trait, indicating a closer relationship of the rural population to coeval populations of Italy than to mainland Greeks.

But that should be no surprise. It is a perfectly natural result of the phenomenon of colonization.

Bibliography

Carter, J.C. 'Taking Possession of the Land: Early Greek Colonization in Southern Italy', in *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Post Classical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown* (1908–1985). Hanover (N.H.) and London: National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1993, 343–366

Castoldi, M., ed. *I Greci sul Basento, Mostra degli Scavi archeologici all' Incoronata di Metaponto*. Como: New Press, 1986

——. *Koinà: Miscellanea di studi archeologici in onore di Piero Orlandini*. Milan: Edizioni ET, 1999

DeSiena, A. 'Contributi archeologici alla definizione della fase proto-coloniale del Metaponto', *Bollettino storico della Basilicata* 6 (1960) 72–88

——. 'Metaponto, nuove scoperte in Proprietà Andrisani', *Siris-Polieion, fonti letterarie e nuova documentazione archeologica*. Galatina: Congedo, 1986

——. 'Scavi in localita Incoronata ed a Metaponto: nuove scoperte', in M. Castoldi, ed., *I Greci sul Basento*, 199–214

——. 'Metapontino: strutture abitative ed organizzazione territoriale prima della fondazione della colonia achea', in F. D'Andria, K. Mannino, ed., *Ricerche sulla casa in Magna Grecia, Atti del Colloquio-Lecce 23–24 guigno 1992*. Galatina: Congedo, 1996

Henneberg, R.J. *Dental Health and Affiliations of Inhabitants of the Ancient Greek Colony in Metaponto, Italy* (Johannesburg, 1998) Ph.D. dissertation University of Witwaterstrand

Mele, A. 'Culti e miti nella storia di Metaponto', in *Siritide e Metapontino storie di dire territori coloniali, Atti dell' incontro di studio, Policoro*. Naples-Paestum: Centre Jean Bérard, 1998, 67–90

Orlandini, P., ed. *Ricerche archeologiche all' Incoronata de Metaponto, 1, Le fosse di scarico del saggio P, Materiale e problematiche*. Milan: Comune di Milano Edizioni ET, 1991

——. *Ricerche archeologiche all' Incoronata de Metaponto, 2, Dal villagio indigeno all' emporio greco Le strutture e I materiali del saggio T*. Milan: Comune di Milano Edizioni ET, 1992

——. *Ricerche archeologiche all' Incoronata di Metaponto, 3, L'Oikos del saggio S., Lo scavo e i riperti*. Milan: Comune di Milano Edazioni ET, 1995

Stea, G. 'Forme della presenza greca sull' arco conico della Basilicata (tra emporia e apoikiai)', in M. Castoldi, ed., *Koina. Miscellanea di studi archeologici*

Yntema, D. *The Matt-Painted Pottery of Southern Italy*. Galantina: Congedo, 1985

EUESPERIDES: CYRENAICA AND ITS CONTACTS WITH THE GREEK WORLD[1]

David W.J. Gill
University of Swansea

1. *Introduction*

In the second half of the 4th century B.C., the citizens of the small Greek settlement of Euesperides in western Cyrenaica agreed to honour, on the proposal of the ephors and the *gerousia*, two Syracusans, Eubios son of Eubiotos, and Hagestratos son of Moschion, who had acted as *proxenoi* for the Euesperitans.[2] This westward-looking late classical inscription recalls one of the few historical mentions of the city during the 5th century when the Spartan Gylippos, on his way to Syracuse, helped defend the settlement against an attack from the local Libyan population, presumably the Nasamones.[3] Euesperitans are known from several locations outside Libya. Instances include the funerary *stelai* of Aristobios in Egypt,[4] and Theudaisios at Amathus on Cyprus,[5] as well as epigraphic evidence from Delphi.[6]

Although there appears to be a small amount of excavated pottery that seems to be Italian in origin, it would be premature to develop this theme until there has been time to quantify the finds. Professor Shefton has long taken an interest in the archaeology of

[1] I am grateful to Michael Vickers for his encouragement while working on the Euesperides material now in the Ashmolean Museum. Andrew Wilson and the late Barri Jones and John Lloyd have discussed various aspects of the project, though the views expressed here are my own. Brian Shefton and Faraj Elrashedy shared their enthusiasm for the Greeks in Cyrenaica with me at an early stage in my career. Eddie Owens and Patricia Flecks have also discussed various aspects of the housing with me.

[2] *SEG* 18.772. Once in the Cyrene Museum; present location unknown. The inscription has been published by P.M. Fraser, 'An inscription from Euesperides', *Bulletin de la Societé d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie* 39 (1951) 132–43; id., 'Corrigendum', *Bulletin de la Societé d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie* 40 (1953) 62.

[3] Thuc. 7.50.

[4] *SEG* 8.425.

[5] *BMI* 974.

[6] *BCH* 66/67 (1942/3) 99 n. 5.

Fig. 1: Aerial view of Euesperides with the lagoon and Benghazi in the background. The walled Muslim cemetery lies on top of the archaic town of the Sidi Abeid. The grid in the southern extension can be seen next to the lagoon. © Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Cyrenaica, and one of his former students, Faraj Elrashedy, produced a key study of Athenian red-figured pottery from Cyrenaica.[7] The study of the range of finds from Euesperides has continued, and has recently concentrated on the earliest phase of the settlement.

The site of Euesperides lies near the modern city of Benghazi on the seaward side of the lagoon, the Sebka es Selmani. Its cemeteries were systematically looted in the nineteenth century, perhaps most notably by George Dennis; no doubt much of the 5th- and 4th-century Greek pottery in the British Museum with the provenance of 'Cyrenaica' and presented by Dennis is derived from this source. Dennis's 1867 description of the site is worth repeating:

> The traveller will be struck with the dreary position of the town on a narrow strip of sand between the sea and a salt lagoon, its crumbling castle, a solitary minaret, and a grove of date-palms, being the only distinguishing features that rise above the monotonous line of low red walls which compose the town. . . . Nor is the country around Benghazi more attractive than the town. For some 20 miles inland it is an undulating, arid waste, for the greater part of the year unrefreshed by leaf or blade, shrub or wild flower. It is hard to believe that this dreary, sandy, barren shore can ever have possessed such attractions as to deserve the reputation of a Paradise.[8]

The site of the Greek city itself was recognised during the Italian occupation of Libya, but it was not until 1947 that pottery collections were made, resulting in a short article in *Antiquity* for 1952 by Goodchild.[9] As a result a systematic excavation of the site was conducted under the auspices of the Ashmolean Museum from 1952 to 1954 by C.N. Johns and B. Wilson. Sadly the results were never published, though a share of the finds are available for study in Oxford.[10] Further excavations were conducted by Professor Barri

---

[7] An overview can be found in F. Elrashedy, 'Attic imported pottery in classical Cyrenaica', in G. Barker *et al.*, *Cyrenaica in Antiquity* (Oxford, 1985), 205–17.

[8] Quoted in D.E. Rhodes, *Dennis of Etruria: the Life of George Dennis* (London, 1973), 83. See: G. Dennis, 'On recent excavations in the Greek cemeteries of the Cyrenaica', *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* 9 (1867) 135–82.

[9] R. Goodchild, 'Euesperides: a devastated city site', *Antiquity* 26 (1952) 208–12.

[10] For a history of the excavation: M. Vickers, D.W.J. Gill, and M. Economou, 'Euesperides: the rescue of an excavation', *Libyan Studies* 25 (1994) 125–36. See also: M. Economou, 'Euesperides: a devastated site. A challenge for multimedia presentation', *Electronic Antiquity* 1.3 (1993) [http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/ejournals//ElAnt/V1N4/economou.html]; S. Hinds, *Euesperides: a Devastated City Site* (MA diss., Leicester University, 1991). For housing from these excavations: J.A. Lloyd, 'Some aspects of

Jones in 1968 and 1969 under the auspices of the Libyan Society, but were terminated by the changing Libyan political situation.[11] New work was initiated in the 1990s under John Lloyd—whose untimely death will further impede our understanding of the complex site[12]—and has been continuing under Andrew Wilson.[13]

The historical record for Euesperides is relatively slim. The earliest specific mention of the settlement comes c. 515 B.C., when the Persian expedition against Barca is said by Herodotus to have reached as far as the city.[14] However, it would be fair to assume that Euesperides was one of the cities founded in the wake of the Delphic oracle which prompted the colonisation of Cyrene, and which encouraged further waves of colonists. Euesperides was apparently refounded by Arcesilas IV in 462,[15] and is known to have come under attack from the Nasamones in 414/3, which may have been why Pausanias commented that 'the people [of Euesperides] had been worsted fighting their barbarous neighbours and were inviting any Greek

---

urban development at Euesperides/Berenice', in G. Barker, J.A. Lloyd, J. Reynolds, ed., *Cyrenaica in Antiquity* (Oxford, 1985), 49–66; D. Sturgeon, *The House by the City Wall and the Use of Fine Pottery from Domestic Contexts at Euesperides, Cyrenaica* (M.Phil. diss., University of Wales Swansea, 1996). For pottery: M. Vickers, D.W.J. Gill, 'Archaic Greek pottery from Euesperides, Cyrenaica', *Libyan Studies* 17 (1986) 97–108; D.W.J. Gill, 'A Greek price inscription from Euesperides, Cyrenaica', *Libyan Studies* 29 (1998) 83–88. For evidence of jewellery manufacture: M. Treister, M. Vickers, 'Stone matrices with griffins from Nymphaeum and Euesperides', *Colloquia Pontica* 1 (1996) 135–41. For a funerary context: G.R.H. Wright, 'A funeral offering near Euesperides', *Libyan Studies* 26 (1995) 21–26. A monograph series to cover all the excavations has now been proposed by the Society for Libyan Studies.

[11] G.D.B. Jones, 'Excavations at Tocra and Euhesperides, Cyrenaica 1968–1969', *Libyan Studies* 14 (1983) 109–21; G.D.B. Jones, 'Beginnings and endings in Cyrenaican cities', in G. Barker, J.A. Lloyd, J. Reynolds, ed., *Cyrenaica in Antiquity*, 27–41; G.D.B. Jones, J.H. Little, 'Coastal settlement in Cyrenaica', *JRS* 61 (1971) 64–79.

[12] P.P. Hayes, D.J. Mattingly, 'Preliminary report on fieldwork at Euesperides (Benghazi) in October 1994', *Libyan Studies* 26 (1995) 83–96; J.A. Lloyd, A. Buzaian, J.J. Coulton, 'Excavations at Euesperides (Benghazi), 1995', *Libyan Studies* 26 (1995) 97–100; A. Buzaian, J.A. Lloyd, 'Early urbanism in Cyrenaica: new evidence from Euesperides (Benghazi)', *Libyan Studies* 27 (1996) 129–52; J.A. Lloyd *et al.*, 'Excavations at Euesperides (Benghazi): an interim report on the 1998 season', *Libyan Studies* 29 (1998) 145–68.

[13] A.I. Wilson *et al.*, 'Urbanism and economy at Euesperides (Benghazi): preliminary report on the 1999 season', *Libyan Studies* 30 (1999) 147–68; P. Bennett *et al.*, 'Euesperides (Benghazi): preliminary report on the spring 2000 season', *Libyan Studies* 31 (2000) 121–43; A.I. Wilson *et al.*, 'Euesperides: preliminary report on the Spring 2001 season', *Libyan Studies* 32 (2001) 155–77.

[14] Hdt. 4.204.

[15] Theotimus (*FGrH* 470).

whatsoever to come and join them'.[16] This threat from local peoples resulted in the settlement of the Messenians from Naupaktos around 405, who stayed at Euesperides until 369 when Messene was rebuilt by Epaminondas. In the later fourth century, Euesperides supported the Spartan Thibron against Cyrene.[17] In the third century the site was abandoned and the city resited and refounded as Berenice; coin evidence suggests that this took place before the 250s.[18] It is therefore the archaeology that supplies the key information about the development and associations of Euesperides from its foundation to abandonment.

2. *The Colony*

There are essentially three main parts to the ancient city of Euesperides. The upper part on the Sidi Abeid, the lower part, and an extension built out onto the salt marsh which was clearly drying out throughout antiquity. Thanks to aerial photography taken during the Second World War—one of the most important archaeological sections across the site was known as 'the Italian Trench' because it followed the line of a gun emplacement dug during the battle for Benghazi—it has been possible to prepare a plan of the site based on surface remains. It is clear that after the founding of Berenice the stone walls of the earlier settlement were robbed, and it is these trenches which have allowed the lines of walls to be differentiated. On the earliest map G.R.H. Wright suggested an area for a possible agora between the lower city and the southern extension. A section 'B' was dug in the lower city and is marked as 'Main gate' on the plan; a more recent survey of the city by Andrew Wilson on behalf of the Libyan Society has suggested that the southern extension in fact continued to the east of the so-called 'Double Wall' (which itself may be no more than a road).[19] Excavations in the southern extension by Professor Barri Jones demonstrated that the

[16] Paus. 4.26.2. See also Diod. 14.34, who mentions 3000 Messenians.
[17] Diod. 18.20.3.
[18] T.V. Buttrey, 'Coins and coinage at Euesperides', *Libyan Studies* 25 (1994) 137–45. For coins of Euesperides and discussion of the earlier finds: T.V. Buttrey, 'Part I: The coins', in *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya. Final Reports* vol. VI (Philadelphia, 1997).
[19] Bennett *et al.*, 'Euesperides (Benghazi): preliminary report on the spring 2000 season', 121–43.

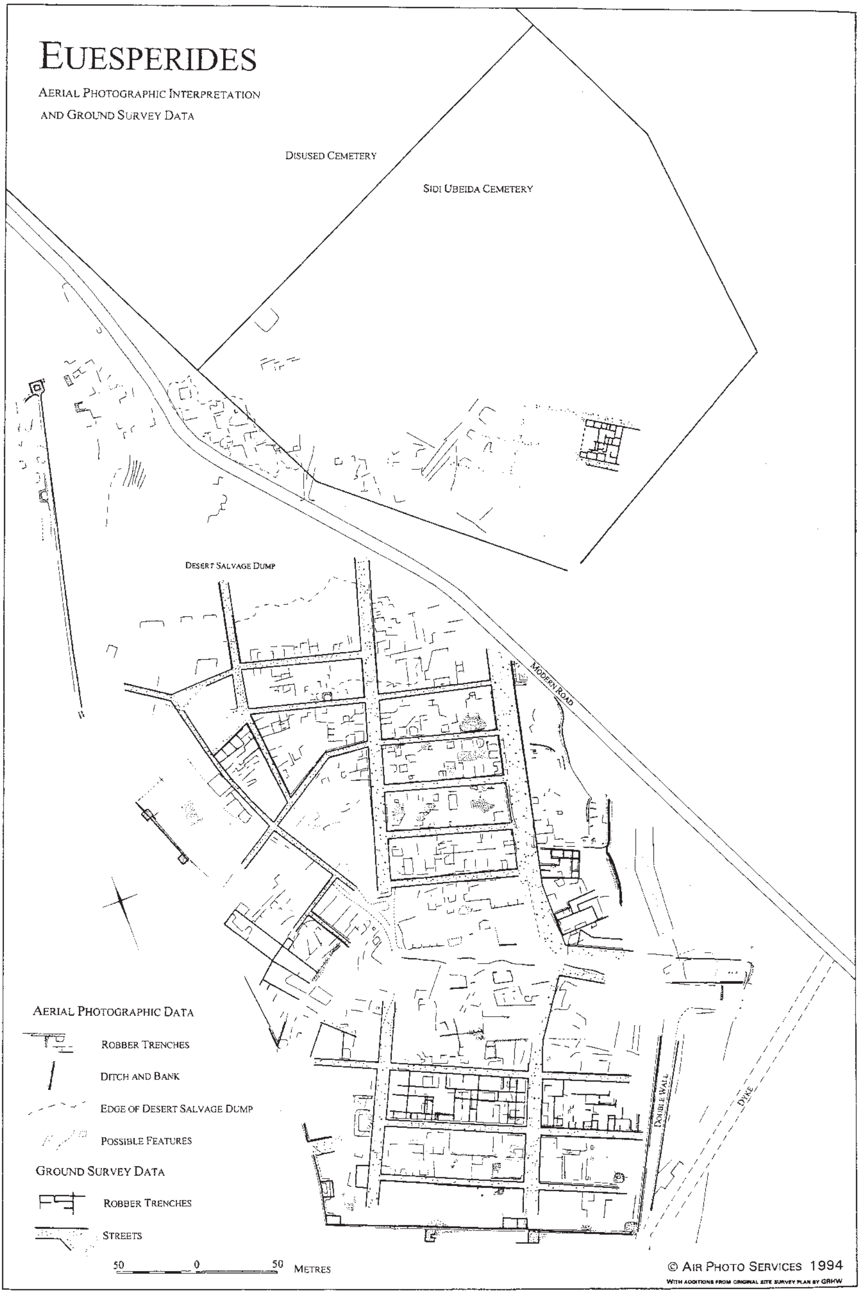


Fig. 2: Ground plan of the Greek settlement at Euesperides. © Air Photo Services, based on original plan by G.R.H. Wright.

earliest structures, perhaps dating to the late 5th century (the pottery appears to be no earlier than c. 440), were destroyed by fire in the early 4th century (subsequent to the introduction of rouletting which appears on some of the black-glossed pottery), and subsequently the southern extension of the city was constructed.[20]

Each of these phases of the settlement has its own distinct grid pattern. The upper city on the Sidi Abeid tends to have a roughly square grid (c. 18 × 20 m), whereas the lower city has elongated insula blocks (c. 25 m wide); the southern extension also has elongated insula blocks but on a different orientation (c. 29 × 90 m). To the east of the Sidi Abeid there is a grid of a slightly different size again, suggesting that this area was an extension. The evidence for the earliest occupation of the city has been found in deep sections on the Sidi Abeid, both by the 1952–54 excavations, and by the more recent work under the late John Lloyd. The ceramic evidence for this earliest occupation was presented in *Libyan Studies* in 1986,[21] and demonstrated that East Greek, Cycladic, Laconian, Corinthian and Attic pottery could be placed as early as Deposit 2 at Tocra; however, since that study the excavation notebooks and plans, once thought to have been lost, have been rediscovered which allow a fuller picture to emerge. In addition, bags of early pottery from one of the deepest sections on the Sidi Abeid came to light during the relocation of the Department of Archaeology at Queen's University Belfast.

The area of the archaic city was approximately 2 ha, focussed on the Sidi Abeid. The northern line is fixed by the line of the city wall, excavated by Dr John Lloyd's team, around the 9 m datum line.[22] The southern limit is clearly to the south of the excavation on the southern scarp, and it may well have followed the original 8 m datum line which has been quarried away.[23] The eastern line

[20] For the introduction of rouletting and the significance of the destruction of Motya: B.A. Sparkes, L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C. The Athenian Agora vol. 12* (Princeton, 1970), 30–31.

[21] Vickers and Gill, 'Archaic Greek pottery'.

[22] Buzaian and Lloyd, 'Early urbanism in Cyrenaica', 145 fig. 16.

[23] The eastern line may be represented by the thick wall, running north-south, which forms the eastern wall of a house in square B7. This feature will be discussed by D.W.J. Gill, P. Flecks, 'Changing domestic space at Euesperides, Cyrenaica', in R. Westgate, N. Fisher, J. Whitley, ed., *Building communities: house settlement and society in the Aegean and beyond* (London, in preparation).

of the wall may be detected in square B7 on the 8 m datum line where a thick wall, similar in dimensions to that found on the north side of the city, has been found forming the eastern side of a structure, perhaps a dyeing-workshop.[24] The western limit is not at all clear, though it might have been around the 7 or 8 m datum line; future excavation and survey may throw light on this question. However it is not clear if there were any buildings in the lower city during this early period, perhaps round the site of the harbour. Kilns have been found in parts of the upper city, but even so there may have space for some 60 houses.[25] Using the hearth multiplier of 5,[26] the possible population for the early settlement is likely to have been no higher than 300 people. Such a figure is not unreasonable given the size of the original colony at Cyrene, perhaps in the region of 200 men, or for that established at Apollonia in Illyria.[27] One reason why Euesperides was so compact may have been due to the threat of attack from the local Libyan population.

3. *Links with Crete*

The origins of the colonists at Euesperides are not clear. Often such questions have been addressed by analysing the proportions of imported pottery, although most scholars now recognise that this is unlikely to give an accurate picture.[28] Instead I would like to look at the

[24] This structure will be discussed by Gill and Flecks, 'Changing domestic space'.

[25] Assuming that the building in square B7 on the eastern side of the Sidi Abeid was typical for this period.

[26] F. De Angelis ('The foundation of Selinous: overpopulation or opportunities?', in G.R. Tsetskhladze, F. De Angelis, ed., *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation: Essays Dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, 98) uses this multiplier for Megara Hyblaia. For the problem applied to the Southern Argolid survey: T. van Andel, C.N. Runnels, *Beyond the Acropolis: a Rural Greek Past* (Stanford, 1987) 173, 198–99 (5 people as a 'hearth-multiplier'; suggesting 150 people per ha). De Angelis ('The foundation of Selinous', 99) also suggested that each household would need some 3–4 ha. for cultivation at Selinous.

[27] For the numbers in early colonies: A.J. Graham, 'The colonial expansion of Greece', in *The Cambridge Ancient History*^{2} *vol. 3.3: The Expansion of the Greek World, Eighth to Sixth Centuries B.C.* (Cambridge, 1982) 146.

[28] The latest statistics for Cyrenaica presented by Boardman ('Settlement for trade and land in North Africa: problems of identity', in G.R. Tsetskhladze, F. De Angelis, ed., *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation: Essays Dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, 137–49) are not without problem and do not need to detain us here.

problems faced by the earliest settlers establishing their foothold in this inhospitable area.

In one of the deep sections on the eastern part of the Sidi Abeid, square B7, excavated by the Ashmolean Museum expedition there is some 2 m of stratigraphy. The section revealed the north-west corner of an insula block which adjoined the north-south road running across the Sidi Abeid, and one of the main east-west roads running down the slope to the so-called 'House by the City Wall' (though not all accept that the city wall did run in this region).[29] Coins in levels 3 and 4 of the section at B7 show that the upper levels date to the 3rd century B.C., not long before the city was abandoned.[30] Such a date is consistent with the ceramic evidence from the insula blocks in the southern extension of the city.[31]

Only part of the insula block of the eastern side of the Sidi Abeid was excavated; the eastern limit of the building was marked by a thick wall, running along the line of the contour. This may have served as the earliest wall surrounding the Sidi Abeid, abandoned as the settlement spread eastwards down the hill. In any case, this served as a retaining wall for the building. Along the line of the east-west road was a well-built wall with foundations to the bedrock. Excavations on the edge of the southern scarp of the Sidi Abeid, the so-called 'Goodchild section', have shown that the layout of the houses on the Sidi Abeid were superimposed one over the other and that the grid pattern that they followed can be traced back to the earliest phase of the settlement. It is therefore reasonable to suppose therefore that the building in square B7 fits into a grid pattern initiated in the earliest years of the settlement.

The earliest (period 2) house has a number of features which do not continue in later periods. Notably at the north-east corner of the house is a rectangular room, c. 4 m × c. 3.3 m (internal measurements), with paving stones on the floor; the door is offset to one side. The room to its south is puzzling as it is of a similar size, c. 3.5 m × c. 3.3 m (internal measurements), with a door opening

---

[29] For the house: D. Sturgeon, The House by the City Wall. The easternmost end of the 'Italian Trench', lying just to the north of the 'House by the City Wall', does not contain any finds, and would help to indicate the limit of the settlement.

[30] For the coins from the Ashmolean Museum excavations: Buttrey, 'Part I: The coins', in *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya. Final Reports* vol. VI (Philadelphia, 1997), 59–62.

[31] Jones, 'Excavations at Tocra and Euhesperides'.

to the south, and at the centre is a mudbrick stand and a large jar set in the floor. To the west, adjacent to this pair of rooms, may have been an open courtyard. Access to the structure may have come from an alley to the south.[32] The internal walls of the building on the eastern side of the Sidi Abeid consisted of a stone socle with mudbrick walls. This building is dated by a large number of archaic finds which are described as coming from the hearth layer.[33] The pottery included a number of East Greek cups, Rhodian rosette bowls, Middle Corinthian skyphoi, and one skyphos fragment that is possibly Early Corinthian.[34]

This archaic building, which we can place in the Middle Corinthian horizon, was preceded by earlier occupation, represented by some 1 m of stratification. Although there are no apparent architectural features, it would seem that the wall along the east-west street marked the original line of the house. Within the block are two distinct bands of grey-brown and brown earth that rest on a black layer. Immediately under the hearth was Middle Corinthian material, but in the lowest level of the section the pottery is almost completely dominated by East Greek material. This occupation, period 1, also contained a pyramidal loomweight.[35] One suspects that the earliest phase of the settlement had temporary structures which have as yet to be identified in the excavations.

One further feature from the trench that deserves comment is the structure identified on the plan as an 'oven', lying to the east of the archaic house, outside the thick wall. The internal diameter of this structure is approximately 1.1 m, large for a domestic oven.[36] This structure might possibly be a pottery kiln, similar to those observed in the insula block to the north during the excavation of the 'Italian

---

[32] I am grateful to Patricia Flecks for her discussion of the functions of the various elements of this building. We will discuss this in: Gill and Flecks, 'Changing domestic space at Euesperides'.

[33] Deposit B7/GA/7.

[34] For the Early Corinthian skyphos, compare J. Boardman, J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra 1963–1965. The Archaic Deposits I.* (London, 1966), 39, no. 341 (Deposit I, level 9).

[35] At contemporary colonies in the Black Sea, the earliest colonists apparently lived in 'dugouts': G.R. Tsetskhladze, 'Greek penetration of the Black Sea', in G.R. Tsetskhladze, F. De Angelis, ed., *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation: Essays Dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, 119–20 (Panticapaion, Myrmekion). Perhaps the earliest settlement at Euesperides was seasonal.

[36] For ancient kilns: B.A. Sparkes, *Greek Pottery: an Introduction* (Manchester, 1991), 23.

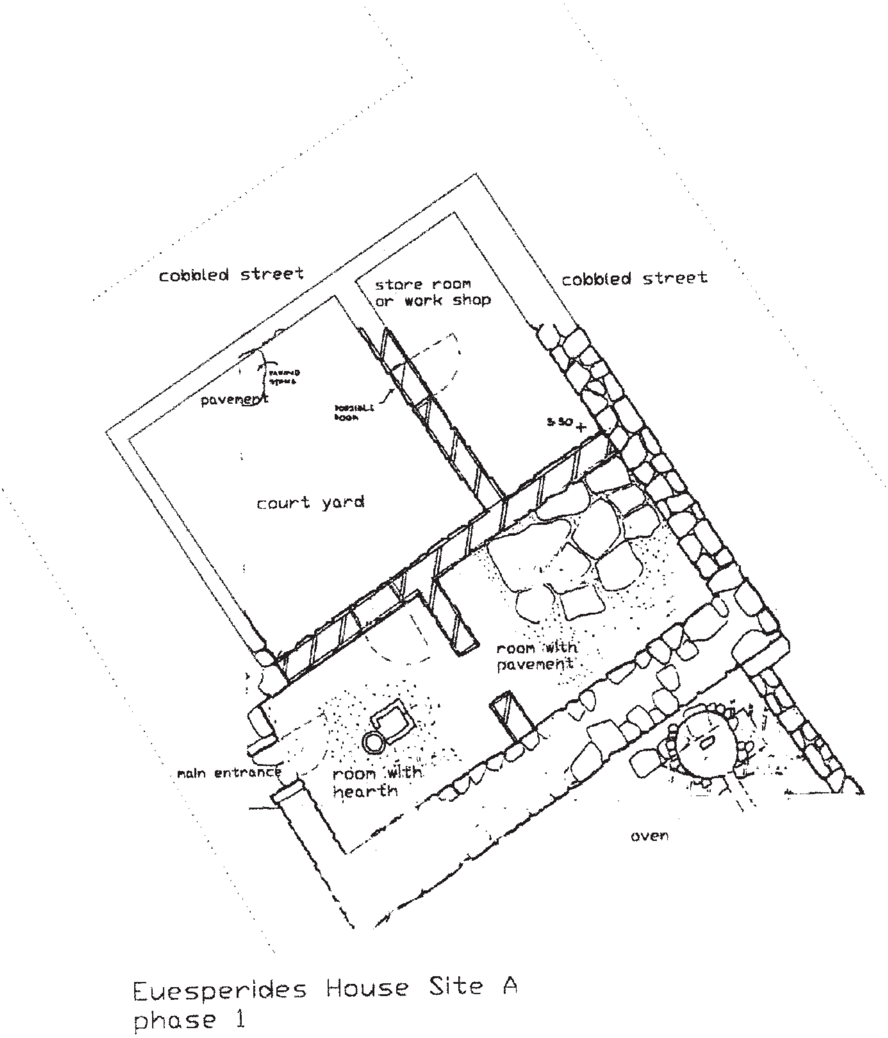


Fig. 3: Ground plan of the archaic building on the eastern side of the Sidi Abeid, Euesperides. Adaptation © Patricia Flecks, based on original plan by G.R.H. Wright.

Trench'.[37] If this interpretation is correct then this may well have been the potters' quarter of the colony.

The layout of this archaic building on the east side of the Sidi Abeid is similar in form to some houses excavated at Lato on Crete, a city located in the hills looking eastwards towards the present Ayios Nikolaos.[38] A number of rooms with offset door were entered through a foyer which had a central stand.[39] The architectural form can be traced back to the Bronze Age, and its function seems to have been to help cool the main room of the house. Given the unusual nature of this house plan, a form which I have been unable to identify elsewhere, it might suggest that the colonists of this phase of the archaic city of Euesperides came from Crete, or a place which used a Cretan style of architecture.[40]

A Cretan link should not be surprising. In Herodotus' account of the colonisation of Cyrne, the Therans made enquiries about Libya on Crete, specifically at Itanos in north-eastern Crete, 140 km to the south-east of Thera, where they met a fisherman, Korobios.[41] This fisherman had once been to Libya and in particular to an island named Platea. Itanos, known in more recent times as Erimoupolis, is well placed to take advantage of contacts with Antolia through the Dodecanese. The Cyrenaican version of the colony also has a Cretan link.[42] Herodotus records that the *basileus* of Oaxos on Crete,

[37] Further kilns were identified to the north of the line of the city wall in area M: Buzaian and Lloyd, 'Early urbanism in Cyrenaica', 134–36. The kiln in the Italian Trench was c. 2.5 m across.

[38] V. Hadjimichali, 'Recherches à Latô III. Maisons', *BCH* 95 (1971) 167–222. See also C. Tiré, H. van Effenterre, *Guide des fouilles françaises en Crète* (Paris, 1983), 98–105; O. Piccard, 'Lato', in J. Wilson Myers, E.E. Myers, G. Cadogan, ed., *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1992), 154–59.

[39] For example, the house lying behind the Prytaneion, on the south slope of the north hill, seems to consist of two linear houses. The one on the south side has a rectangular room at the west end, c. 3.2 m × c. 5.5. m, with a nearly square foyer, c. 5 m × c. 5.5 m. House D ran approximately north-south. The end room, c. 4.1 m × c. 4.5 m, gave access at its south end to a rectangular room, c. 6.5 m × c. 5.5 m, with a central hearth. These rooms placed before the *andron* have been described as a foyer area. I have observed similar houses on the west slope of the northern hill, orientated north-slope following the contours.

[40] Flecks has observed that the houses at Lato must have had a more complex roof than the one for the building at Euesperides.

[41] See J. Boardman, 'Settlement for trade and land in North Africa: problems of identity', in G.R. Tsetskhladze, F. De Angelis, ed., *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation: Essays Dedicated to Sir John Boardman*, 137–49, esp. p. 143.

[42] Hdt. 4.154–155.

one Etearchos, gave a Theran trader, Themison, his daughter Phronime from a first marriage. Instead of killing her, as he was supposed to do, Themison took Phronime to Thera where she lived with Polymnestos and bore him a son, Battos. Such myths may reflect genuine Cretan associations with the colonisation of Cyrenaica.

Although the possible Cretan connection has been emphasised here, East Greek settlers were probably equally important for the colonisation of Cyrenaica. Harbours such as Itanos on Crete no doubt played their part. East Greeks did play a part in the story of the colonisation of Cyrenaica: Kolaios the Samian came across the Cretan fisherman Korobios who had been left on the island of Platea by the Theran settlers.[43] The Lindian temple chronicle suggested that a Lindian had been part of the original Cyrenaican settlement with Battos.[44] This East Greek element is also reflected in Herodotos' account of Demonax of Mantinea, who came as a lawgiver to Cyrene during the reign of Battos III.[45] Cyrene was divided into three Dorian tribes consisting of first the Therans and the *perioikoi*, second the Peloponnesians and the Cretans, and third all the islanders.[46] Either this cosmopolitan mix can be taken as representative of the original colonists, or, as is perhaps more likely, the result of an intake as a result of Delphi's call to colonise Cyrenaica after the initial foundation. A possible Lakonian element may be reflected in the story, preserved by Pausanias,[47] of the Olympic victor Chionis who apparently took part in the original expedition with Battos.

4. *The Earliest Settlement*

More recent excavations in the northern part of the Sidi Abeid have discovered the line of the city wall which may have followed the

---

[43] Hdt. 4.152.

[44] Cf. Boardman, in Boardman and Hayes, *Tocra* 1, 14. L.H. Jeffery, *Archaic Greece: the City-States, c. 700–500 B.C.* (London & Tonbridge, 1976), 198: 'The Lindians who with Pankis' children founded Kyrene with Battos, to Athena and Herakles a tithe from war-spoils'.

[45] Hdt. 4.161.

[46] Jeffery (*Archaic Greece*, 187) suggested that the three tribes were arranged 'in a descending social scale'. The first group would be the original settlers from Thera along with those original Greeks, the second group would consist of Dorians, and the third group would be Ionians.

[47] Paus. 3.14.3. Chionis' first victory was in 668.

line of a stone and mudbrick defensive construction probably dating to the archaic period.[48] Immediately behind the wall was a building whose orientation seems to have been influenced by the alignment of the wall, and which rested on the bedrock. The earliest pottery identified is a Middle Corinthian skyphos and other associated material.[49] The house appears to have had a linear arrangement, some 2.5 m wide, and the internal length of the main room (room 3) seems to have been c. 3.5 m. This seems to be slightly smaller than the complex discovered in square B7, though it is possible that they were of a similar design. Other deep sections were observed on the southern scarp on the Sidi Abeid though the earliest pottery seems to be no earlier than the late archaic period.[50]

The earliest pottery from the colony appears to be Middle Protocorinthian with a small amount of Early Corinthian,[51] although periods 1 and 2 in the house at B7 appear to belong to the Middle Corinthian horizon; period 1 may have started earlier. One of the best stratified archaic sites for Cyrenaica is Tocra, excavated in the early 1960s, where the excavators identified three deposits.[52] The Rhodian rosette bowls from Euesperides are comparable with those found in Tocra Deposits II and III, though one was found in Deposit I.[53] Deposits II and III also provide parallels for the earliest pieces of Attic pottery.[54] One of the earliest Laconian pieces from Euesperides, an aryballos, can be placed in the Middle Corinthian horizon.[55]

In 1986 it was suggested that 'the most judicious way to describe the earliest activity on the site is to say that it seems to be con-

---

[48] Buzaian and Lloyd, 'Early urbanism in Cyrenaica, 144 suggest a date 'as early as the late seventh or early sixth century B.C.' based on the conventional chronology of pottery found in an adjoining house. For a recent overview of the ceramic finds from area H: Lloyd *et al.* 'Excavations at Euesperides (Benghazi): an interim report on the 1998 season', 158–60, 'Pottery associated with the first recognised phase of habitation, dating to around 580–570 B.C.'

[49] Buzaian and Lloyd 'Early urbanism in Cyrenaica', 144, 147 fig. 18.

[50] The pottery includes some late Athenian black-figured sherds. Jones and Lloyd allowed me to study the material in Manchester. Observations will be included in the Euesperides monograph series.

[51] In 1986 it was though that the earliest Corinthian material was Middle Corinthian: Vickers and Gill, 'Archaic Greek pottery', 100.

[52] Boardman and Hayes, *Tocra* 1; J. Boardman and J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra 1963–1965. The Archaic Deposits II and Later Deposits* (London, 1973).

[53] Vickers and Gill, 'Archaic Greek pottery', 98.

[54] Vickers and Gill, 'Archaic Greek pottery', 103.

[55] Vickers and Gill, 'Archaic Greek pottery', 100.

temporary with Tocra Deposit II'.[56] Since then material from the earliest deposits has come to light, and this claim might be amended to say that although the main burst of activity at Euesperides can be placed in the same chronological horizon as Tocra Deposit II, it seems that some pottery from the colony is contemporary with Tocra Deposit I which contained Early Corinthian and some Transitional Corinthian.[57]

Placing Euesperides and Tocra in a wider context, it is possible to reconstruct the relative pottery sequence for the Greek colonisation of Cyrenaica. At the possible site of Aziris, the settlement which preceded the colony of Cyrene, Protocorinthian pottery was discovered as well as East Greek pottery.[58] At Cyrene the earliest Corinthian pottery is apparently Early Corinthian,[59] the same as the extra-mural sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.[60] Early Corinthian material seems to have been found at Apollonia (the port for Cyrene) and Ptolemais.[61] One of the earliest pieces of Corinthian pottery to have been found in Cyrenaica is a Middle Protocorinthian conical oinochoe from Tocra which Boardman has interpreted as an 'heirloom'.[62] This is atypical, and most of the Corinthian finds from Tocra start in the Transitional or Early Corinthian horizon.[63]

Although it is important to remember that the earliest pottery might not yet have been found,[64] it does seem as if there is a relative

---

[56] Vickers and Gill, 'Archaic Greek pottery', 106.

[57] Boardman, in Boardman and Hayes, *Tocra* 1, 12.

[58] J. Boardman, 'Evidence for the dating of Greek settlements in Cyrenaica', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 61 (1966) 150–51. Boardman dates this material to 637–631, the six years (Hdt. 4.158) preceding the traditional founding of Cyrene.

[59] Boardman, 'Evidence for the dating of Greek settlements', 152.

[60] D. White, *Background and introduction to the excavations*. The extramural sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya: final reports vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1984), 23. For the Corinthian pottery: Arcadia Kocybala, *The Corinthian Pottery*. The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya. Final Reports vol. VII (Philadelphia, 1999). Kocybala (p. 5) notes a small number of Early Corinthian sherds.

[61] Boardman, 'Evidence for the dating of Greek settlements', 152–53.

[62] Boardman, 'Evidence for the dating of Greek settlements', 153; Boardman in Boardman and Hayes, *Tocra 1*, 21: 'there is every reason to believe that it was brought to Tocra as a prized possession by one of the early colonists and subsequently offered as a dedication in the sanctuary'.

[63] Boardman, in Boardman and Hayes, *Tocra 1*, 21: 'The main series of Corinthian scarcely begins before the Early Corinthian period. There are only one or two pieces which might be called Transitional'.

[64] See the cautionary tale of Selinus in Sicily: A.M. Snodgrass, *An Archaeology of Greece; the Present State and Future Scope of a Discipline* (Berkeley, 1987), 54–56.

sequence emerging from the colonies of Cyrenaica. There are a small number of pieces of pottery which can be placed in the Middle Protocorinthian horizon from Aziris, Tocra and now Euesperides. At Cyrene the earliest pottery is Early Corinthian, and this is found at other sites in Cyrenaica. The Middle Corinthian horizon seems to have been particularly significant at Euesperides, as this is the point when architectural features can first be identified. Such a ceramic sequence brings into question the staggered impression of the colonisation of Cyrenaica which might be gained from Herodotus' account. Rather the archaeology seems to suggest that the first Greek colonists of Cyrenaica established a number of settlements in the Middle Protocorinthian period, followed by a further wave in the Middle Corinthian horizon.

This Middle Corinthian horizon is one which sees a growth in the number of colonies around the shores of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, including in the west, Akragas and Gela.[65] It would be inappropriate here to discuss the foundations of the orthodox chronological scheme in widespread use by classical archaeologists today,[66] though it is perhaps important to describe events in chronologically neutral language.

5. *Conclusion*

Renewed study of the Greek settlement at Euesperides is yielding significant information about the colonisation of Cyrenaica. The carefully laid out city, certainly having its origins in the sixth century if not the seventh, is providing important insights to the way that colonists established a settlement, and such insights will no doubt influence the way that some of the more well-known Greek colonies in the west will be interpreted. Building forms at Euesperides may have been adopted to give some protection from the extremes of climate in this part of North Africa. Further research may shed light on the economy of the earliest settlement.

---

[65] See the convenient list in Graham, 'The colonial expansion of Greece', 160–62. His 'c. 600–575' for 'earliest archaeological material' relates to the widely used orthodox dates for Middle Corinthian pottery.

[66] For an overview of the debate: W.R. Biers, *Art, Artefacts, and Chronology in Classical Archaeology* (London, 1992).

Bibliography

Barker, G., Lloyd, J.A., Reynolds, J., ed. *Cyrenaica in Antiquity* (BAR Int. Series 236). Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1985

Bennett, P., Wilson, A.I., Buzaian, A., Hamilton, K., Thorpe, D., Robertson, D., White, K. 'Euesperides (Benghazi): preliminary report on the spring 2000 season', *Libyan Studies* 31 (2000) 121–43

Biers, W.R. *Art, Artefacts, and Chronology in Classical Archaeology*. London: Routledge, 1992

Boardman, J., Hayes, J.W. *Excavations at Tocra 1963–1965. The Archaic Deposits I* (British School at Athens supplementary volume 4). London: British School at Athens, 1966

——. *Excavations at Tocra 1963–1965. The Archaic Deposits II and Later Deposits* (British School at Athens supplementary volume 10). London: British School at Athens; Society for Libyan Studies, 1973

Boardman, J. 'Settlement for trade and land in North Africa: problems of identity', in G.R. Tsetskhladze, F. De Angelis, ed., The *Archaeology of Greek Colonisation*, 1994: 137–49

——. 'Evidence for the dating of Greek settlements in Cyrenaica', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 61 (1966) 149–56

Buttrey, T.V. 'Coins and coinage at Euesperides', *Libyan Studies* 25 (1994) 137–45

——. 'Part I: The coins', in *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya. Final Reports* vol. VI. Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1997

Buzaian, A., Lloyd, J.A. 'Early urbanism in Cyrenaica: new evidence from Euesperides (Benghazi)', *Libyan Studies* 27 (1996) 129–52

De Angelis, F. 'The foundation of Selinous: overpopulation or opportunities?', in G.R. Tsetskhladze, F. De Angelis, eds., *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation*, 1994: 87–110

Dennis, G. 'On recent excavations in the Greek cemeteries of the Cyrenaica', *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* 9 (1867) 135–82

Economou, M. 'Euesperides: a devastated site. A challenge for multimedia presentation', *Electronic Antiquity* 1.3 (1993) [http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/ejournals//ElAntV/1N4/economou.html]

Elrashedy, F. 'Attic imported pottery in classical Cyrenaica', in G. Barker, J.A. Lloyd, J. Reynolds, ed., *Cyrenaica in Antiquity*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1985: 205–17

——. *Imports of post-archaic Greek pottery into Cyrenaica: from the end of the Archaic to the beginning of the Hellenistic period, BAR international series; 1022*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2002

Fraser, P.M. 'An inscription from Euesperides', *Bulletin de la Societé d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie* 39 (1951) 132–43

——. 'Corrigendum', *Bulletin de la Societé d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie* 40 (1953) 62

Gill, D.W.J. 'A Greek price inscription from Euesperides, Cyrenaica', *Libyan Studies* 29 (1998) 83–88

——, Flecks, P. 'Changing domestic space at Euesperides, Cyrenaica', in R. Westgate, N. Fisher, J. Whitley, ed., *Building Communities: House Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond*. London: British School at Athens, in preparation

Goodchild, R.G. 'Euesperides: a devastated city site', *Antiquity* 26 (1952) 208–12

Graham, A.J. 'The colonial expansion of Greece', in J. Boardman, N.G.L. Hammond, ed., *The Cambridge Ancient History*^{2} *vol. 3.3: The Expansion of the Greek World, Eighth to Sixth Centuries B.C.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982, 83–162

Hadjimichali, V. 'Recherches à Latô III. Maisons', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 95 (1971) 167–222

Hayes, P.P., Mattingly, D.J. 'Preliminary report on fieldwork at Euesperides (Benghazi) in October 1994', *Libyan Studies* 26 (1995) 83–96

Hinds, S. *Euesperides: a Devastated City Site*. MA diss., Department of Archaeology, Leicester University, 1991

Jeffery, L.H. *Archaic Greece: the City-States, c. 700–500 B.C.* London & Tonbridge: E. Benn, 1976

Jones, G.D.B., Little, J.H. 'Coastal settlement in Cyrenaica', *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971) 64–79

——. 'Excavations at Tocra and Euhesperides, Cyrenaica 1968–1969', *Libyan Studies* 14 (1983) 109–21

——. 'Beginnings and endings in Cyrenaican cities', in G. Barker, J.A. Lloyd, J. Reynolds, ed., *Cyrenaica in Antiquity*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1985: 27–41

Kocybala, A. *The Corinthian Pottery*. The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, *Libya*. *Final Reports* vol. VII. Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1999

Lloyd, J.A. 'Some aspects of urban development at Euesperides/Berenice', in G. Barker, J.A. Lloyd, J. Reynolds, ed., *Cyrenaica in Antiquity*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1985: 49–66

——, Buzaian, A., Coulton, J.J. 'Excavations at Euesperides (Benghazi), 1995', *Libyan Studies* 26 (1995) 97–100

——, Bennett, P., Buttrey, T.V., El Amin, H., Fell, V., Kashbar, G., Morgan, G., Ben Nasser, Y., Roberts, P.C., Wilson, A.I., Zimi, E. 'Excavations at Euesperides (Benghazi): an interim report on the 1998 season', *Libyan Studies* 29 (1998) 145–68

Myers, J.W., Emlen Myers, E., Cadogan, G. *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992

Piccard, O. 'Lato', in J.W. Myers, E. Emlen Myers, G. Cadogan, *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992: 154–59

Rhodes, D.E. *Dennis of Etruria: the Life of George Dennis*. London: Cecil & Amelia Woolf, 1973

Snodgrass, A.M. *An Archaeology of Greece; the Present State and Future Scope of a Discipline*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987

Sparkes, B.A., Talcott, L. *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C. The Athenian Agora vol. 12*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1970

Sparkes, B.A. *Greek Pottery: an Introduction*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991

Sturgeon, D. *The House by the City Wall and the Use of Fine Pottery from Domestic Contexts at Euesperides, Cyrenaica*. M.Phil. diss., Department of Classics and Ancient History, University of Wales Swansea, 1996

Tiré, C., van Effenterre, H. *Guide des fouilles françaises en Crète. Sites et monuments*. Vol. II. 2nd ed. Paris: École française d'Athènes, 1983

Treister, M., Vickers, M. 'Stone matrices with griffins from Nymphaeum and Euesperides', *Colloquia Pontica* 1 (1996) 135–41

Tsetskhladze, G.R. 'Greek penetration of the Black Sea', in G.R. Tsetskhladze, F. De Angelis, eds., *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation*, 1994: 111–35

——, De Angelis, F., ed., *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation: Essays Dedicated to Sir John Boardman*. *Oxford University Committee for Archaeology monograph* vol. 40. Oxford: 1994

van Andel, T., Runnels, C.N. *Beyond the Acropolis: a Rural Greek Past*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987

Vickers, M., Gill, D.W.J. 'Archaic Greek pottery from Euesperides, Cyrenaica', *Libyan Studies* 17 (1986) 97–108

——. Economou, M. 'Euesperides: the rescue of an excavation', *Libyan Studies* 25 (1994) 125–36

White, D. *Background and introduction to the excavations. The extramural sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya: final reports vol. 1*. Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania in association with the Libyan Department of Antiquities, 1984

Wilson, A.I., Bennett, P., Buzaian, A., Ebbinghaus, S., Hamilton, K., Kattenberg, A., Zimi, E. 'Urbanism and economy at Euesperides (Benghazi): preliminary report on the 1999 season', *Libyan Studies* 30 (1999) 147–68

Wilson, A.I., Bennett, P., Buzaian, A., Fell, V., Göransson, K., Green, C., Hall, C., Helm, R., Kattenberg, A., Swift, K., Zimi, E. 'Euesperides: preliminary report on the Spring 2001 season', *Libyan Studies* 32 (2001) 155–77

Wright, G.R.H., 'A funeral offering near Euesperides', *Libyan Studies* 26 (1995) 21–26

This page intentionally left blank

THE GREEK MAN IN THE IBERIAN STREET: NON-COLONIAL GREEK IDENTITY IN SPAIN AND SOUTHERN FRANCE

Javier de Hoz
Universidad Complutense de Madrid

The title of this paper refers to a problem which is not evident from our sources, but is significant: to what extent the Greeks settled in indigenous communities, by themselves or in small groups.[1] In order to assess the role they played in the relations between Greeks and non-Greeks, and ultimately in the process of Hellenization (a controversial but unavoidable notion), we must first of all trace the marks they may have left behind.

The possible scenarios are quite varied. Some of them such as the Greek physicians in the Persian court or the sculptors in the service of Anatolian dynasts, are attested by unambiguous evidence. In this case-study, however, the starting point is particularly sparse from the Greek perspective, since the indigenous population are the peoples who for the sake of convenience we shall call Iberians. This leads us to the more general issue of Greek metics in communities with limited political development, ruled by chieftains or aristocracies, proto-urban or in the first stages of urbanisation, with almost autarchic economies except for the obtaining of luxury or semi-luxury goods. If I want to keep within my field of competence, I will need to use the information provided by epigraphy or the hardly usable literary sources.

I suggest that the final result of this research is initially disappointing, both in itself and in comparing the situation in Iberia with other western areas. Undoubtedly this is due to the smaller demographic, economic, political, and ultimately cultural weight of the Greek material in Iberia. But another aspect that may have had some influence, in my opinion, is a peculiar function of the Iberian language and epigraphy, unparalleled in other colonial spheres in the central or western Mediterranean.

---

[1] This study has been carried out within the PB96–0615 project, funded by the Spanish SEICYT.

As a natural extension of this paper it would be useful to complete the picture of the Greeks living among indigenous populations by examining the opposite situation, that of the natives living in a Greek community, or the Iberian in the Greek street, of which Emporion can provide interesting testimony. Regrettably, due to lack of time and space, I will have to leave this topic for a later time. At any rate, the Greek viewpoint appears to be more appropriate to celebrate Professor Shefton, and as proof of the admiration I have for his work in general, and the part regarding Greek trading in Spain in particular.

In the Iberian Peninsula, or more generally speaking Iberian territory (which would include part of southern France), there are to be found a number of Greek inscriptions that are neither from Emporion, nor from Rhode, the only Greek colonies hitherto located. These inscriptions thus raise some questions and require some explanations. But let us first of all make a list of them. The map shows their location (fig. 1).

The most important testimony is the well-known lead tablet of Pech Maho; the rest are brief, basically containing proper nouns, and almost all of them written on pottery. There are graffiti such as that of Cabezo Lucero (A; EGH 11.3),[2] corresponding to the height of the Greek trade in Iberia. To the same period belongs the bronze male figurine with inscription in the Valencia Museum (EGH 7.1). A graffito from Puntal dels Llops (Olocau V; EGH 8.1) and a dipinto found in Na Guardis (Colonia Sant Jordi, Majorca; EGH 34.1) belong to a later date; at an earlier date belong graffiti from Huelva (EGH 22.1, and 2) and Guadalhorce (MA; EGH 17.1). Of course, I am ignoring those inscriptions that in all certainty were inscribed before the artefacts arrived in Iberia, such as the SOS amphora of the Phoenician factory at Toscanos with Athenian graffito (EGH 16.1) or the relatively abundant traders' marks found in various sites and in the Majorcan wreckage in El Sec.[3]

---

[2] I refer to the Spanish provinces by the abbreviations used for the license plates, A = Alicante, MA = Málaga, V = Valencia.

[3] The inscription from Elche (A; EGH 10.1) is dubious because there is no adequate publication, but since it belongs to the καλός type, for the time being I will regard it as written in Athens, and will therefore not take it into consideration. On the trade graffitos, see J. de Hoz, 'Ensayo sobre la epigrafía griega de la Península Ibérica', *Veleia* 12 (1995), 156–8.

Fig. 1: Distribution of Greek inscriptions in Iberia.

Obviously, these last cases represent the easy part of a question we are faced with every time a Greek inscription is found in non-Greek territory. Did a Greek inscribe it where it was found, or did it get there already inscribed? In the latter case it would tell us nothing about the settlement of Greeks in foreign lands, but only about the remote relationships between Greeks and non-Greeks, based on trade or other interests.

Some examples are clear enough; the above mentioned Toscanos graffito must have arrived already inscribed: not only because the presence of an Athenian in a Phoenician factory on the coast of Malaga in the 7th century is too far-fetched, but also because it has been identified as part of a series of Athenian graffitti on the same kind of artefact which have been found all over the Mediterranean area, and which all seem to have been inscribed in Attica.[4] Quite the opposite case is represented by the dipinto of Na Guardis, a safe testimony of the presence of a Greek man called Hermias on non-Greek soil, since it was painted before firing on a Punic jug made in Ibiza.[5] Therefore, it has to be a positive testimony of one of the most typical cases of a Greek settled among barbarians, the craftsman practicing his art where he finds a suitable market. Clearly the date of the jug, 150–130 B.C., is too late for our purposes. At most we could wonder when Greek artisans started settling in Ibiza, and suspect that, even though it could be a situation conditioned by the close trading relations held between Emporion and Ibiza since the 5th century, it must not be foreign to the general question of the presence of Greeks in Ibiza's metropolis, i.e. Carthage.

There are however some other problematic instances. The aforementioned bronze figurine[6] is extremely crude, and it does not seem possible to decide whether it is an Iberian or Greek work. Were it a Greek work, it could have arrived in Iberia already carrying its votive inscription, Ἀπολόνιος ἀνέθεκεν, showing us that the person dedicating it was Greek but not telling us the intended divinity of

[4] J. de Hoz, 'Un grafito griego de Toscanos y la exportación de aceite ateniense en el siglo VII', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 11 (1970) 102–9; de Hoz, 'Ensayo sobre la epigrafía griega', 152–4.

[5] J. de Hoz, 'La epigrafía del Sec y los grafitos mercantiles en Occidente', in A. Arribas, M.G. Trías, D. Cerdá, J. de Hoz, *El barco de El Sec* (Mallorca, 1987), 633; de Hoz, 'Ensayo sobre la epigrafía griega', 168.

[6] EGH 7.1

the offering. It could even be a dedication made by a Greek in Iberian territory, maybe a trader, an occasional visitor, thereby giving thanks for a happy arrival before setting off again to go back to his homeland.[7] The underlying topic here is the ports of trade; these must have been places to pass through, even though it is logical to think that Greek intermediaries settled there either permanently or for somewhat lengthy periods. For example, some of the Gravisca dedications are likely to have been the work of Greek residents, but most of them are the consequence of a trader's brief visit.[8]

As in this case, most of the Greek inscriptions found in Iberian territory do not allow us to pinpoint what was the relation between the author of the inscription and the place where it was found. The oldest inscriptions, those of Huelva (EGH 22.1, and 2) and Guadalhorce (MA, EGH 17.1), are part of the early trading activity carried out by the Greeks in the southern part of the peninsula, which is in many cases difficult to separate from the activities of the Phoenicians; as a matter of fact, the Guadalhorce inscription that has been found in a Phoenician settlement could have come from Greece already inscribed, and have made all its western journey within a Phoenician ambit.[9] It may be however that one of the inscriptions from Huelva shows that it was engraved in the area. Its text, (ὁ δεῖνας) ἀνέθεκεν Νιηθωι ([ἔδωκε]ν can also be assumed), contains a personal name, *Niethos*, which is not Greek though morphologically it is Hellenized and that, although not attested in the repertoire—limited and of a much later date—of the indigenous personal names of the region, shows the same trend of these to aspirate the occlusives. It could therefore be a present from a Greek merchant to a local aristocrat with whom he had established or wished to establish some hospitality links.[10] The alternative of it being a votive dedication to a local divinity bears less weight because there is no indication pointing to the idea that the fragment could be related to a place of worship, although apparently in the port and trading area of old Huelva,

---

[7] de Hoz, 'Ensayo sobre la epigrafía griega', 163–4.

[8] Graviscan Greek inscriptions in L. Dubois, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Grande Grèce* (Geneva, 1995).

[9] J. de Hoz, 'Apéndice: El grafito griego de Guadalhorce', in P. Cabrera, R. Olmos, E. Sanmartí, ed., *Iberos y griegos: lecturas desde la diversidad* I–II, 122–5; de Hoz, 'Ensayo sobre la epigrafía griega', 156.

[10] J. Fernández Jurado, R. Olmos, 'Una inscripción jonia arcaica en Huelva', *Lucentum* 4 (1985) 107–113; de Hoz, 'Ensayo sobre la epigrafía griega', 155–6.

where the fragment was found, some remains have been recently discovered that might belong to a local sanctuary.[11]

The well known inscription on lead of Pech Maho, the text of which I think I need not dwell on, belongs to the same trading sphere.[12] Nevertheless, it is important to underline that the impression it gives is not of an occasional visit of a foreign merchant who comes from far away with his cargo and goes back to his land after a short stay, but of a merchant who has at least partly settled in native territory and keeps strong local connections.

The common feature of the remaining inscriptions is that they have been found in sites along the coast of Mediterranean Spain, and have no inner sign that might explain their presence in the place of their finding.

The Puntal dels Llops inscription (Olocau V; EGH 8.1) bears a name,[13] Ἔρ[ω]τος which could be an invocation to the god as much as the ownership mark of a man with the homophone personal name. The inscription poses problems regarding both its date and its finding place. Puntal dels Llops is a small fortified site, what the excavators call an 'atalaya', 'watchtower', with an apparently well-defined function within the control system of the territory, the centre of which was in the important Iberian city of Liria (V), perhaps the Edeta of classical sources.[14] Thus, it is not the place we would expect to find a Greek merchant or craftsman. On the other hand, the graffito is engraved on a pre-Campanian krateriskos (Lamboglia shape 40) that seems to be dated to the second half of the 3rd century, when the

---

[11] I wish to thank Paloma Cabrera and Fernando Quesada for this information.

[12] de Hoz, J. 'Ensayo sobre la epigrafía griega', 164–8; basics among the large bibliography are the *editio princeps*, M. Lejeune, J. Pouilloux, Y. Solier, 'Étrusque et ionien archaïques sur un plomb de Pech Maho (Aude)', *Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise* 21 (1988) 19–59', and M. Lejeune, 'Ambiguïtés du texte de Pech-Maho', *Revue des Études Grecques* 104 (1991) 311–29'; further bibliography in de Hoz, 'Los negocios del señor Heronoiyos. Un documento mercantil, jonio clásico temprano, del Sur de Francia', in J.A. López Férez, ed., *Desde los poemas homéricos hasta la prosa griega del siglo IV d.C.* (Madrid, 1999).

[13] R. Olmos, C. Sánchez, 'Usos e ideología del vino en las imágenes de la Hispania prerromana', in S. Celestino, ed., *Arqueología del vino*, 134; J. de Hoz, 'Ensayo sobre la epigrafía griega', 168.

[14] H. Bonet, C. Mata, *El poblado ibérico del Puntal dels Llops (El Colmenar) (Olocau, Valencia)* (Valencia, 1981), especially about the vase with inscription and its context 118–9, 156–8, plate XIII; J. Bernabeu, H. Bonet, C. Mata, 'Hipótesis sobre la organización del territorio edetano en época ibérica plena: el ejemplo del territorio de Edeta/Lliria', *Iberos* (1987), 143–8.

height of the Greek trading activity in the area was past. With only these facts, any explanation of the presence of this graffito in Puntal dels Llops would remain highly hypotethical.

The inscription of Cabezo Lucero (A; EGH 11.3) consists of a proper noun which may be incomplete, Λέω (or]λεω), over the last sign of which there is an Iberian graffito superimposed, apparently an abbreviated proper noun.[15] Therefore, it seems to point to a change of ownership the circumstances of which are beyond our awareness. The vase on the base of which the graffito was engraved, a black-figure lip cup dating from the beginning of the 5th century, is part of the grave goods of a burial (tomb 57) with Greek material from the end of the century.[16] The deposition seems to belong to the time when the trade and general relations with the Greek world were strong in the area, but the Iberian graffito does not suggest indeed that the last owner of the piece was a Greek, although it does not exclude either the presence there of the former owner. In fact, in this same necropolis of Cabezo Lucero we can easily observe the Greek practice of placing lamps in the graves,[17] and tomb 84A or 84B could contain objects pointing to a Greek or very Hellenized owner, although the material, which seems to include no Greek pottery, is in need of a more thorough study.[18] In the same area at the mouth of the river Segura, critical in Greek trade with the Iberian world, we have the site of Santa Pola, which at first was even considered a Greek factory,[19] although now it is rather thought to be an indigenous village influenced by Greek urban planning.[20]

[15] de Hoz, J. 'Ensayo sobre la epigrafía griega', 168–9. I wish to thank P. Rouillard for the photograph with the aid of which I have studied the graffito.

[16] C. Aranegui, A. Jodin, E. Llobregat, P. Rouillard, J. Uroz, *La nécropole ibérique de Cabezo Lucero (Guardaamar del Segura, Alicante)* (Madrid-Alicante, 1993), 44, 63, 225–6.

[17] Aranegui, Jodin, Llobregat, Rouillard, Uroz, *La nécropole*, 47.

[18] Aranegui, Jodin, Llobregat, Rouillard, Uroz, *La nécropole*, 123–4, 256–8, with some hesitation as to the ascription of the engraved pyramids, possible Hellenic indication, to 84A or 84B.

[19] P. Rouillard, *Les Grecs et la Péninsule Ibérique du VIII^{e} siècle au IV^{e} siècle avant Jésus-Christ* (Paris, 1991), 304–6; also in Aranegui, Jodin, Llobregat, Rouillard, Uroz, *La nécropole*, 93–4 (P. Rouillard).

[20] A. Badie, P. Moret, 'Métrologie et organisation modulaire de l'espace au V^{e} siècle av. J.-C. sur le site ibérique de La Picola (Santa Pola, Alicante)', *Pallas* 46 (1997), 39–41; Moret, Badie, 'Metrología', 60–1. See now Badie *et al.*, *Le site antique de La Picola à Santa Pola (Alicante, Espagne)* (Paris-Madrid, 2000).

Given that the Greek inscriptions in Iberia provide so little information, we must resort to the wider scope of the Greek evidence in non-Greek territory in order to obtain at least some theoretical alternatives. And we must not forget another troubling fact, namely the possibility that written Greek was used as link language among the indigenous people. Testimonies thereof are not scarce in some Mediterranean areas; for example, the inscriptions of ownership by Thracian aristocrats or princes on their plate; or in the central part of the Mediterranean area, some inscriptions in Italy of rather juicier meaning. Such is the case of the dipinto on a pyxis found in a burial at Gravina, in Messapian territory, dating from the end of the 5th century: Μόρκος ἐποίε. Πύλλος ἐδίδασκε. Μόρκος, Πύλλος, α β γ δ ε ζ η ι κ λ μ ν. Μόρκος ἔνθηκε Γναῖϝαι, the personal names of which appear to be of unmistakable native origin.[21] The text is somewhat ambiguous because the syntactical connections cannot be clearly seen, but I would dare to suggest this translation: 'Morkos made (it), Pyllos taught (him to write:) Morkos, Pyllos, α β γ δ ε ζ η ι κ λ μ ν. Morkos dedicated (it) to Gnaiwa'. If this reading is right, the inscription proves quite interesting, since it would be a rare testimony of the teaching of writing. In light of the inscription it does not seem logical to assume that Morkos had learnt to write as a child or adolescent, and that Pyllos was a professional teacher. What we are led to believe is that they must have had an egalitarian or client relation, in which Pyllos' teaching must have been a service. Indeed, the inscription is nothing other than a payment for it combines an offering to Morkos' lady with praise of Pyllos' didactic virtues. These virtues are shown by the very inscription and particularly by the demonstration that Morkos can write his own name, his benefactor's name, and the first half of the alphabet.

Much more widely known is the inscription of Nymmelos, who likely was the Lucanian *meddix* from Serra de Vaglio:[22] ἐπὶ τῆς Νυμμέλου ἀρχῆς. This implies a political and propagandistic use of Greek. There is no need either to comment on the inscriptions in Greek by artisans, Greek or indigenous, working in several places in

[21] C. Santoro, *Nuovi Studi Messapici* I (Galantina, 1982–3), 169, and pl. CV, II, 81–3, 133–40, 162.

[22] A. Pontrandolfo, *I Lucani* (Milan, 1982), 153; A. Marinetti, A.L. Prosdocimi, 'Lingue e scritture dei popoli indigeni (Lucani, Brettii, Enotri)', in G. Pugliese Carratelli, ed., *Magna Grecia. Vita religiosa e cultura letteraria, filosofica e scientifica*, 34.

southern Italy, which attest to the function of the language within given economic activities.[23]

It is not very likely though that Greek was used as link language in Iberian cultural territory. A significant fact from this point of view is the total absence of Greek coin legends anywhere in Iberia outside Emporion and Rhode, with the partial exception, in the border area, of some issues in the south of France. However, it is a well known fact that the vehicular role of the Greek language is clearly seen in coin legends, from the Thracian to the Roman ones from Campania, from those of the rebellious Carthaginian mercenaries to the Brettii. In spite of the large number of mintings in Iberian territory, none of them whatsoever, unless the mere local copies of the legend of Emporion were to be considered, uses Greek instead of Iberian.

In my opinion this situation relates to the position of the Iberian language within the Iberian cultural world. The bearer of Iberian material culture is typically identified with the speaker of the Iberian language; on previous occasions I advocated a quite different picture,[24] to my mind Iberian was the vernacular language of just one part of the culturally Iberian population, but due to the trade development from the 5th century B.C. on, it turned into the link language throughout Iberia, being the only indigenous language in written use on the eastern coast. The pre-eminence of an already growing link language over the development of Greek commerce, together with the scant demographic weight of the Greeks who colonized or lived in Iberia, explains why Greek did not become a link language, despite the fact that not only a credible situation, but also the direct testimony of the Pech Maho tablet, prove that many Iberian traders had a knowledge of the language.

Leaving aside the use of Greek as a link language, there are other reasons to explain the scarce presence of Greek inscriptions in Iberian territory. The models we must focus on are those describing the

---

[23] A specially interesting case is that of the Armento crown, dedicated by Crithonios (a good reproduction in E. Greco, *La Grande-Grèce* (Rome-Bari, 1992), pl. 182), vid. C. Consani, 'Koinai et koiné dans la documentation épigraphique de l'Italie meridionale', in C. Brixhe, ed. *La koiné grecque antique* II. *La concurrence*, 116–8.

[24] J. de Hoz, 'La lengua y la escritura ibéricas, y las lenguas de los íberos', *Actas del V Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas prerromanas de la Península Ibérica*, 635–66; de Hoz, 'Griegos e íberos. Testimonios epigráficos de una cooperación mercantil', in P. Cabrera, R. Olmos, E. Sanmartí, ed., *Iberos y griegos: lecturas desde la diversidad* II, 243–7.

presence of Greeks in indigenous communities.[25] The reasons for a Greek settling in an indigenous community are various, but with very few exceptions, they can only be clearly determined when the literary sources describe specific cases. Earlier in this paper I mentioned the case of the Greek physicians at the Persian court. In the western world, where the indigenous communities were far from reaching the degree of social sophistication of the eastern kingdoms and empires, we can nonetheless observe some significant data. For example, we learn through Herodotus (3.138) about the case of Gillos, an exile from Tarentum who took refuge among the Iapygians, and had enough influence or the necessary economic resources as to be able to free the Persian ambassadors that had been taken prisoners. The political exile was of course a very common figure within the Greek world, and sometimes it was easier or otherwise more advisable to take refuge among indigenous populations rather than in another Greek *polis*. Unfortunately, we know nothing about the political life of Emporion, and almost as little of that of Marseilles, so we are in no position to assert the existence of exiles from either city. However, it is *a priori* unthinkable that there were not a number of such cases, and as they were a long way from other Greek cities it would not be strange for them to take refuge in a native community.

A situation related to that of the exile, since it makes up the social base from which he may have profited, is the hospitality relationships held between the members of indigenous and Greek elites. A typical example of a Greek inscription in an indigenous context that may be accounted for by the above sort of relation is the erotic declaration, homosexual and heterosexual, in the Achaean alphabet and dialect that was found in Fratte de Salerno. It is written on a vase of Poseidonian manufacture, inscribed before firing, meaning that it was ordered by someone who clearly knew beforehand the aim he wanted the vase to fulfil:

[25] These questions have been previously considered as regards the bibliography on ancient Italy, not only in relation to Greek but also to Etruscan. Just to give a few examples, not exhaustively intended, we can mention E. Campanile, 'La mobilità personale nell'Italia antica', in E. Campanile, ed., *Rapporti linguistici e culturali tra popoli dell'Italia antica* (Pisa, 1991); M. Cristofani, 'Etruschi e genti dell'Italia preromana: alcuni esempi di mobilità in età arcaica', in R. Campanile, ed., *Rapporti linguistici e culturali tra popoli dell'Italia antica*, 111–28.

Ἀπολλόδορος Ξύλλας ἔραται. ϝόλχας ἀπύγυζε Ἀπολλόδορον. Ὀνάτας Νιξο͂ς ἔραται. hύβριχος Παρμύνιος ἤραται.

Apollodorus loves Ksylla. Volchas sodomizes Apollodorus. Onatas loves Nikso. Ybrichos loved Parmynis.[26]

It was ordered by a Greek from Poseidonia for someone who probably lived in Fratte, since that is where the vase was found, who therefore must have been Etruscan or Ausonian, though he/she could obviously read Greek. The intended purpose of the vase, if inferred from the text, would be no doubt the ludic atmosphere of the banquet, a gathering of men joined by various connections, from plain friendship to political alliance. Besides, the kind of vase, a small olpe, without being one of the most significant vases used in the symposium ritual, plays a role important enough not to contradict this hypothesis. But the aristocratic ceremony of the banquet, together with wine, spread through many of the peoples that came in contact with the Greeks. In Italy and Sicily it undoubtedly played an important role in inter-ethnic socializing as a vehicle for hospitality links between the Greeks and non-Greeks. The vase from Fratte is likely to have been used at gatherings where Greeks and non-Greeks, speaking Greek but maybe other languages as well (which judging by the onomastics in the inscription could be Etruscan and a local indigenous language), discussed trivial matters, such as Onatas' love life or Volchas' preferences, but also more serious matters, such as the trade and political contacts which justified a Greek presence in the Ausonian city.

Another typical representative of the expatriate Greek is the specialist, who is in possession of a technique not known to other people and who is thereby able to advantageously price his work, be it intellectual, such as the physician, or manual, like the sculptor or potter. As I have already mentioned, there exist some literary references to this issue, which in the West are specifically related to Demaratus' comrades. There are also a few direct testimonies among which are lines left in the Letoon of Xantos by two Greek "intellectuals" from the beginning of the 6th century to accompany the

[26] A. Pontrandolfo: 1987: 'Un 'iscrizione posidoniate in una tomba di Fratte di Salerno', *Atti di Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 9 (1987) 55–63; R. Arena, *Iscrizioni greche arcaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia IV. Iscrizioni delle colonie achee*, number 33.

epigraphic poems they had written for local dynasts, from which I quote those best preserved:[27]

> Σύμμαχος Εὐμήδεος Πελλανεὺς μάντις ἀ[μύμων]/δῶρον ἔτευξε ἐλεγῆια Ἀρβίναι εὐσυνέ[τω]ς.

As far as Iberia is concerned, we have neither literary references nor explicit testimonies, but we do have a few archaeological finds. Regarding the development of the Iberian sculpture, the experts' current opinion points to a somewhat contradictory situation. There are in Iberia a small number of pieces that seem to be Greek imports, another equally small group of Iberian pieces strongly dependent on Greek art but that hold no specific relation to those few imports; and finally, the bulk of the Iberian sculpture, though having distant Greek roots, shows an independent development looking for ways of expression beyond its remote origins.[28] It is highly significant that all those sculptures are geographically restricted to south-eastern areas, and completely absent in the areas close to Emporion, where some knowledge of Greek models could be expected. The trouble lies in the fact that those few imported pieces do not even explain the few Iberian works close to Greek art. Both these, and the earliest models for the whole of Iberian sculpture, reflect an original knowledge of Greek sculpture by some indigenous artists, no matter how they later evolved getting further away from these models. A possible explanation could be the activity carried out by a very small group of Greek artists among Iberians, for a fairly brief time, but we must acknowledge that the specialists, though not totally rejecting the possibility, mostly feel distrustful about this idea.[29] Thus, this dubious possibility remains open. In contrast, the above mentioned dipinto from Na Guardis is undeniable evidence of the existence of Greek

---

[27] *CEG* 2.888 and 889; vv. cit. 888 18–9.

[28] F. Croissant, P. Rouillard, 'Le problème de l'art "gréco-ibère": état de la question', in R. Olmos, P. Rouillard, ed., *Formes archaïques et arts ibériques*, 56–62; A.J. Domínguez, 'Hellenization in Iberia?: The Reception of Greek Products and Influences by the Iberians', in G.R. Tsetskhladze, ed., *Ancient Greeks. West and East*, 302–5 and 307.

[29] J. Boardman, *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity* (London, 1994), 70; P. León, 'La sculpture' in AAVV, *Les Ibères*, 158, but see e.g. M. Bendala, *Introducción al arte español. La antigüedad* (Madrid, 1990), 103; M. Blech, E. Ruano, 'Zwei iberische Skulpturen aus Ubeda la Vieja (Jaén)', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 33 (1991), 95; Domínguez, 'Hellenization in Iberia', 305.

artisans in non-Greek Spanish territory, even if Ibiza represents an historical sphere very different from the Iberian communities.

There are however some archaeologists who think that the technical developments in Iberian pottery in the 5th century reflect a direct training acquired from Greek artisans.[30] This could be more easily explained by assuming the settlement of Greeks in Iberia instead of the return of hypothetical Iberian potters who, after a stay on Greek soil, came back to their own land with new knowledge and experience. The latter case must not be rejected point-blank however, if we are to take into account the presence of Iberian inscriptions in Emporion to which I have earlier referred and into which I cannot go any further here.

We have already spoken of another Greek character living together with indigenous populations, the merchant, visiting seldom or more frequently but always for short periods of time. Nevertheless, trading must have frequently led to lasting settlements, maybe even permanent ones, when established enough to justify the presence of an agent to gather goods, store them, and facilitate the presence of Greek ships, to reduce the time frame as much as possible. Certainly one need not have a particularly modernist notion of Greek trade to recognize the convenience of such arrangements. The literary sources for Carthaginians living in the Greek cities of Sicily point clearly in this direction, and the lead tablet of Pech Maho might be, as already indicated, illustrative of this.

We could even consider some sort of individual colonization, for example if a small group of Greeks or even just one person obtained formal or tacit permission from an indigenous community to settle in their territory and farm a plot of land. This picture does not match Greeks social habits, but it may have been the case on occasion specifically as a transgression, and rejection of the social frame provided by the *polis*. We should remember though that the literary sources, the only sources that could ensure this, do not seem to provide any positive testimonies.

As we have seen, most of the Iberian inscriptions in the Greek language found outside a Greek context are not specific enough to be freely ascribable to any one of the several situations I have

[30] M. Almagro-Gorbea, 'Colonizzazione e acculturazione nella peninsola Iberica', in *Forme di contatto e processi di transformazione nella società antiche* (Rome, 1983), 429–61.

recounted, but they hint strongly at the fact that these or similar situations existed in Iberia. We could add to them further indications, mostly archaeological in nature, whereby the possible presence of Greek individuals is documented through technical considerations outside my competence, although already referred to. But there is a particularly significant find in an area of Iberian territory, Contestania, roughly corresponding to the province of Alicante: an adaptation of the Ionic alphabet, in order to write the Iberian language,[31] that necessarily points to the existence of bilingual individuals. Therefore, as creators of the script or linguistic instructors of the indigenous population, we must believe in the presence of Greeks living in the southeast, far away from Emporion,[32] since this kind of epigraphy has not been found in other parts of Iberia.

However, there is a caveat about the Greek-Iberian alphabet and those archaeological finds pointing to the presence of Greeks in Iberian territory. In between an autonomous Greek community, such as Emporion, and the Greek man settled in an indigenous community, on his own or as part of a minority lacking a defined group identity, there is an intermediate situation—that of groups of metics settled in indigenous territory, either mixed with the native population or in their own neighbourhoods, or even in a small separate settlement, dependent but large enough to constitute a semipolitical entity. The possibility of this situation arises in Iberia with particular urgency due to a number of facts from ancient sources about allegedly Greek factories south of Emporion. To this I have referred in relation to the Santa Pola site, and even though there is no archaeological confirmation to date of these factories, the literary testimonies cannot be simply set aside without further consideration. Be that as it may, none of the inscriptions we have been regarding can come from one of those factories.

[31] J. de Hoz, 'La escritura greco-ibérica', *Actas del IV Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas paleohispánicas*, 285–98.

[32] C.1.9a from Emporion is the only Iberian inscription in Greek alphabet outside the southeast.

Bibliography

AAVV, *Les Ibères*, Paris: AFAA, 1997

Actas del IV Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas paleohispánicas (*Studia Paleohispanica, Veleia 2–3*) Vitoria/Gasteiz, 1987

Actas del V Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas prerromanas de la Península Ibérica, Colonia 1989. (*Lengua y cultura en la Hispania prerromana*). Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1993

Almagro-Gorbea, M. 'La "colonización" focense en la Península Ibérica', *I Focei*, 1982, 432–44

——. 'Colonizzazione e acculturazione nella peninsola Iberica', in *Forme di contatto e processi di transformazione nella società antiche*. Rome: École Française de Rome, 1983, 429–61

Aranegui, C., Jodin, A., Llobregat, E., Rouillard, P., Uroz, J. *La nécropole ibérique de Cabezo Lucero (Guardaamar del Segura, Alicante)*. Madrid-Alicante: Casa de Velázquez Alicante, 1993

Arena, R. *Iscrizioni greche arcaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia IV. Iscrizioni delle colonie achee.* Alessandria: dell'Orso, 1996

Badie, A. 'Métrologie et organisation modulaire de l'espace au V^e siècle av. J.-C. sur le site ibérique de La Picola (Santa Pola, Alicante)', *Pallas* 46 (1997) 31–46

——, Gailledrat, É., Moret, P., Rouillard, P., Sánchez, M.J., Sillières, P. *Le site antique de La Picola à Santa Pola (Alicante, Espagne)*. Paris-Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2000

Bendala, M. *Introducción al arte español. La antigüedad*. Madrid, 1990

Bernabeu, J., Bonet, H., Mata, C. 'Hipótesis sobre la organización del territorio edetano en época ibérica plena: el ejemplo del territorio de Edeta/Lliria', *Iberos* (1987) 137–56

Blech, M., Ruano, E. 'Zwei iberische Skulpturen aus Ubeda la Vieja (Jaén)', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 33 (1991) 70–101

Boardman, J. *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1994

Bonet, H. and Mata, C. *El poblado ibérico del Puntal dels Llops (El Colmenar) (Olocau, Valencia)*. Valencia: Servicio de Investigación Prehistórica, 1981

——. *El Tossal de Sant Miquel de Llíria. La antigua Edeta y su territorio*. Valencia: Servicio de Investigación Prehistórica, 1995

Brixhe, C., ed., *La koiné grecque antique* II. *La concurrence*. Nancy: De Boccard, 1996

Cabrera, P., Olmos R., Sanmartí, E. ed. *Iberos y griegos: lecturas desde la diversidad* I–II. Huelva: 1994 (= *Huelva arqueológica* 13)

Campanile, E. 'La mobilità personale nell'Italia antica', in E. Campanile, ed., *Rapporti linguistici e culturali tra popoli dell'Italia antica*. Pisa: Giardini, 1991

Celestino, S., ed. *Arqueología del vino. Los origenes del vino en occidente*. Jerez de la Frontera: Consejo Regulador de las Denominaciones de Origen Jerez-Xeres-Sherry y Manzanilla Sanlucar de Barramed, 1995

Consani, C. 'Koinai et koiné dans la documentation épigraphique de l'Italie meridionale', in C. Brixhe, ed. *La koiné grecque antique* II. *La concurrence*. Nancy: De Boccard, 1996, 113–32

Cristofani, M. 'Etruschi e genti dell'Italia preromana: alcuni esempi di mobilità in età arcaica', in R. Campanile, ed., *Rapporti linguistici e culturali tra popoli dell'Italia antica*, 111–28

——. 'Nuove iscrizioni "paleoosche"', *Indogermanica et Italica. Festschrift für Helmut Rix zum 65. Geburtstag*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1993, 69–75

——. 'Sulle più antiche iscrizioni italiche della Campania', in *La presenza etrusca*. 1994, 379–86

Croissant, F., Rouillard, P. 'Le problème de l'art 'gréco-ibère': état de la question', in R. Olmos, P. Rouillard, ed., *Formes archaïques et arts ibériques*, 55–66
de Hoz, J. 'Un grafito griego de Toscanos y la exportación de aceite ateniense en el siglo VII', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 11 (1970) 102–9
——. 'La epigrafía del Sec y los grafitos mercantiles en Occidente', in A. Arribas, M.G. Trías, D. Cerdá, J. de Hoz, *El barco de El Sec*. Mallorca: Graficas Miramar, 1987, 605–50
——. 'La escritura greco-ibérica', *Actas del IV Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas paleo-hispánicas*, 285–98
——. 'La epigrafía focea vista desde el extremo occidente', *Actas del VII Congreso español de estudios clásicos (Madrid, 1987)*. Madrid, 1989, 179–87
——. 'Graffiti', *Dictionaire de la Civilisation Phénicienne et Punique*, 1992, 195–6
——. 'Les graffites mercantiles en Occident et l'épave d'El Sec', *Grecs et ibères au IVe siècle avant Jésus-Christ*, 117–30
——. 'Apéndice: El grafito griego de Guadalhorce', in P. Cabrera, R. Olmos, E. Sanmartí, ed., *Iberos y griegos: lecturas desde la diversidad* I–II, 122–5
——. 'La lengua y la escritura ibéricas, y las lenguas de los íberos', *Actas del V Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas prerromanas de la Península Ibérica*, 635–66
——. 'Griegos e íberos. Testimonios epigráficos de una cooperación mercantil', in P. Cabrera, R. Olmos, E. Sanmartí, ed., *Iberos y griegos: lecturas desde la diversidad* II, 243–71
——. 'Ensayo sobre la epigrafía griega de la Península Ibérica', *Veleia* 12 (1995) 151–79
——. 'Los negocios del señor Heronoiyos. Un documento mercantil, jonio clásico temprano, del Sur de Francia', in J.A. López Férez, ed., *Desde los poemas homéricos hasta la prosa griega del siglo IV d.C.* Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 1999
de Hoz, M.P. 'Epigrafía griega en Hispania', *Epigraphica* 69 (1997) 29–96 [= EGH]
Domínguez, A.J. 'Hellenisation in Iberia?: The Reception of Greek Products and Influences by the Iberians', in G.R. Tsetskhladze, ed., *Ancient Greeks. West and East.* Leiden: Brill, 1999, 301–329
Dubois, L. *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Grande Grèce.* Geneva: Droz, 1995
Fernández Jurado, J., Olmos, R. 'Una inscripción jonia arcaica en Huelva', *Lucentum* 4 (1985) 107–113
Forme di contatto e processi di transformazione nella società antiche. Pisa and Rome: École Française de Rome, 1983
Gastaldi, P., Maetzke, G., ed., *La presenza etrusca nella Campania meridionale. Atti delle giornate di studio Salerno-Pontecagnano 1990.* Firenze: Olschki, 1994
Greco, E. *La Grande-Grèce. Histoire et archéologie*, Paris, 1996 (= *Archeologia della Magna Grecia*, Roma-Bari, 1992)
Hansen, P.A. *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca saeculi IV a. Chr. n.* Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter, 1989
Lejeune, M., Pouilloux, J., Solier, Y. 'Étrusque et ionien archaïques sur un plomb de Pech Maho (Aude)', *Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise* 21 (1988) 19–59
Lejeune, M. 'Ambiguïtés du texte de Pech-Maho', *Revue des Études Grecques* 104 (1991) 311–29
León, P. 'La sculpture', in *Les Ibères*, 153–69
Marinetti, A., Prosdocimi, A.L. 'Lingue e scritture dei popoli indigeni (Lucani, Brettii, Enotri)', in G. Pugliese Carratelli, ed., *Magna Grecia. vita religiosa e cultura letteraria, filosofica e scientifica.* Milan: Electa, 1987, 29–54
Moret, P., Badie, A. 'Metrología y arquitectura modular en el puerto de La Picola (Santa Pola, Alicante) al final del siglo V a.C.', *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 71 (1998) 53–61
Olmos, R., Rouillard, P. ed., *Formes archaïques et arts ibériques.* Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1996

——, Sánchez, C. 'Usos e ideología del vino en las imágenes de la Hispania prerromana', in S. Celestino, ed., *Arqueología del vino*, 104–36
Pontrandolfo, A. *I Lucani. Etnografia e archeologia di una regione antica*. Milano: Longanesi, 1982
——. 'Un'iscrizione posidoniate in una tomba di Fratte di Salerno', *Atti di Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 9 (1987) 55–63
Pugliese Carratelli, G., ed. *Magna Grecia* 4 vols. Milan: Electa, 1988
Rouillard, P., Villanueva-Puig, M.-C. *Grecs et ibères au IV^e siècle avant Jésus-Christ*. Paris: Boccard, 1987
Rouillard, P. *Les Grecs et la Péninsule Ibérique du VIII^e siècle au IV^e siècle avant Jésus-Christ*. Paris: De Boccard, 1991
Ruiz A., Molinos, M., ed., *Actas de las I Jornadas sobre el Mundo Ibérico. Jaén, 1985*. Jaén, 1987
Santoro, C. *Nuovi Studi Messapici* I–II. Galatina: Congedo editore, 1982–83
Tsetskhladze, G.R., ed. *Ancient Greeks. West and East*. Leiden: Brill, 1999
Untermann, J. *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* III. Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1990 [= MLH]

This page intentionally left blank

GREEK IDENTITY IN THE PHOCAEAN COLONIES

Adolfo J. Domínguez
Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

1. *Introduction*

While studies dealing with problems of identity in the Greek world have been especially abundant in recent times, their application to the field of the Greek colonial world is particularly relevant. In fact, while within the framework of the Greek polis in Greece proper, the cities used several mechanisms to stress the differences that separated them from the neighbouring cities, between themselves and other Greeks, in the colonial world the comparison is mainly between Greeks and non-Greeks.[1]

Every new colony may have played a decisive role defining its own identity, both in comparison with its mother city, the rest of the Greek world and with its non-Greek neighbours. However, it is also possible that the colonies that came from the same mother city may have shared some common or similar standards when they developed their own identities. It also seems clear, at least from a theoretical point of view, that the relationships that developed between the different colonies founded by the same metropolis may have played an important role in that process of defining identities. Thus I believe it is perfectly legitimate to outline as a case study the elaboration and development of colonial and ethnic identities in the Phocaean case. If ethnic identity may be defined as 'the operation of socially dynamic relationships which are constructed on the basis of a putative shared ancestral heritage' (Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, 16), when this ancestral heritage is not putative but true, as in the case of the cities founded by the same mother-city, we have an interesting case study before us.

[1] See *e.g.* C. Morgan, 'The Archaeology of Ethnicity in the colonial world of the eighth to sixth centuries B.C.: approaches and prospects' in *Confini e Frontiera nella Grecità d'Occidente* (Naples, 1999), 85.

2. *Phocaean Colonisation*

With the exception of the early Phocaean foundation of Lampsacus in the Propontis (654 B.C.), and the presence of traders and official representatives of the city of Phocaea in the Egyptian emporion at Naukratis (Hdt. 2.178), the colonial and commercial activities of the Phocaeans seem to have been restricted to the Western Mediterranean. Within this region, the Phocaeans were active over a wide area, but one which was relatively homogeneous from a commercial point of view. It comprised Tyrrhenian Italy, southern Gaul and the coasts of the Iberian Peninsula. After the fall of Phocaea, refugees from the city also founded the city of Elea on the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy.[2]

Phocaean activity in the West was characterised by the establishment of close and fruitful relationships with the natives living in the territories in which the Greeks were interested. This was a consequence of the Phocaean activity from at least the later 7th century and during the first part of the 6th century. The main objective was to establish *emporia* which served both as points of support for their ships and as places where the raw materials traded with the natives of the surrounding areas could be concentrated.[3]

The main focus of the Phocaean activity during the first half of the 6th century was undoubtedly Tartessos. In this enterprise, centred on draining the important metallurgical resources from the south-western regions of the Iberian Peninsula, the Phocaeans adopted a policy of establishing good relations and developing friendship with the indigenous authorities.

Herodotus informs us in detail of the close relations established between the Phocaeans and Arganthonius. Twice in the same passage Herodotus emphasises that they had earned the friendship of that Tartessian king (*prosphilees*) (Hdt. 1.163). The counterpart of this friendship (*philia*) had two main consequences: in the first place, the Tartessian king offered the Phocaeans the possibility of moving their city to anywhere they wished within the territory he controlled and,

---

[2] Hdt. 1.167, A.J. Domínguez, 'Focea y sus colonias: a propósito de un reciente coloquio', *Gerión* 3 (1985) 357–77; J.P. Morel, 'Les Phocéens dans la mer Tyrrhénienne' in T. Hackens, ed., *Navies and Commerce of the Greeks, the Carthaginians and the Etruscans in the Tyrrhenian Sea* (Strasbourg, 1988), 429–455.

[3] E. Lepore 'Strutture della colonizzazione focea in Occidente', *PP* 25 (1970) 20–54.

when the Greeks turned down this offer, he gave them money to build a city-wall in Phocaea. The recent excavations carried out in Phocaea have shown, in fact, that the city must have been very prosperous, at least between 590 and 580 B.C., to build an impressive wall five km. in perimeter and it is tempting to relate the construction of that wall to the wealth (*chremata*) given to the Phocaeans by Arganthonius.[4] If we prefer to give this episode a more historical reading, we could say that, thanks to the profits from the Phocaeans' trade with Tartessos, and as a result of the friendship with the local ruler, the Phocaeans obtained enough income to build that great public work.

However, the city wall, mentioned by Herodotus and confirmed by archaeological excavation, is no more, strictly speaking, than an outcome of the relationship between the Phocaeans and the Tartessian king; a relationship which is interpreted as a true *philia*, which possibly took the form of some treaty or agreement sanctioned by the Gods, as was the rule in Greek practice. Naturally we do not know if such an agreement actually existed, and these practices are not well attested for the 6th century. However, the well-known treaty between Sybaris and the Serdaioi, a copy of which was kept in the sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia (Meiggs-Lewis, 10), shows what such a treaty between Greek cities and non-Greek entities may have been like.[5] The treaty in question was intended to consecrate a friendship (*epi philotati*), that had to be faithful and without guile (*pistai k'adoloi*) as well as everlasting (*aeidion*). What was given in return for that friendship is not stated in the treaty, but it doubtless had to benefit both partners in political terms as well as economically.

In my opinion, the friendship between the Phocaeans and the king Arganthonius could have taken a similar form and Herodotus informs us of some of its principal consequences, namely the economic benefits for the Ionian polis already mentioned. It is difficult to know what the benefits might have been for Arganthonius,[6] although we cannot rule out the possibility that the new trade offered by the Phocaeans,

---

[4] O. Ozyigit, 'The City Walls of Phokaia', *REA* 96 (1994) 77–109.

[5] E. Greco, 'Serdaioi', *AION* 12 (1990) 39–57; M. Giangiulio, 'La *philotes* tra Sibariti e Serdaioi (Meiggs-Lewis, 10)', *ZPE* 93 (1992) 31–44.

[6] R. Olmos, 'Los griegos en Tartessos: una nueva contrastación entre las fuentes arqueológicas y las literarias' in *Tartessos. Arqueología Protohistórica del Bajo Guadalquivir* (Barcelona, 1989), 495–521.

in conjunction with the Phoenicians, may have been very attractive for the Tartessian king. In any case, we must not forget that exchanging gifts was an intrinsic part of any relationship involving *philia*.[7]

If we quickly analyse other more or less contemporary examples of Phocaean foundations, we will see that the behaviour of the Phocaeans in Tartessos must have been the norm rather than the exception. Among the various traditions preserved on the foundation of Massalia, those told by Aristotle (Frag. 549 Rose) and Justin (43.3.4), although with some minor differences, seem to relate to the time of the first Greek colony and they share common features with the story of the relationship between the Phocaeans and king Arganthonius.

It is true, of course, that the differences between the two stories (Aristotle's and Justin's) are a consequence of the different interpretations by the Massaliote themselves of how their city was founded, and it is also reasonable to doubt the novelistic aspects of the tale. However, both stories stress the friendship (*philia*, *amicitia*) between the Phocaean chief and the native king and the subsequent hospitality (*xenia*, *hospitium*) they offered each other as a preliminary step before the local king offered land to the Greeks. If we forget the most novelistic details of the tale, the mechanisms adopted in the Massaliote case seem very akin to those already considered in the Tartessian case, including the offer of land for the colony. The main difference is that in the Tartessian case the offer of land is not accepted by the Phocaeans, while in the Massaliote case it is accepted. However, maybe the difference is perhaps not so great if we recognise that for much of the first half of the 6th century B.C. the Greek presence in Tartessos was not very different from that in Massalia.

The tradition of the foundation of the first Phocaean colony, Lampsacus, has many features in common with the Massaliote one (Plut., *Mor.* 255 A–E), partly due to the application of the same procedures and partly because the Lampsacenes re-worked their foundation story to make it more like the account of the Massaliote foundation.[8] Also, in Justin's account of the foundation of Massalia we find references to the establishment of friendship (*amicitia*) between the Phocaeans and king Tarquinius of Rome (Justin, 43.3.4). This story might be

[7] G. Herman, *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City* (Cambridge, 1987), 34–40.

[8] A.J. Domínguez, 'Lámpsace (Mul. Virt. 18 = Mor. 255 A–E), Lámpsaco y Masalia' in *Plutarco y la Historia. Actas del V Simposio Español sobre Plutarco* (Zaragoza, 1997), 145–60.

propaganda in order to explain the traditional friendship between Rome and Massalia;[9] however, the well-attested relationship between the Roman cult to Diana in the Aventine and the Massaliote cult of Artemis Ephesia seem to suggest ancient connections between the two cities.[10]

Through the examples considered so far, it seems that a distinctive feature of Phocaean behaviour was to found colonies that were very closely related with the indigenous environment. They were not, at least to begin with, really cities but rather *emporia* or trading posts for pursuing basically commercial activities. Nevertheless, and though each case was probably different, these *emporia* imply the existence of Greek communities that lived permanently in indigenous territory, perhaps enjoying some internal autonomy. A similar trend may be also observed in other Ionian enterprises, such as the beginning of the Milesian presence in northern Black Sea region.[11]

Herodotus' text concerning the relationship between the Phocaeans and Arganthonius seems to allude to the initial contact, and it does not give many details of the development of those contacts. The only additional information provided by Herodotus relates to the fall of Phocaea into Persian hands, when he says that, by that time, Arganthonius was already dead (Hdt. 1.165). The 'death' of the long-lived king serves to explain why the Phocaeans could not establish themselves in Tartessos and had to migrate to Alalia. In a certain way, these circumstances can be related to the changing situation in the environment of Massalia, when king Nannus, a friend of the Greeks, was succeeded by his son, who distrusted them and was prepared to betray them (Justin 43.4). In the same way, Herodotus' reference to Arganthonius's death suggests that the relationship between the Phocaeans and the Tartessians was maintained during the lifetime of that king.

Another place that has, in recent times, also provided new information about the relations between the Phocaeans and the natives is Emporion. Here too local traditions explained Greek presence and

---

[9] N.J. De Witt, 'Massalia and Rome', *TAPA* 71 (1940), 605–15; G. Nenci, 'Le relazioni con Marsiglia nella politica estera romana (dalle origini a alla prima guerra punica)', *Rivista di Studi Liguri* 24 (1958) 24–97.

[10] C. Ampolo, 'L'Artemide di Marsiglia e la Diana dell'Aventino', *PP* 25 (1970) 200–10; M. Gras, 'Le temple de Diane sur l'Aventin', *RÉA* 89 (1987) 47–61.

[11] See most recently S.L. Solovyov, *Ancient Berezan. The Architecture, History and Culture of the First Greek Colony in the Northern Black Sea* (Leiden, 1999), 58–63.

settlement to some extent, in terms of their relations with the natives. Even in the first century B.C. the Emporitans knew that the first inhabitants of their city had settled in what was then the island of San Martin of Ampurias, which constituted what they knew as Palaia Polis, before they moved to the mainland (Strabo *Geog.* 3.4.8). Some old excavations had already suggested that this first colony on the island was established in close connection with the native village there located.[12] The most recent excavations have confirmed this, and they show that the native village began to import Greek goods from the early 6th century onwards as a preliminary step before the establishment of the first Greek settlement in the first half of that century. Some remains of houses of that first Greek colony have been discovered, and also a pottery kiln in which monochrome grey pottery was manufactured. Anyway, there seems to have been a strong native presence in the settlement, as the high proportion of hand-made pottery and later on Iberian wheel-made pottery would show. From 540 B.C., when the settlement appears to have begun on the mainland, the Greek village on the island seems to have been abandoned only to be fully resettled by the natives.[13]

The case of Alalia, in spite of the fact that little is known about the Phocaean period, seems to suggest that the Phocaean colony founded in 565 B.C. was established near to or actually in the native village, remains of which have been detected.[14] In other cases, as in the emporion at Gravisca (to say nothing of Naukratis), it was the local authorities that retained control of the place frequented by the Phocaean traders.[15] The only case of a Phocaean foundation where no remains of indigenous presence had been detected, is Elea, although

[12] E. Sanmartí, 'Les influences méditerranéennes au Nord-Est de la Catalogne à l'époque archaïque et la réponse indigène', *PP* 37 (1982) 281–303; A.J. Domínguez, 'De nuevo sobre la estela funeraria de Ampurias' in *Actas del V Congreso Internacional de Estelas Funerarias* (Soria, 1994), 39–40.

[13] X. Aquilué *et al.*, 'Nuevos datos sobre la fundación de Emporion' in Cabrera and Sánchez (ed.), *Los griegos en España. Tras las huellas de Heracles* (Madrid, 2000), 89–105.

[14] J. and L. Jehasse, 'Alalia/Aléria apres la "victoire a la cadméenne"', *PP* 37 (1982) 247–255; J. and L. Jehasse, 'La société corse face a l'expansion phocéenne', *Huelva Arqueológica* 13.2 (1994) 310–12; A.J. Domínguez, 'El enfrentamiento etrusco-foceo en Alalia y su repercusión en el comercio con la Península Ibérica' in *La presencia de material etrusco en la Península Ibérica* (Barcelona, 1991), 239–73.

[15] M. Torelli, 'Per la definizione del commercio greco-orientale: il caso di Gravisca', *PP* 37 (1982) 304–25.

recent research is beginning to change this panorama.[16] This 'anomaly' can be mostly explained by the fact that it was founded by Phocaeans fleeing from their native city, accompanied by their women and children.[17]

3. *Greek identity in the Phocaean colonies*

Before continuing the analysis of the Phocaean colonies, we will say some words about the city of Phocaea. It seems clear that there are two main sets of traditions related to the foundation of the city; on the one hand, the one that regards the city as purely Ionian, a tradition already known by Herodotus (1.142; 1.147). According to him, the members of the Codrid family, already involved in the foundation of Lampsacus (Charon, *FGrHist* 262 F 7a), were responsible for founding the city. This entirely Ionian character also appears clearly attested in Strabo, as does the Codrid genealogy of its founder, Philogenes (Strabo, *Geog.* 14.1.3).

On the other hand, Pausanias gives a different story. According to him, the Athenians Philogenes and Damon drove people from Phokis to the future city, and obtained the territory from Aeolian Cyme as the result of an agreement with them. However, in Pausanias' story the two founders were not Codrids, and as long as Phocaea refused to accept kings of Codrid descent who came from Teos and Erythrae, it was not allowed to become a member of the Panionium (Paus. 7.3.10). The story told by Pausanias is considerably amplified in a fragment by Nicolaus of Damascus. According to this author, who possibly took this information from an ancient epic poem, *De Phocaide*,[18] when the founding host, made up of people from Phokis, Ionians and Peloponnesians, arrived at the site of the future city, they occupied a territory which was under the control of Cyme. Vatias, the brother of the ruler of Cyme (described as a tyrant), made an agreement of friendship and mutual marriages (*philia kai*

[16] V. Gassner 'Oinotrer in Elea?' in *Altmodische Archäologie. Festschrift für Friedrich Brein. Forum Archaeologiae* 14.3 (2000).

[17] Hdt. 1.166, Morel, 'Les Phocéens dans la mer Tyrrhénienne', 15–6.

[18] F. Cassola, 'De Phocaide carmine, quod Homero tribui solet, commentatio', *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 26 (1952), 141–48.

epigamia) with the newcomers, who in turn helped him to depose to the tyrant. Once the tyrant had been deposed and stoned, Vatias, the new king of Cyme, confirmed the agreements with the Phocaeans, who were given the territory (Nic. Dam., *FGrHist* 90 F 51).[19]

Although highly conjectural, Roebuck may have been right when he suggested that Phocaea and other cities joined the Ionian League as a result of Ionian cities conquering cities in Aeolis that had perhaps also absorbed indigenous elements.[20] In any event, both archaeologically and linguistically,[21] Phocaea seems to have been a city with a complex ethnic composition and she developed different identities in the course of time: initially, she developed the idea of a close relations with the Aeolian world, perhaps a natural ally in the face of the threat from the southern Ionian cities. Later, when she was forced to join the Ionian League, she represented herself as a city with an important Ionian component originating from Greece proper although she lacked only one detail to be a truly Ionian city: kings of Codrid descent. Finally, she would accept that Codrid origin, and the previous traditions would give way to the dominant one. The presence of Codrids when Lampsacus was founded (654 B.C.) suggests that by that time Phocaea had already acquired her new Ionian identity, although the Aeolian inheritance would be undeniable both in the city and in her first colonies. Phocaea stands, therefore, as a city in which the socially constructed character of ethnicity is shown through the shift from a set of legends and traditions into another.[22]

The centres of the Phocaean presence in the Western Mediterranean emerged as a consequence of careful planning on the part of the mother city, and they were founded by reproducing, to some extent, the mechanisms that had supposedly permitted the foundation of Phocaea herself. We can undoubtedly still see the *philia* in the agreements between the Phocaeans and Arganthonius that permitted a stable Phocaean presence in the Tartessian *emporion* at Huelva, and

---

[19] R. Pierobon-Benoit, 'Focea e il mare' in *Sur les pas des Grecs en Occident. Hommages à André Nickels* (Paris, 1995), 403–18.

[20] C. Roebuck, 'The Early Ionian League', *CP* 50 (1955) 31, 36; *Id.* 'Tribal organization in Ionia', *TAPA* 92 (1961) 500–503.

[21] E. Akurgal, 'Les fouilles de Phocée et les sondages de Kymé', *Anatolia* 1 (1956) 9–11; R.M. Cook and P. Dupont, *East Greek Pottery* (London, 1998), 135–36, R.A. Santiago, 'Epigrafía dialectal emporitana' in *Dialectologica Graeca. Actas del II Coloquio Internacional de Dialectología Griega* (Madrid, 1993), 281–94.

[22] Hall, *Ethnic identity*, 19.

in the agreement that made the foundation of Massalia possible. In the same way, the *epigamia* between the Greeks and the natives remains implicit in this same case, through the marriage of the Greek founder with the daughter of the indigenous king, producing an important *genos* of Massalia. Furthermore, both in Emporion and, to a lesser extent, in Alalia, a strong native presence must be accepted, at least in the first phases of both colonies. In the case of Emporion that presence would continue, while the (most part of the) Greeks disappeared in Alalia after the battle of the Sardonian Sea.

The western Phocaean cities, consequently, affirmed their ethnicity in two ways. On the one hand, the indigenous presence was important within as well as around these centres but, on the other hand, those centres always retained a clear awareness of their Greek identity. It was a balance that was not always easy.

It is a well known fact that, with a few exceptions, no cemeteries of the Phocaean settlements or those of the city of Phocaea have been found. Thus, all we have for Massalia are some tombs from the classical period and the excellent funerary monuments located by the eastern gate of the city, close to the 'horn of the harbour', dated to the 4th century B.C.[23] In other places, like Elea, no cemeteries have been found, and in Alalia the cemetery that has been excavated dates to the period after the Phocaeans were expelled.[24] Only in Emporion are the archaic and classical cemeteries relatively well known, so we will consider them in some detail.[25]

A detailed analysis of some of these necropoleis in Emporion enables us to determine the ethnic origin of some of the tombs more precisely. I am aware, of course, of the fact that 'the relationship between material culture styles and the expression of ethnicity may

---

[23] M. Moliner, 'Les nécropoles' in A. Hesnard *et al., Parcours de villes. Marseille: 10 ans d'archéologie, 2600 ans d'histoire* (Marseille, 1999), 107–113, 120–122; *Id.* 'Nécropoles et rites funéraires' in A. Hermary *et al., Marseille Grecque 600–49 av. J.-C. La cité phocéenne* (Paris, 1999), 80–85, G. Bertucchi, 'Nécropolis et terrasses funéraires à l'époque grecque. Bilan sommaire des recherches' in M. Bats, ed., *Marseille Grecque et la Gaule* (Aix-en-Provence, 1992), 123–37.

[24] J and L. Jehasse, *La nécropole préromaine d'Aléria. (1960–1968)* (Paris, 1973).

[25] M. Almagro *Las necrópolis de Ampurias. I. Introducción y necrópolis griegas* (Barcelona, 1953); Fernández, 'Las necropolis griegas de Ampurias' in Presedo, *et al.* (ed.) *XAIPE.* II 1997, 72–84; E. Gailledrat, 'Grecs et Ibères dans la nécropole d'Ampurias (VI^{e}–II^{e} siècles av. J.-C.)', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 31 (1995) 31–54; E. Sanmartí 'La "Tumba Cazurro" de la necrópolis emporitana de 'El Portitxol' y algunos apuntes de la economía de Emporion en el siglo V a.C.', *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 69 (1996) 17–36.

be constantly shifting according to time and place' (Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 122) but while we can trace certain rites and artifacts well before Greek presence, others seem clearly imported and related to that same Greek presence. Thus, for example, in the so-called Marti cemetery, with tombs dating mainly from 400 to 300 B.C.,[26] close to the Greek burials we find a series of cremation tombs which seem to be clearly indigenous through comparison with tombs known in other native sites in the vicinity. This is not the place to make close comparisons between all the tombs, but we can make some observations. The tombs of this cemetery do not display great wealth, but we can isolate a small group of them characterised by including Attic squat-lekythoi among their grave-goods. They can be dated to between the mid-4th century and the last quarter of the same century. The tombs considered are the burials Marti 23, 90 103 and the cremations Marti 20 and 29.[27] Besides the important differences marked by their different funerary rituals, the extremely simple grave-goods are very similar. It can be observed that there are iron nails in one of the burials (no. 90), no doubt from the coffin, while in one of the cremations (no. 20) there is a cinerary urn in the indigenous tradition. These are clearly two different ways of expressing their identity but, apart from this, we can observe a progressive homogeneity in the grave-goods. Naturally, this trend cannot be observed in all the cases.

If we consider another Emporitan cemetery, the so-called Bonjoan, active mainly between 525 and 475 B.C.,[28] we can see that in inhumation tombs dated once again to the 6th century and first quarter of the 5th century, the grave goods consist, basically, of one or more lekythoi, occasionally accompanied by some vitreous paste recipients and some other objects (tombs Bonjoan nos. 23, 38, 43, 44, 48, 55, 57, 69)[29] (Fig. 1). They are burial tombs and are thus clearly those of the population of Greek origin. A certain level of wealth is suggested by the presence of silver and gold rings in some tombs, as well as in the repetition of vases of the same shape (5 Attic lekythoi in Bonjoan 43, 6 Attic lekythoi in Bonjoan 44, 3 Attic lekythoi in

---

[26] Almagro, *Las necrópolis de Ampurias. I*, 27–127; J. Barbera, 'Límites cronológicos de la influencia helénica en Ampurias, a través de los ajuares de sus necrópolis' in *Simposio de Colonizaciones* (Barcelona, 1974), 61.

[27] Almagro, *Las necrópolis de Ampurias. I*, 59, 90, 96–97, 123–24, 126.

[28] Barbera, 'Límites cronológicos de la influencia helénica', 61.

[29] Almagro, *Las necrópolis de Ampurias. I*, 164–66, 176–77, 178–83, 183–86, 188–89, 193–96, 197–98, 202–209.

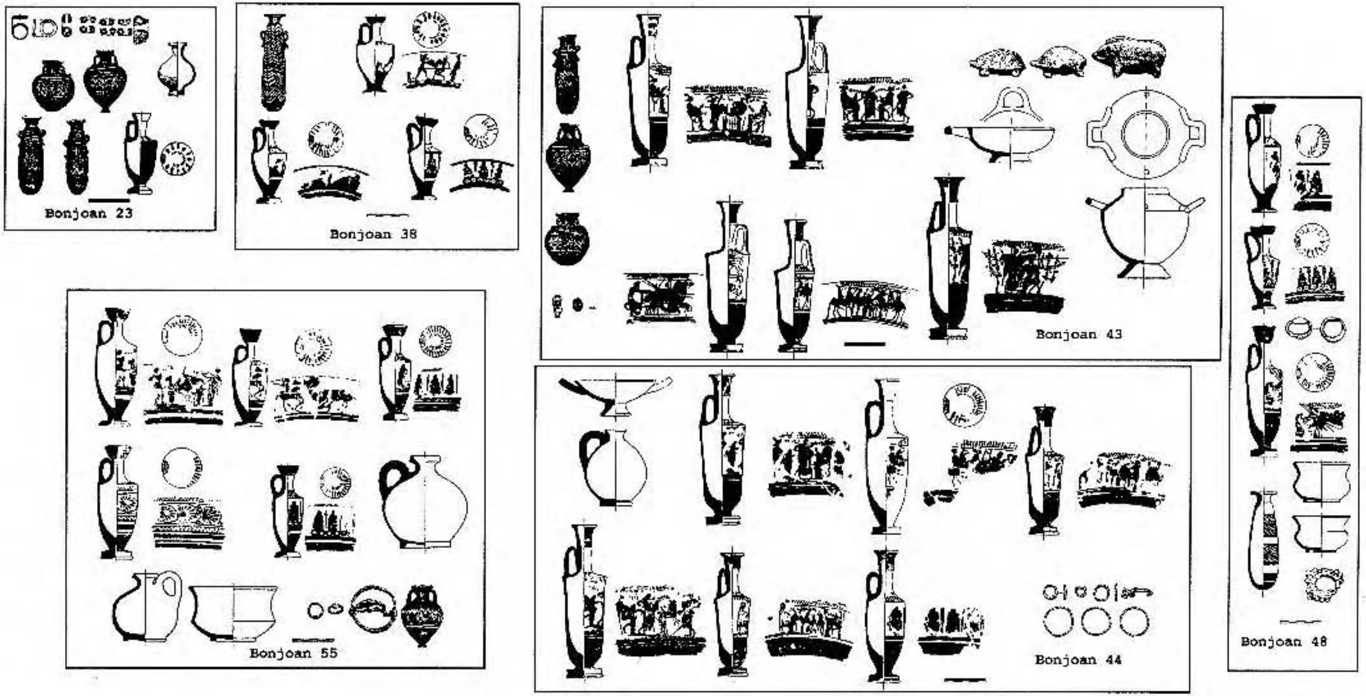


Fig. 1: Grave goods of the tombs nos. 23, 38, 43, 44, 48 and 55 of the necropolis Bonjoan, at Emporion. Last quarter of the 6th–first quarter of the 5th century B.C.

Bonjoan 48, 5 Attic lekythoi in Bonjoan 55 and 4 Attic oinochoai in Bonjoan 69). The great number of black-figure lekythoi of the Haimon Group so far known as found at Emporion (about 96), and dated to the first half of the 5th century, let to suggest that this vase might act as a marker of the 'social identity' of the individuals of Greek origin.[30]

Bonjoan is clearly an earlier cemetery than the Marti cemetery, which seems to show a major trend towards the standardisation of grave-goods, irrespective of whether the tombs were 'Greek' or 'native'. In the Bonjoan cemetery there is still a tendency towards the accumulation of objects in the tomb, though largely associated with perfumes. However, in tomb Bonjoan 69, most of the vases found are associated with drinking (2 miniature skyphoi, 1 cup, 1 skyphos, 2 amphorae and 4 oinochoai).

Regrettably, we cannot closely compare the panorama exhibited by the late 6th century and first quarter of the 5th century Greek tombs with the contemporary situation of the indigenous tombs, since there is no exact chronological coincidence among them. On the one hand, we have the so-called Parralli cemetery, which seems to correspond to a period before the Greeks arrived in Emporion, though some surface finds suggest that the last burials in it are contemporary with the arrival of the Greeks.[31] On the other hand, the cemetery located by the Northeastern Wall of the Roman city seems to be somewhat earlier than the Bonjoan cemetery, though perhaps the last tombs of the former might be contemporary with the first tombs of the latter. It is generally considered to be an indigenous cemetery[32] (Fig. 2).

The types of objects present in the Northeastern Wall cemetery are markedly different from those customarily found in contemporary and later Greek tombs. If fact, together with Greek pottery, both Attic and locally manufactured, weapons (spears, helmets, cuirass) are quite frequently found, as well as hand-made pottery. These grave-goods link this cemetery to contemporary and earlier ceme-

---

[30] On the concept of 'social identity', Hall, *Ethnic identity*, 30.

[31] Almagro, *Las necrópolis de Ampurias. II. Necrópolis romanas y necrópolis indígenas* (Barcelona, 1955), 337–56, Sanmartí, 'Les influences méditerranéennes au Nord-Est de la Catalogne', 291–92.

[32] Almagro, *Las necrópolis de Ampurias. II.*, 377–99; Sanmartí, 'Els íbers a Emporion (segles VI–III a.C.)', *Laietania* 8 (1993) 89.

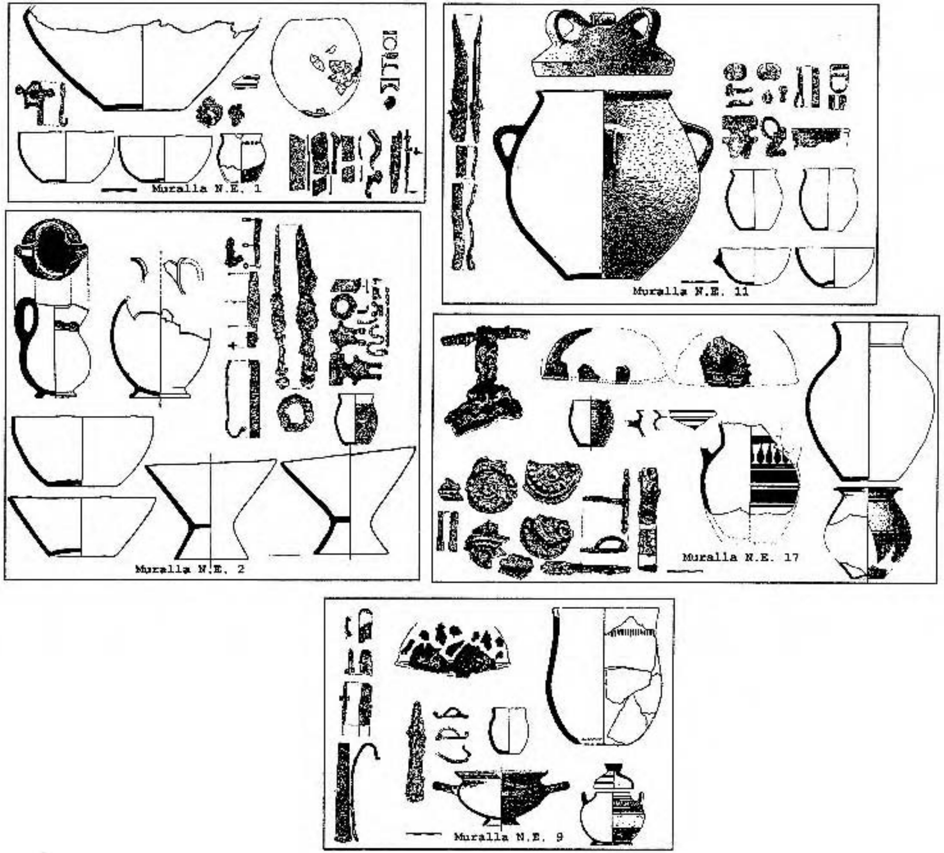


Fig. 2: Grave goods of the tombs nos. 1, 2, 9, 11 and 17 of the necropolis of the Northeastern Wall, at Emporion. Last quarter of the 6th century B.C.

teries in the North East of the Iberian Peninsula. One of the features that differentiates this cemetery from other cemeteries in this cultural area is the major presence of imported goods,[33] because of its proximity to the Greek centre at Emporion.

Perhaps also linked to the indigenous funerary world around Emporion, a stone grave-marker dated to the third quarter of the 6th century can also be mentioned. It bears some images whose meaning is not very clear, but it is obviously related to the natives living around the Greek city.[34]

The Emporitan cemeteries, consequently, are suggesting something that the written sources also mention, namely, that both the Greeks and the natives shared the same physical space. Furthermore, and in spite of the fact that the finds are not always very explicit, we can confirm that from the mid-6th century B.C. onwards the Greeks seemed to prefer the area to the south of the Greek city for their cemeteries, while the natives seemed to prefer the fields to the west of the so-called Neapolis; maybe this changed in time because, from the 4th century B.C. onwards, Greek burials and indigenous cremations shared the space in the Marti cemetery and, as we have previously seen, there are not many differences in the composition of their grave-goods. It must be stressed that the Marti cemetery is adjacent to the area occupied by the north-eastern Wall cemetery. This could suggest that Greek tombs (at least from a typological point of view) begin to appear in an area traditionally intended to be used as an indigenous cemetery as early as the 5th century.

Before considering what the written sources say about the coexistence of Greek and natives in Emporion, we will look at some other kinds of information, basically of an archaeological and epigraphical nature.

It seems that the archaeological excavations carried out in the 1980s have detected some remains that perhaps pertain to an indigenous population. The remains of stone walls built at the end of the 5th century were located in 1986 below the later sanctuary of Serapis; they were located next to the 5th century city wall, but outside of

---

[33] J. Sanmartí, 'Las necrópolis ibéricas en el área catalana' in *Congreso de Arqueología Ibérica: Las Necrópolis* (Madrid, 1992), 87–90.

[34] Sanmartí, 'Datación de la muralla griega meridional de Ampurias y caracterización de la facies cerámica de la ciudad en la primera mitad del s. IV a.C.', *RÉA* 90 (1988) 111–14; Domínguez, 'De nuevo sobre la estela funeraria de Ampurias', 55–62.

the city. The materials found are no later than the early 4th century and building seems to have stopped at the time of the construction of the 4th-century city-wall (around 375 B.C.).[35] Those remains have been interpreted as proof of a first phase of close coexistence between the Greeks living in the walled city and the natives living in a small suburban quarter.[36] In the next phase, the integration of the two communities had perhaps already taken place.[37]

Moreover, a lead tablet re-discovered in Pech Maho in 1988,[38] and dated to the mid-5th century, carries the record of a commercial transaction celebrated in two different stages; it seems that at least one part of the transaction may have taken place at Emporion itself, before witnesses whose names are clearly non-Greek and, in one case, undoubtedly Iberian.[39] This text can also probably be considered proof of peaceful coexistence between Greeks and natives around Emporion as well as their collaboration in trading enterprises.[40] In any case, this document shows the close relations between Greek and natives in the places associated with Phocaean trade in the 5th century.

Other items, also of great interest for observing the indigenous presence in Emporion, are the several Greek pottery sherds that bear graffiti in Iberian script, perhaps marks of ownership. At least some

---

[35] Sanmartí *et al.*, 'Las estructuras griegas de los siglos V y IV a. de J.C. halladas en el sector sur de la Neapolis de Ampurias (Campaña de excavaciones del año 1986)', *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología Castellonenses* 12 (1986) 141–217; Sanmartí, 'Els íbers a Emporion', 88–89.

[36] Santiago, 'El texto de Estrabón en torno a Emporion a la luz de los nuevos descubrimientos arqueológicos y epigráficos', *Emerita* 62 (1994) 69.

[37] Sanmartí 'Grecs et Ibères à Emporion. Notes sur la population indigène de l'Empordà et des territoires limitrophes. Contribution au problème ibérique dans l'Empordà et en Languedoc-Roussillon', *Documents d'Archéologie Méridionale* 16 (1993) 21.

[38] M. Lejeune and J. Poullioux, 'Une transaction commerciale ionienne au V^e^ siècle à Pech Maho', *Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, 526–35; Lejeune *et al.* 'Etrusque et ionien archaïques sur un plomb de Pech Maho (Aude)', *Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise* 21 (1988) 19–59; J. De Hoz, 'Los negocios del señor Heronoiyos. Un documento mercantil, jonio clásico temprano, del Sur de Francia' in J.A. López, ed., *Desde los poemas homéricos hasta la prosa griega del siglo IV d.C. Veintiséis estudios filológicos* (Madrid, 1999), 61–90.

[39] Santiago, 'Presencia ibérica en las inscripciones griegas recientemente recuperadas en Ampurias y en Pech Mahó', *Huelva Arqueológica* 13.2 (1994) 215–30; Sanmartí, 'Els íbers a Emporion', 90–91; De Hoz, 'Los negocios del señor Heronoiyos', 72–74.

[40] Santiago, 'Presencia ibérica en las inscripciones griegas', 215–30; De Hoz, 'Griegos e íberos: testimonios epigráficos de una cooperación mercantil', *Huelva Arqueológica* 13.2 (1994) 243–71.

of these fragments date to the 4th century B.C. and they come mainly from the southern part of the Greek city and in some cases they are older than the construction of the 4th century city-wall.[41] Other fragments, for the most part without context, also display different types of graffiti.[42] Finally, from a later period (3rd century B.C.), other items, such as a lead tablet that possibly contains a letter, continue to show the active presence of natives in the city of Emporion.[43] There are also some monumental inscriptions in stone, also in iberian script, which seem to date to the Roman period.[44]

As is well known, even before these archaeological and epigraphical remains were found in recent years, the issue of indigenous presence in Emporion was the subject of numerous studies, since some ancient authors had already referred to the problem. Leaving aside for the moment Livy's information (34.9), we will consider in the first place Strabo's account (*Geog.* 3.4.8), which I translate as follows:

> The Emporitans formerly lived on a little island off the shore, which is today called the Palaiapolis, but now they live on the mainland. It is a double city, divided into two by a wall; formerly its neighbours were some Indicetans, who, although had their own government, wished, for the sake of security, to share a common enclosure with the Greeks. This enclosure was in two parts, with a wall through the centre. In the course of time the two peoples adopted the same political structure, which was a mixture of both Barbarian and Greek uses and mores, something which has happened in many other places.

The archaeological knowledge of the city of Emporion does not at present confirm the existence of the internal division of the walled enclosure of the city, which would have kept the indigenous part of the city separate from the Greek one.[45] This internal division is known technically as a *diateichisma* and the excavations carried out in the southern part of the city have only shown the complex development of that part of the city, including the existence of the above-

[41] Sanmartí *et al.*, 'Testimonios epigráficos de la presencia de población indígena en el interior de Emporion', *Huelva Arqueológica* 13.2 (1994), 203–14; Sanmartí, 'Els íbers a Emporion', 91.

[42] M. Almagro, *Las inscripciones ampuritanas griegas, ibéricas y latinas* (Barcelona, 1952), 75–83.

[43] Sanmartí, 'Datación de la muralla griega', 95–113; *Id.*, 'Els íbers a Emporion', 91–92.

[44] Almagro, *Las inscripciones ampuritanas*, 63–64.

[45] M.J. Pena, 'Hipòtesis noves sobre Empúries a partir de l'analisi de les fonts literàries', *Fonaments* 7 (1988), 17.

mentioned suburban area which was perhaps occupied by the natives between the late 5th century and the first half of the 4th century B.C.[46] The suppression of that suburban area and its incorporation into the territory included within the Greek city wall of the first half of the 4th century has been interpreted by some scholars as a proof of the *synoikism* between Greeks and natives.[47]

Strabo's text claims that the two communities, the Greek and the indigenous, which had lived independently of each other, but shared a common wall, in time ended up sharing the same political structure (*politeuma*). That structure was the result of the mixture (*mikton*) of Greek and non-Greek uses and mores (*nomima*). Strabo's text gives no hint of when this process might have taken place but, as we have also seen, some scholars have suggested that it may have coincided with the enlargement of the walled enclosure of the Greek city during the first half of the 4th century B.C.[48] In any case, it is quite difficult to discern what Strabo's information might really mean in terms of the life of the city of Emporion. Emporion seems to already have been a polis in the 5th century, since it fulfilled several of the features of a polis (existence of a sense of community, laws, public works, coinage).[49] Besides, Emporion was still a polis in the 4th century, when the indigenous presence in the city and in the cemeteries is well attested.

The Emporitan epigraphy also provides evidence of the Hellenic character of the city or, at least, the frequency of Greek personal names of Greek type. Thus, for instance, a couple of defixiones found in the field where Marti cemetery stood, datable to the 4th century B.C., contain several names with a definite Greek character, and at least two of them suggest much more direct links with Asia Minor, such as Kaystrios and Hermokaikos.[50] These names allude to three

---

[46] Sanmartí, 'Datación de la muralla griega', 99–137; Sanmartí *et al.*, 'La secuencia histórico-topográfica de las murallas del sector meridional de Emporion', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 29 (1988), 191–200; *Id.* 'Nuevos datos sobre la historia y la topografía de las murallas de Emporion', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 33 1992, 102–12.

[47] Sanmartí *et al.* 'Nuevos datos sobre la historia y la topografía de las murallas de Emporion', 111.

[48] Sanmartí *et al.* 'Nuevos datos sobre la historia y la topografía de las murallas de Emporion', 111.

[49] Domínguez 'La ciudad griega de Emporion y su organización política' *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 59 (1986), 3–12, M.H. Hansen *Polis and City-State. An Ancient Concept and its Modern Equivalent* (Copenhagen, 1998), 17–34.

[50] Almagro, *Las inscripciones ampuritanas*, 31–34; M.P. De Hoz, 'Epigrafía griega en

important rivers in Anatolia and are distinctly Ionian in character,[51] though perhaps via Massalia.[52] A certain conservatism in language and onomastics may be, consequently, perceived at Emporion and Massalia, a feature usually related to the perception of an ethnic identity.[53] The other Greek inscriptions from the city are not too abundant, but include the usual repertory in any Greek city. This confirms not only the customary and extended use of the Greek language, but also the existence of a certain literary culture, at least to judge from some humorous graffiti written on a vase, relating to the world of the symposium.[54]

The close relations among Greeks and natives which can be observed in Emporion are possibly repeated in many other Western Phocaean settlements. I shall mention only the case of Agathe, located on the Herault river. Fourth to 2nd century cemetery burial and cremation tombs of various types have been found in this site.[55] This has been interpreted, partly from the example provided by Emporion, as proof of the cohabitation of different peoples, mainly Greeks and natives, who retained a strong link with their specific funerary rituals.

4. *Towards a definition of a 'Phocaean identity'*

What we have seen so far allows us to observe certain features typical of a Phocaean identity. Together with an extraordinary openness to the indigenous world, including sharing the same territory

Hispania', *Epigraphica* 59 (1997) 43–45; J.B. Curbera, 'The Greek Curse Tablets of Emporion', *ZPE* 117 (1997) 90–94.

[51] De Hoz, 'Ensayo sobre la epigrafía griega de la Península Ibérica', *Veleia* 12 (1995) 170–71.

[52] P. Pericay, 'Lengua griega y lengua ibérica en sus contactos en el nordeste peninsular y sudeste de Francia a la luz de los documentos epigráficos' in *Simposio de colonizaciones* (Barcelona, 1974), 241–42; *cf.* L. Robert, 'Noms de personnes et civilisation grecque. I. Noms de personnes dans Marseille grecque', *Journal des Savants* (1968) 197–213; G. Manganaro, 'Massalioti per il Mediterraneo: tra Spagna, Sardegna e Sicilia' in *Sardinia Antiqua. Studi in onore di P. Meloni in occasione del suo settantesimo compleanno* (Cagliari, 1992), 197–98.

[53] See, *e.g.* Hall, *Ethnic identity*, 179–80.

[54] Almagro, *Las inscripciones ampuritanas*, 49–50; De Hoz, 'Epigrafía griega en Hispania', 53; De Hoz, 'Ensayo sobre la epigrafía griega de la Península Ibérica', 171–73.

[55] A. Nickels 'Agde grecque: les recherches récentes', *PP* 37 (1982) 277–79; *Id.* 'Les Grecs en Gaule: l'example du Languedoc' in *Forme di Contatto e Processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche* (Paris and Rome, 1983), 422–23.

and even the same urban space, they retained a series of traits that strongly emphasise their Greek identity in general and, at the same time, more specifically Phocaean features.

Within the area occupied by the Western Phocaeans, it is a recognised fact that Massalia must have ultimately played an important controlling role, maybe economic but perhaps also political. The expression of that control, together with other more subtle examples, can be seen in the generalised spread of the cult of Artemis Ephesia in all those places that come into the orbit of the Massaliote polis. Furthermore, and as proof of the great importance placed by the Phocaean-Massaliote world on relations with the natives, that cult was transmitted to the Iberians.

Of course, the cult of Artemis Ephesia is associated with the Massaliote expansion and it is not directly related with Phocaea.[56] Besides, the cult of that goddess, which would also have linked Massalia with the Italic world, mainly with Rome (Strabo, *Geog.* 4.1.5), could have been used by Massalia as a means of developing that kind of relationship and rapprochement with the indigenous world, and it seems to have been a key feature of the Phocaean way of dealing with the surrounding environment. It is also possible that Artemis Ephesia may have played an important role in the elaboration of the Massaliote identity, in the same way as Hera Lacinia played a similar role in the creation of an identity among Western Achaeans.[57] This fact does not mean, however, that the Phocaean cities did not come into conflict with the natives but quite the opposite, since we have evidence of frequent conflicts in the main centres (Massalia, Elea, Emporion) at different times.

Both the evidence of religion and the spread of Greek-style fortifications demonstrate this two-sided phenomenon of peaceful contacts with some natives and confrontation with others: while many natives accepted the contact with the Greeks and the pressure of their culture, expressed in part by the expansion of the cult of Artemis Ephesia, others opposed the Greek colonies, which had to be defended against them. However, these not always friendly natives also learnt

---

[56] Domínguez, 'Ephesos and Greek Colonization' in H. Friesinger, F. Krinzinger, ed., *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos* (Vienna, 1999), 75–80.

[57] C. Morgan and J. Hall, 'Achaian Poleis and Achaian Colonisation' in M.H. Hansen, ed., *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre, 3* (Copenhagen, 1996), 213.

the Greek techniques of fortification in the end, and many of their city walls showed, paradoxically, a strong Greek influence.

Massalia created, both through the cult of Artemis Ephesia and its own political and administrative structure,[58] a true Massaliote identity, but it was, nevertheless, also a Phocaean identity. This (double?) identity may have also parallels in the Achaean colonies in Magna Graecia.[59] This Phocaean identity was expressed in two well-known episodes in which Massalia and two other cities, its mother-city Phocaea and its sister Lampsacus were involved. In the first case, Massalia, perhaps in answer to a request from Phocaea, interceded before Rome (ca. 129 B.C.) to avoid its destruction through the continuous disloyalty of the city during the war with Antiochus and during the revolt of Aristonicus (Justin 37.1.1).

In the case of Lampsacus, we know of its relationship to Massalia thanks to an inscription in Lampsacus dated about 196/195 B.C. (*IK* 6.4) The text relates how Lampsacus decided to send an embassy to Massalia and Rome in order to try to convince the Roman Senate to include Lampsacus in the peace agreements between Rome and Philip V. Massalia is described in the text as the sister of Lampsacus and it also explains that the embassy was successful thanks to the intervention of the ruling bodies of Massalia. It is interesting that the Massaliotes declare to the Roman Senate that they are brothers of the Lampsacene and that good will always accompanies kinship (*syngeneia*).

Thus the two cases mentioned show that, even in the 2nd century B.C., close links still remained between the different Phocaean cities that can hardly be related to the fictitious and invented kinship developed by the Greek cities in Hellenistic and Roman times.[60] In both cases, the links of *syngeneia* perceived in Massalia, Lampsacus and Phocaea itself were considered as genuine kinship, capable of mutual reciprocation.[61] This also suggests the existence of a well-

[58] F. Gschnitzer, *Abhängige Örte im griechischen Altertum* (1958) 20–26.

[59] Morgan and Hall, 'Achaian Poleis and Achaian Colonisation', 213.

[60] M. Sartre, *El Oriente Romano. Provincias y sociedades provinciales del Mediterráneo Oriental, de Augusto a los Severos* (Madrid, 1994), 206–207; D. Musti, 'Sull'idea di *syngeneia* in iscrizioni greche', *ASNP* 32 (1963) 225–39; A. Bresson and P. Debord, 'Syngeneia', *RÉA* 87 (1985) 191–211.

[61] O. Curty, 'La notion de parenté entre cités chez Thucydide', *Museum Helveticum.* 51 (1994) 193–97; *Id. Les Parentés légendaires entre cités grecques: catalogue raissoné des inscriptions contenant le terme 'syngeneia' et analyse critique* (Geneva, 1995); *cf.* also S.F.

developed perception of a Phocaean identity, which is perhaps expressed, among other things, by a tendency to introduce the same themes in their respective foundation legends.[62]

That Phocaean identity seems to have coexisted, in the Western Mediterranean, with a Massaliote identity. In practice, the sources tend to regard some of the colonies in Gaul or Iberia as either Phocaean or Massaliote, sometimes without distinction.

Naturally, it seems as if Massalia appropriated all the ancient coastal points whose Phocaean origin, in many cases, was earlier than when that great city was at its height. But the explanation of the persistence of toponyms such as the *litus Phocaicum*, 'Phocaean coast' (*CIL* 6.20674) in the Southeast of the Iberian peninsula[63] can be only explained by the survival of the idea of a Phocaean identity, which included a more specific Massaliote and, eventually, Emporitan identity. There would thus have been an ethnic identity, 'Phocaean' and other identities, perhaps of political nature, Massaliote, Emporitan, etc. It is interesting, on the same lines, to consider that in some of the Archaic offerings made at the sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi by the city of Lipara, the offering was made by 'the Cnidians at Lipara' (*FD* III, 4.181; *FD* III, 4.183), which also suggests a dual identity, the ethnic and the political. This double identity seems to be a somewhat common feature to the Greek world, as Renfrew has pointed out in his review to Hall.[64]

Thus, the development of this 'Phocaean identity' does not seem to have prevented the appearance of independent political identities, as the coins minted by some colonies, such as Emporion, indicate. In the case of Emporion, its coinage, without breaking away from the weights used in Massalia, seems to indicate closer links with the South of the Iberian Peninsula and, in particular, with the city of Gades.[65] This can be explained by the fact that the Phocaean city developed important commercial contacts with that Phoenician city.

Elwyn, *The Use of Kinship Terminology in Hellenistic Diplomatic Documents: an Epigraphical Study* (Philadelphia, 1991).

[62] Domínguez, 'Lámpsace (Mul. Virt. 18 = Mor. 255 A–E), Lámpsaco y Masalia', 145–60.

[63] Rouillard, *Les Grecs et la Péninsule Ibérique*, 284–86; P. Jacob, 'L'Ebre de Jérôme Carcopino', *Gerión* 6 (1988) 197–98.

[64] C. Renfrew 'From Here to Ethnicity', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 8 (1998) 277.

[65] M.P. García-Bellido, 'Las relaciones económicas entre Massalia, Emporion y Gades a través de la moneda', *Huelva Arqueológica* 13.2 (1994) 115–49.

Something different happened with the neighbouring city of Rhode. Though clearly linked with Massalia or Emporion, according to some sources (Ps-Skymnos, 203–204; Strabo, *Geog.* 3.4.8), others claimed it was a Rhodian colony (Strabo, *Geog.* 3.4.8; 14.2.10). In fact, when the city began to coin drachmae during the 2nd half of the 4th century, and up until mid-3rd century, the symbol on that coins was the rose, as in Rhodes, although in a different position from that customary in Rhodes.[66] It seems as if this 'Rhodian identity' was invented to bolster the pretensions of this small city, giving it a civic personality distinct from that of the neighbouring and more powerful city of Emporion.[67] It is possible, however, that this invented identity was merely symbolic, and it certainly did not last long, since all the ancient authors who mention it give it secondary importance, primarily emphasising its Massaliote or Emporitan origin.

5. *Conclusion*

The Phocaean Greeks, perhaps due to the small number of individuals who made up the commercial and colonial expeditions, were forced to develop, by the late 7th century B.C., ways of making contact and developing relations with indigenous peoples that facilitated coexistence and living together with those natives. This attitude was not unusual during the period when the Phocaean *emporia* led the movement through Western Mediterranean, since indigenous centres were needed as a market for the goods sold by the Phocaeans and to provide the Greeks with raw materials, but when the first Phocaean political structures began to emerge overseas, the Phocaeans do not seem to have modified their behaviour to any great extent.

If we accept that the views expressed by our sources on the role played by some of these cities, mainly Massalia, reflect the ideas developed in them, we will see how both Massalia and Emporion seem to have ultimately accepted their relations with the natives as unavoidable. In the case of Massalia that relationship was expressed,

[66] A.M. Guadán, *Las monedas de plata de Emporion y Rhode* (Barcelona, 1970), 397–417.

[67] Domínguez, 'La ciudad griega de Rhode en Iberia y la cuestión de su vinculación con Rodas', *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Amigos de la Arqueología* 28 (1990) 13–25; Santiago, 'El texto de Estrabón en torno a Emporion', 51–64.

at least latterly, in basically cultural terms: Massalia had become a school for the barbarians, the Gauls had become friends of the Greeks (*philhellenes*) and they even wrote their contacts in Greek (Strabo, *Geog.* 4.1.5). According to Justin (43.4.1–2), although in relation to the early years of its foundation, Massalia introduced civilisation and agriculture into Gaul.

In the case of Emporion, Livy (34.9) explains how the Greek city operated. It provided products that had arrived by sea to the natives, who did not know how to navigate, and at the same time the city served as the natural outlet for crops produced by the natives.

It is true that the relations with the natives are an essential part of the life of all the Greek colonies.[68] However, not all of them developed traditions and forms of behaviour in which natives were so evident as in the Phocaean cities; in general, the opposite trend is more usual, stressing the scarce intervention of natives in the life of the Greek colony.[69] That trend could, occasionally, be risky and it was, in any event, open to opposite interpretations on some occasions. Thus, in two different contexts and in response to different circumstances, we find in Livy two opposite interpretations of the same thing: the relationship between Massalia and its native environment. In the first case, the Roman consul Cn. Manlius Vulso harangues his troops (189 B.C.) and assures them that 'Massalia, because it is located among the Gauls, has assimilated something of the spirit of its neighbours' (Livy 38.17.12), which is seen by the consul as distinctly negative attribute. In the second case, a Rhodian embassy to Rome in same year makes it clear that the Massaliotes 'have remained intact and free from contamination by their neighbours not only the sound of their language, their dress and the external appearance, but above all their mores, laws and character', almost as 'if they lived in the very heart of Greece' (Livy 37.54.21–22). A very similar idea shows also Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 15.169–192).

Be that as it may, what was clear was that Massalia had always been in close contact with its indigenous environment and it was

[68] Domínguez, 'La polis griega en el ámbito extra Egeo: singularidades y características' in D. Plácido, J. Alvar, J.M. Casillas, C. Fornis, ed., *Imágenes de la Polis* (Madrid, 1997), 35–62.

[69] See, for instance, on Greek Sicily, Domínguez, *La colonización griega en Sicilia. Griegos, indígenas y púnicos en la Sicilia Arcaica: Interacción y aculturación* (Oxford, 1989), 515–547.

simply a matter of opinion whether that contact had influenced the character of the city or not. In any case, Massalia itself and, the Western Phocaeans as a whole seem to have developed and constructed a very definite perception of their identity. In the definition and construction of that identity the direct or indirect links of origin to the city of Phocaea, whose foundation story already contained the agreement and the covenant, played a very important role. In the elaboration of that identity a role was also played by ideas of brotherhood and kinship, which bound together all the colonies founded from the same mother-city. This can be demonstrated by the fact that our sources attributed a Phocaean identity to colonies founded by cities that had their own personality (Massalia, Emporion). Finally, the tradition of contacts and strong relationships with some of the surrounding natives while zealously preserving their Greek language and culture seems to have been also a typical feature of Phocaean identity. This characteristic is, of course, not the sole prerogative of the Phocaeans and it does not mean that, once relations were established with some of the natives, other non-Greeks would have had equal access to Phocaean colonies. The political development of Emporion shows clearly how only some natives are received, accepted and integrated into the Greek city.

Finally, the fact that the Phocaeans were the only Greeks in a non-Greek world also played an important role in the development of their identity, especially in the Western Mediterranean. But they seem to have been proud of it, as shown by the case of the phantom-city of Mainake, proudly presented, undoubtedly by Phocaeans themselves, as the most westerly city ever founded by the Greeks (Strabo, *Geog.* 3.4.2; Ps. Skym., 149–50).

Bibliography

Akurgal, E. 'Les fouilles de Phocée et les sondages de Kymé', *Anatolia* 1 (1956) 3–14

Almagro, M. *Las inscripciones ampuritanas griegas, ibéricas y latinas*. Barcelona: Departamento de Barcelona del Instituto Rodrigo Caro de Arquelogía del C.S. de I.C., 1952

——. *Las necrópolis de Ampurias. I. Introducción y necrópolis griegas*. Barcelona: Seix y Barral, 1953

——. *Las necrópolis de Ampurias. II. Necrópolis romanas y necrópolis indígenas*. Barcelona: Seix y Barral, 1955

Ampolo, C. 'L'Artemide di Marsiglia e la Diana dell'Aventino', *La Parola del Passato* 25 (1970) 200–210

Aquilué, X., Castanyer, P., Santos, M. 'Tremoleda, J. Nuevos datos sobre la fundación de Emporion', in P. Cabrera, C. Sánchez, ed., *Los griegos en España. Tras*

las huellas de Heracles. Madrid: Subdirección General de Promoción de las Bellas Artes, 2000, 89–105

Barberá, J. 'Límites cronológicos de la influencia helénica en Ampurias, a través de los ajuares de sus necrópolis', in *Simposio de Colonizaciones*. Barcelona: Dip. Provincial. Inst. Prehistoria y Arqueologia, 1974, 61–64

Bertucchi, G. 'Nécropoles et terrasses funéraires à l'époque grecque. Bilan sommaire des recherches', in M. Bats *et al.*, ed., *Marseille Grecque et la Gaule*. Aix-en-Provence: Centre Camille Jullian, 1992, 123–137

Bresson, A., Debord, P. 'Syngeneia', *Revue des Études Anciennes* 87 (1985) 191–211

Cassola, F. 'De Phocaide carmine, quod Homero tribui solet, commentatio', *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 26 (1952) 141–148

Cook, R.M., Dupont, P. *East Greek Pottery*. London: Routledge, 1998

Curbera, J.B. 'The Greek Curse Tablets of Emporion', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 117 (1997) 90–94

Curty, O. 'La notion de parenté entre cités chez Thucydide', *Museum Helveticum* 51 (1994) 193–197

——. *Les Parentés légendaires entre cités grecques: catalogue raissoné des inscriptions contenant le terme 'syngeneia' et analyse critique*. Geneva: Droz, 1995

De Witt, N.J. 'Massalia and Rome', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 71 (1940) 605–615

Domínguez, A.J. 'Focea y sus colonias: a propósito de un reciente coloquio', *Gerión* 3 (1985) 357–377

——. 'La ciudad griega de Emporion y su organización política', *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 59 (1986) 3–12

——. *La colonización griega en Sicilia. Griegos, indígenas y púnicos en la Sicilia Arcaica: Interacción y aculturación*. (BAR Int. Series, 549), Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1989

——. 'La ciudad griega de Rhode en Iberia y la cuestión de su vinculación con Rodas', *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Amigos de la Arqueología* 28 (1990) 13–25

——. 'El enfrentamiento etrusco-foceo en Alalia y su repercusión en el comercio con la Península Ibérica', in *La presencia de material etrusco en la Península Ibérica*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1991, 239–273

——. 'De nuevo sobre la estela funeraria de Ampurias', in *Actas del V Congreso Internacional de Estelas Funerarias. Vol. I*. Soria: Publicaciones de la Excma. Diputación Provincial de Soria, 1994, 55–62

——. 'Los griegos de Occidente y sus diferentes modos de contacto con las poblaciones indígenas I. Los contactos en los momentos precoloniales (previos a la fundación de colonias o en ausencia de las mismas)', *Huelva Arqueológica*, 13.1 (1994) 19–48

——. 'Lámpsace (Mul. Virt. 18 = Mor. 255 A–E), Lámpsaco y Masalia', in C. Schrader, V. Ramón, J. Vela, ed., *Plutarco y la Historia. Actas del V Simposio Español sobre Plutarco*. Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1997, 145–160

——. 'La polis griega en el ámbito extra Egeo: singularidades y características', in D. Plácido, J. Alvar, J.M. Casillas, C. Fornis, ed., *Imágenes de la Polis*. Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 1997, 35–62

——. 'Ephesos and Greek Colonization', in H. Friesinger, F. Krinzinger, ed., *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999, 75–80

Elwyn, S.F. *The Use of Kinship Terminology in Hellenistic Diplomatic Documents: an Epigraphical Study*. Philadelphia, 1991

Fernández, J.M. 'Las necrópolis griegas de Ampurias: sociedad, ideología y contacto en el mundo colonial peninsular', in F.J. Presedo *et al.*, ed., *XAIRE. II Reunión de Historiadores del Mundo Griego antiguo. Homenaje al Profesor Fernando Gascó*. Sevilla: Scriptorium, 1997, 72–84

Gailledrat, E. 'Grecs et Ibères dans la nécropole d'Ampurias (VI^{e}–II^{e} siècles av. J.-C.)', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 31 (1995) 31–54
García-Bellido, M.P. 'Las relaciones económicas entre Massalia, Emporion y Gades a través de la moneda', *Huelva Arqueológica* 13.2 (1994) 115–149
Gassner, V. 'Oinotrer in Elea?', in *Altmodische Archäologie. Festschrift für Friedrich Brein. Forum Archaeologiae* 14.3 (2000) (http://farch.tsx.org)
Giangiulio, M. 'La *philotes* tra Sibariti e Serdaioi (Meiggs-Lewis, 10)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 93 (1992) 31–44
Gras, M. 'Le temple de Diane sur l'Aventin', *Revue des Études Anciennes* 89 (1987) 47–61
Greco, E. 'Serdaioi', *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli (classe di archeologia)* 12 (1990) 39–57
Gschnitzer, F. *Abhängige Örte im griechischen Altertum*. Munich: Beck, 1958
Guadán, A.M. *Las monedas de plata de Emporion y Rhode*. Barcelona, 1970
Hall, J.M. *Ethnic identity in Greek antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997
Hansen, M.H. *Polis and City-State. An Ancient Concept and its Modern Equivalent.* Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1998
Herman, G. *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987
de Hoz García-Bellido, M.P. 'Epigrafía griega en Hispania', *Epigraphica* 59 (1997) 29–96
de Hoz, J. 'Griegos e íberos: testimonios epigráficos de una cooperación mercantil', *Huelva Arqueológica* 13.2 (1994) 243–271
——. 'Ensayo sobre la epigrafía griega de la Península Ibérica', *Veleia* 12 (1995) 151–179
——. 'Los negocios del señor Heronoiyos. Un documento mercantil, jonio clásico temprano, del Sur de Francia', in J.A. López, ed., *Desde los poemas homéricos hasta la prosa griega del siglo IV d.C. Veintiséis estudios filológicos*. Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 1999, 61–90
Jacob, P. 'L'Ebre de Jérôme Carcopino', *Gerión* 6 (1988) 187–222
Jehasse, J., Jehasse, L. *La nécropole préromaine d'Aléria. (1960–1968)*. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1973
——. 'Alalia/Aléria apres la 'victoire a la cadméenne'', *La Parola del Passato* 37 (1982) 247–255
——. 'La société corse face a l'expansion phocéenne', *Huelva Arqueológica* 13.2 (1994) 305–322
Jones, S. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. London: Routledge, 1997
Lejeune, M., Pouilloux, J. 'Une transaction commerciale ionienne au V^{e} siècle à Pech Maho', *Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, (1988) 526–535
——. Solier, Y. 'Etrusque et ionien archaïques sur un plomb de Pech Maho (Aude)', *Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise* 21 (1988) 19–59
Lepore, E. 'Strutture della colonizzazione focea in Occidente', *La Parola del Passato* 25 (1970) 20–54
Manganaro, G. 'Massalioti per il Mediterraneo: tra Spagna, Sardegna e Sicilia', in *Sardinia Antiqua. Studi in onore di P. Meloni in occasione del suo settantesimo compleanno*. Cagliari: Edizioni della Torre, 1992, 195–206
Meiggs, R., Lewis, D. *A selection of Greek historical inscriptions to the end of the fifth century B.C. (Revised Edition)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988
Moliner, M. 'Les nécropoles' in A. Hesnard, M. Moliner, F. Conche, M. Bouiron, *Parcours de villes. Marseille: 10 ans d'archéologie, 2600 ans d'histoire*. Marseille and Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1999, 107–124

——. 'Nécropoles et rites funéraires', in A. Hermary, A. Hesnard, H. Tréziny, ed., *Marseille Grecque. 600–49 av. J.-C. La cité phocéenne*. Paris: Errance, 1999, 80–85
Morel, J.P. 'Les Phocéens dans la mer Tyrrhénienne', in T. Hackens, ed., *Navies and Commerce of the Greeks, the Carthaginians and the Etruscans in the Tyrrhenian Sea*. Strasbourg: Conseil de l'Europe, 1988, 429–455
——. 'Hyélè revue à la lumière de Massalia', in F. Krinzinger, G. Tocco, ed., *Velia-Studien I. Neue Forschungen in Velia*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999, 11–22
Morgan, C. 'The Archaeology of Ethnicity in the colonial world of the eighth to sixth centuries B.C.: approaches and prospects', in *Confini e Frontiera nella Grecità d'Occidente. Atti del 37º Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia*. Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1999, 85–145
——, Hall, J. 'Achaian Poleis and Achaian Colonisation', in M.H. Hansen, ed., *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre, 3*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1996, 164–232
Musti, D. 'Sull'idea di *syngeneia* in iscrizioni greche', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 32 (1963) 225–239
Nenci, G. 'Le relazioni con Marsiglia nella politica estera romana (dalle origini a alla prima guerra punica)', *Rivista di Studi Liguri* 24 (1958) 24–97
Nickels, A. 'Agde grecque: les recherches récentes', *La Parola del Passato* 37 (1982) 269–280
——. 'Les Grecs en Gaule: l'example du Languedoc', in *Forme di Contatto e Processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche*. Pisa and Rome: École Française de Rome, 1983, 409–427
Olmos, R. 'Los griegos en Tartessos: una nueva contrastación entre las fuentes arqueológicas y las literarias', in M.E. Aubet, ed., *Tartessos. Arqueología Protohistórica del Bajo Guadalquivir*. Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, 1989, 495–521
Ozyigit, O. 'The City Walls of Phokaia', *Revue des Études Anciennes* 96 (1994) 77–109
Pena, M.J. 'Hipòtesis noves sobre Empúries a partir de l'analisi de les fonts literàries', *Fonaments* 7 (1988) 11–45
Pericay, P. 'Lengua griega y lengua ibérica en sus contactos en el nordeste peninsular y sudeste de Francia a la luz de los documentos epigráficos', in *Simposio de colonizaciones*. Barcelona, 1974, 223–243
Pierobon-Benoit, R. 'Focea e il mare', in *Sur les pas des Grecs en Occident. Hommages à André Nickels*. Paris and Lattes: Errance, 1995, 403–418
Renfrew, C. 'From Here to Ethnicity', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 8 (1998) 275–277
Robert, L. 'Noms de personnes et civilisation grecque. I. Noms de personnes dans Marseille grecque', *Journal des Savants* (1968) 197–213
Roebuck, C. 'The Early Ionian League', *Classical Philology* 50 (1955) 26–40
——. 'Tribal organization in Ionia', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 92 (1961) 495–507
Rouillard, P. *Les Grecs et la Péninsule Ibérique du VIII^e au IV^e siècle avant Jésus-Christ*. Paris: De Boccard, 1991
Sanmartí, E. 'Les influences méditerranéennes au Nord-Est de la Catalogne à l'époque archaïque et la réponse indigène', *La Parola del Passato* 37 (1982) 281–303
——. 'Una carta en lengua ibérica, escrita sobre plomo, procedente de Emporion', *Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise* 21 (1988) 95–113
——. 'Datación de la muralla griega meridional de Ampurias y caracterización de la facies cerámica de la ciudad en la primera mitad del s. IV a.C.', *Revue des Études Anciennes* 90 (1988) 99–137
——. 'Una estela de guerrer procedent d'Empúries', *Fonaments* 7 (1988) 111–114
——. 'Els íbers a Emporion (segles VI–III a.C.)', *Laietania* 8 (1993) 87–101
——. 'Grecs et Ibères à Emporion. Notes sur la population indigène de l'Empordà

et des territoires limitrophes. Contribution au problème ibérique dans l'Empordà et en Languedoc-Roussillon', *Documents d'Archéologie Méridionale* 16 (1993) 19–25

——. 'La 'Tumba Cazurro' de la necrópolis emporitana de 'El Portitxol' y algunos apuntes de la economía de Emporion en el siglo V a.C.', *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 69 (1996) 17–36

Sanmartí, E., Castanyer, P., Santos, M., Tremoleda, J. 'Testimonios epigráficos de la presencia de población indígena en el interior de Emporion', *Huelva Arqueológica* 13.2 (1994) 203–214

Sanmartí, E., Castanyer, P., Tremoleda, J., Barberá, J. 'Las estructuras griegas de los siglos V y IV a. de J.C. halladas en el sector sur de la Neapolis de Ampurias (Campaña de excavaciones del año 1986)', *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología Castellonenses* 12 (1986) 141–217

Sanmartí, E., Castañer, P., Tremoleda, J. 'La secuencia histórico-topográfica de las murallas del sector meridional de Emporion', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 29 (1988) 191–200

——. 'Nuevos datos sobre la historia y la topografía de las murallas de Emporion', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 33 (1992) 102–112

Sanmartí, J. 'Las necrópolis ibéricas en el área catalana', in *Congreso de Arqueología Ibérica: Las Necrópolis*. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1992, 77–108

Santiago, R.A. 'Epigrafía dialectal emporitana',in *Dialectologica Graeca. Actas del II Coloquio Internacional de Dialectología Griega*. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1993, 281–294

——. 'Enigmas en torno a Saguntum y Rhoda', *Faventia* 16 (1994) 51–64

——. 'El texto de Estrabón en torno a Emporion a la luz de los nuevos descubrimientos arqueológicos y epigráficos', *Emerita* 62 (1994) 61–74

——. 'Presencia ibérica en las inscripciones griegas recientemente recuperadas en Ampurias y en Pech Mahó', *Huelva Arqueológica* 13.2 (1994) 215–230

Sartre, M. *El Oriente Romano. Provincias y sociedades provinciales del Mediterráneo Oriental, de Augusto a los Severos. (31 a. de C.–235 d. de C.)*. Madrid, 1994

Solovyov, S.L. *Ancient Berezan. The Architecture, History and Culture of the First Greek Colony in the Northern Black Sea*. Leiden: Brill, 1999

Torelli, M. 'Per la definizione del commercio greco-orientale: il caso di Gravisca', *La Parola del Passato* 37 (1982) 304–325

'Κατὰ δὲ Σικελίαν ἦσαν τύραννοι': NOTES ON TYRANNIES IN SICILY BETWEEN THE DEATH OF AGATHOCLES AND THE COMING OF PYRRHUS (289–279 B.C.)

Efrem Zambon
University of Padua

While the Syracusans were living through the dramatic moments following the death of Agathocles—hard times attested to with plenty of evidence by ancient historians, especially Diodorus,—we know less about the situation of the other sicilian *poleis*. Diodorus, however, informs us of the presence of tyrants in many places (22.2.1):

> Κατὰ δὲ Σικελίαν ἦσαν τύραννοι Ἱκέτας ἐν Συρακόσῃ, Φιντίας εἰς Ἀκράγαντα, Τυνδαρίων ἐν Ταυρομενίῳ, καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν ἐλαττόνων πόλεων.
>
> Throughout Sicily, there were tyrants, Hicetas in Syracuse, Phintias in Akragas, Tyndarion in Tauomenion, and others in lesser cities.

Again Diodorus, narrating the expedition of Pyrrhus in Sicily, gives the names of other tyrants and the *poleis* they were governing. From Diodorus 22.7.6, we learn that in Syracuse, after Hicetas, one Sosistratos was tyrant; in 22.8.5, we read that the tyrant of Leontini was Heracleides. We have many more problems if we consider the *polis* of Catane, where Pyrrhus and his fleet put ashore before reaching Syracuse, sailing along the eastern coast of Sicily. Some modern authors, basing themselves on an anecdote reported by Aelianus (*Hist. Anim.* 5.39) concerning one Onomarchos, tyrant of Catane, thought that he was certainly one of the *heteroi tyrannoi* mentioned by Diodorus. But I must say that we have no proof supporting this modern theory, and we must be very careful in recognizing Onomarchos as a 3rd century Sicilian tyrant![1] In any case, the Diodorean list poses many

[1] The problem of the sudden rise of tyranny in Sicily after the disintegration of Agathocles' empire is one of the main themes of my work in progress for the 'Dottorato di Ricerca' at the University of Rome 'La Sapienza', in which I am researching into the causes and the events of the Sicilian expedition of Pyrrhus; some of the conclusions I have reached there for the tyrants, I put forward again in this paper. For a general view of the Siceliote tyrannies of the beginning of third

problems and should drive us to ask some questions. When did these tyrants take power? What is the role that they played in Sicily after the death of Agathocles, until the coming of Pyrrhus? What are the peculiarities of Sicilian tyranny in this decade?

I will start with the chronological question, because it is surely less problematic than the other two, and therefore more easily solved. We do not have proof which lets us establish an absolute and precise chronology; nevertheless, we have to admit a interdependence between a sudden reduction of the power of Syracuse (especially in foreign politics) and the wide, uniform rising of Sicilian tyrannies; of course, this could happen only after Agathocles' death, between 289 and 288 B.C. Therefore, new figures of tyrants emerged in *poleis* which had been freed from Syracusan political interference, but then fell prey to new class-struggles and devastating *staseis*. The intervention of the tyrants succeded in stopping the internal strife; so, time after time, they were able to stabilize their territories in the blundering political scene of Sicily, and keep hold of power for a decade. We can strengthen our statement by referring to a twofold proof, again from the testimony of Diodorus; in 22.8.3 and 5, he shows the tyrants of Leontini and Tauromenion, Heracleides and Tindarion, still holding power at the time of the Sicilian expedition of Pyrrhus.[2]

Unfortunately, owing to the lack of literary and archaeological sources, it is impossible even to attempt a reconstruction of tyrannical activities in the decade before the arrival of Pyrrhus. Nevertheless, it is no accident that all the tyrannies which are known to us from the second decade of 3rd century B.C. in Sicily can be located in

---

century B.C., see H. Berve, *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen*, 2 vols. (München, 1967), 458–462; V. La Bua, 'Finzia, la fondazione di Finziade e la Sicilia dal 289 al 279 a.C.', *AAPal* 27 (1968) 117–160, esp. 126; D. Roussel, *Les Siciliens entre les Romains et les Carthaginois a l'epoque de la première guerre punique* (Paris, 1970), 7–10. For the strange case of Catane and the supposed tyrant Onomarchus, see Aelian. *Hist. anim.* 5.39: καὶ Ὀνόμαρχος δὲ ὁ Κατάνης τύραννος καὶ ὁ Κλεομένους υἱὸς συσσίτους εἶχον λέοντας. G. De Sensi Sestito, 'La Sicilia dal 289 al 210 a.C.', in E. Gabba and G. Vallet, *La Sicilia antica, 2, 1; La Sicilia greca dal VI secolo alle guerre puniche* (Napoli, 1980), 345, has no doubts on the truthfulness of this passage and she puts it chronologically at the beginning of the third century B.C. This problem is also posed by F. Sandberger, *Prosopographie zur Geschichte des Pyrrhos* (Stuttgart, 1970), 174–175, n. 63; finally, W. Kroll, 'Onomarchos' (2), *RE* 18.1, 1, col. 505, and H. Berve, *Die Tyrannis*, 461, do not agree in believing that Onomarchus was a third century tyrant in Catane.

[2] The same chronology has been proposed by La Bua, 'Finzia', 126. On Heracleides, tyrant of Leontini, see T. Lenschau, 'Herakleides' (27), *RE* 8, 1, col. 462; Berve, *Die Tyrannis*, 461; Sandberger, *Prosopographie*, 109–110, n. 36.

the eastern part of the island, and most of them particularly on the east coast. This fact should help us to understand the reason for their length and tenacity.

The east coast of Sicily was, indeed, the last part of the country which suffered the pressure of the growing Carthaginian supremacy in the island, since Punic troops were able to extend the *epikráteia* to eastern Sicily only after their victory over the Syracusan army of Hicetas at the battle of the River Terias. It is very likely that at this moment, the *poleis* of eastern Sicily (especially Leontini), if they preserved their independence before the arrival of Pyrrhus, took the part of the Carthaginians, who were marching against a common, ancient enemy—Syracuse. On the other hand, the northerly *poleis*, like Tauromenion, were busy defending their lands from the dangerous incursions of the Mamertines, the Oscan and Campanian mercenaries who were quartered at Messana. In any case, we cannot assume more than this.

In the same way, it is very difficult to understand the social basis of these new tyrannies, because we often ignore the results of civil strife and of the many internal revolutions in these *poleis*. We can help ourselves if we consider which political side was chosen by each *polis*, as compared with Agathocles. Immediately after his seizure of power in Syracuse, some Sicilian towns firmly set themselves against the political programme of the Syracusan dynast, and so kept their oligarchic governments; among these was Tauromenion. Other *poleis* changed their governments, expelling the oligarchs who held the power, and then electing democratic governments; this is the way the things went in Catane and Leontini. Afterwards, the evolution of Sicilian politics propelled the democratic party to power almost in every town of the Agathoclean empire.

So, in 289, it is very likely that in Tauromenion, as well as in Catane and Leontini (for which we have much more certainty), democratic governments held power; but after the death of Agathocles, it is reasonable to think of a great reaction of the oligarchs, and it should be quite certain that, thanks to their support, the new tyrannies could establish themselves.[3] Finally, it is very difficult to answer

---

[3] On the political disturbances which took place in many *póleis* during Agathocles' reign, so that the democratic party came to power almost everywhere, see S. Consolo Langher, 'La Sicilia dalla scomparsa di Timoleonte', in Gabba and Vallet, *La Sicilia antica, 2, 1*, 289–342, *passim*. For the case of Leontini, see particularly S. Berger,

to the third question, namely; what was the character of these tyrannies? And what were their relations with the peculiarities of the tyrant-phenomenon in the history of Sicily?

During the decade 289–279 B.C., Sicilian tyranny seems to lose two basic distinctive features which marked its historical development during the classical age; that is to say, its function as a bulwark against the Carthaginians and—as a consequence of it—the incentive to conquer and to expand. Indeed, neither of the towns we have mentioned above, nor any of the more powerful *poleis* for which we have a wider collection of sources (such as Akragas and Syracuse), reacted effectively against the continued advance of the Carthaginian army towards the eastern sector of Sicily, and against the increasing political interference that Carthage exercised over many Greek communities. In addition to the particulars, this decade is substantially dominated by an instinct for self-preservation and survival, which shows itself particularly in towns such as Tauromenion, Leontini, Catane, and other *poleis*. In a word, what matters is not so much the desire for power and pursuit of a foreign policy of conquest, but the stabilization of domestic politics, and consideration of defence from the dangers which could undermine the solidity of the *polis* from outside; of course, while pursuing this aim, the *poleis* could not give up their autonomy—obviously, from Syracuse—and their freedom.

It has been said that, apart from more significant episodes such as the tyranny of Phintias in Akragas, tyrants in Sicily were 'Conservatives' and paternalists. I must reject this assertion since these are surely attributes which fit all the sicilian tyrants, even Phintias of Akragas, as we shall see: however, it cannot be doubted that many *poleis* enjoyed real domestic stability and economic prosperity in this decade. The situation of Tauromenion seems very typical: although threatened by the impending danger of the Mamertines, and damaged commercially by the presence in the Straits of Messana of a

'P.Oxy. XXIV, 2399 and the Opposition to Agathocles', *ZPE* 71 (1988) 93–96; Id., 'Great and Small Poleis in Sicily: Syracuse and Leontinoi', *Historia* 40 (1991) 129–141, esp. 140–141; C. Gula, *Storia di Leontinoi dalle origini alla conquista romana* (Messina, 1995), 172–174. Finally, we can find details on Tyndarion in Lenschau, 'Tyndarion', *RE* 7A.2, 1, coll. 1775–1776; Berve, 'Das Königtum des Pyrrhos in Sizilien', in *Neue Beiträge zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Bernhard Schweitzer* (Stuttgart, 1954), 272–277, esp. 274–276; Berve, *Die Tyrannis*, 461 e 733 (with bibliography); Sandberger, *Prosopographie*, 211–212, n. 83.

Carthaginian naval blockade, the *polis* was able to issue copious gold and silver coinage in this period, based on a twofold weight system.[4]

The same peculiarities, that we have just sketched out with reference to the minor tyrannies, apply also to the well-known *poleis* of Akragas and Syracuse; they were involved in a fratricidal war which allowed the Carthaginians to advance slowly, but constantly, towards eastern Sicily. And we must note that even when the Syracusans got rid of the danger of Phintias and reacted against the advance of the Punic army, they did it for self-preservation and to safeguard their freedom.

If we examine the tyranny of Phintias carefully, we can see that from the beginning the new tyrant of Akragas, following the example of Agathocles, adorned himself with the title of βασιλεύς and started to issue coinage with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΝΤΙΑ (otherwise ΦΙΝΤΙΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ). So we should consider him as the *basileus* of Akragas, not as a tyrant. But every literary source which concerns him—and they all come from the *excerpta* of Diodorus book 22—describes him as a typical tyrant; so, if we think about the origin of this information, we must imagine a source hostile to his tyranny, probably the Akragantine historian Philinus; that is why we can reasonably call Phintias a tyrant.[5]

Thanks to the information of Diodorus 22.2.1–3, we can securely place the beginning of Phintias' tyranny in the year 288 B.C., a short time after the death of Agathocles; it is impossible to date the chronology further back, because we must suppose that every town of the old Agathoclean empire, when the news of Agathocles' death

---

[4] The peculiarities of Sicilian tyranny are shown widely and with accuracy by L. Braccesi, *I tiranni di Sicilia* (Bari, 1998), 8–9. We owe to Roussel, *Les Siciliens entre les Romains*, 9 the definition of the tyrants as 'conservatives and paternalists' in Sicily at the beginning of third century B.C. For the prosperity of Tauromenion—which is representative of the *status* of the Sicilian towns governed by tyrants—see P. Leveque, *Pyrrhos* (Paris, 1957), 470. At this period the town began to issue gold and silver coinage, using a twofold weight system, which was on the one hand akin to the Attic system, and on the other hand related to the system of the *litra*; see W. Giesecke, *Sicilia Numismatica* (Leipzig, 1923), 113–114. According to F. Sartori, 'Appunti di storia siceliota: la costituzione di Tauromenio', *Athenaeum* 32 (1954) 356–383, esp. 363, the so-called 'List of Strategoi' (*IG* 14.421) would trace back to the end of Tyndarion's tyranny; *contra*, see G. Manganaro, 'Tauromenitana', *ArchClass* 15 (1963) 13–31, esp. 19–29.

[5] On Phintias, in general, see La Bua, 'Agrigento dalla morte di Agatocle alla conquista romana', *Kokalos* 6 (1960) 98–109; Berve, *Die Tyrannis*, 458–462; La Bua, 'Finzia', 126–127; 131–133; 155–160; J.A. De Waele, *Akragas Graeca. Die historische Topographie des griechischen Akragas auf Sizilien* (Gravenhage, 1971), 143–147.

reached them, had outbreaks of bloody conflict between the supporters of the old Syracusan tyrant and his opponents. As regards Akragas, we can establish more details: I think that in 289 B.C., and probably even the previous year, an aristocratic government was in power in the *polis*. This seems to me the reason for the difficulties that Agathocles—coming from the democratic faction—had in exercising an official domination in Akragas, a *polis* which was traditionally hostile to him.

We cannot establish the social and political origins of the new master of Akragas with certainty; but if we read the narrative of Diodorus 22.2.4 carefully, in which he says that Phintias put to death many of the wealthy citizens, it seems to me that we can uphold the *communis opinio*, that Phintias was a representative of the democratic party. After having heard the news of the *stasis* which broke out in Syracuse—strife which, in the opinion of the citizens of Akragas, got rid of any danger of Syracusan pressure or interference in their domestic politics, at least temporarily—the democratic party of Phintias rebelled against the aristocratic faction which was in power in Akragas, and caused a civil war which lasted for some time; following the *stasis*, Phintias, who was one of the most important supporters of the democrats, seized power and established a tyranny. Obviously, we must suppose that the new tyrant needed to do away with his political opponents; so, he condemned them to death or exile, and immediately confiscated their goods.[6]

[6] The sparse information concerning Phintias' tyranny is in Diod. 22.2.1–3. Φιντίας δὲ καὶ Ἱκέτας πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμον ἐνστησάμενοι παρετάξαντο περὶ τὸν Ὕβλαιον, καὶ τὴν νίκην Ἱκέτας ἀπηνέγκατο. Καταδρομὰς δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιούμενοι τὰς κτήσεις διήρπασαν, τὴν δὲ χώραν ἀγεώργητον ἐποίησαν. [. . .] Κτίζει δὲ Φιντίας πόλιν, ὀνομάσας αὐτὴν Φιντιάδα, Γελῴους ἀναστάτους ὄντας οἰκίσας ἐν αὐτῇ· ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη παραθαλάσσιος. Καθαιρῶν τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς οἰκίας, τοὺς λαοὺς τῆς Γέλας εἰς τὴν Φιντιάδα μετήνεγκε, κτίσας τεῖχος καὶ ἀγορὰν ἀξιόλογον καὶ ναοὺς θεῶν. [. . .] Ὅθεν μιαιφόνου γεγονότος, ὑπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων ἐμισήθη τῶν οὐσῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς πρὸς φρουρὰν ὄντας ἐδίωξαν, ἐν οἷς πρῶτον ἀπέστησαν Ἀγυριναῖοι. (Exc. Hoesch. p. 495 W.). In attempting to date the beginning of Phintias' tyranny exactly, many chronologies have been proposed; J. Schubring, 'Historisch-geographische Studien über AltSicilien', *RM* 28 (1873) 70, suggested the year 286 B.C., followed then by A. Holm, *Storia della Sicilia nell'antichità* (Torino, 1901), 2, 514; L. Pareti, *Sicilia Antica* (Palermo, 1959), 244 and 247, proposed 287 B.C. La Bua, 'Finzia', 126, suggested a much more reasonable 'high' chronology, between the end of 289 and the beginning of 288 B.C., which was followed by De Waele, *Akragas Graeca*, 143, and became popular amongst other critics. Again, we owe to La Bua, 'Agrigento dalla morte di Agatocle', 98–99, the demonstration that Phintias was socially and politically a democrat.

The political horizon of the *tyrannos* of Akragas in 288 B.C. was clear and very propitious for starting a foreign policy dedicated to expansion and winning back the borderland of Akragas, which had been conquered by the Syracusan troops of Agathocles. The Syracusans, under their new ruler Hicetas, were at that moment facing danger both from Menon and from the Carthaginians, and they also had to solve the problem of the mercenaries; so at that point, they could not hinder the eastward march of Phintias' army. The Carthaginians themselves, who were upholding the efforts of Menon against Syracuse and, at the same time, annexing many posessions of the old Agathoclean empire to their *epikráteia*, were not opposed to the birth and ripening of Phintias' tyranny (as they logically were at a later date). The reason is that Phintias' army, by invading the eastern territories of Syracuse, played into the hands of Carthage.

Free from these pressures, Phintias took the opportunity to extend the *chora* of Akragas in two possible directions, that is northwards and eastwards. It has rightly been said that the foreign policy of expansion pursued by the tyrant of Akragas has to be seen as a reinforcement of his domestic power and of the tyranny itself; by winning back the lands and possessions that Agathocles removed from Akragas not long before, Phintias would have surely gained great prestige among his *philoi*. On the contrary, the eventual success of the tyrant would not have helped to denigrate the aristocratic faction; in the light of the violence and the bloody repression undertaken by Phintias in domestic politics (see again Diodorus 22.2.3), we must admit that political opposition had already been reduced to silence by the victory of the democratic party in Akragas after the *stásis* of 289/288 B.C.[7]

However, if we can reasonably date the beginning of this foreign policy to the second half of 288 B.C., we must also grant that it lasted a long time and that the advance of Akragas' army—roughly eastwards—was slow and gradual. In the beginning, northwards expansion must have been encouraged, which led the Akragantinoi to conquer many other towns, at least as far north as Agirium; we

[7] For the foreign policy of Phintias, see again La Bua, 'Finzia', 132; I do not agree with La Bua's hypothesis that the expansionism of Akragas was used to denigrate the aristocratic party; indeed, if we give credit to the bloody tyrant whose actions are narrated by Philinus—and then by Diodorus—, we must admit that Phintias had to get rid of the aristocrats in other ways!

learn from Diodorus 22.2.3 that it was one of the *póleis* which revolted against the painful tyranny of Phintias. So we must believe that Phintias' army succeded in pushing northwards, annexing all the territory along the river Simeto; of course, this action was assisted by the absence of opposition; indeed, the former mercenaries of Agathocles neither arrived on the Straits of Messana, nor took possession of the *polis*.

If the northwards advance was easier because of the absence of strong competitors—the Carthaginians included, because they were engaged in winning back the possessions they lost to Agathocles—it is impossible to say the same for the eastern foreign policy of Phintias. The attack against Syracuse began at a moment of growing prosperity for Akragas, while the Syracusans were politically very weak, and engaged in settling the dramatic *stasis* caused by the mercenaries. It seems paradoxical, but the solution to these problems and the expulsion of the mercenaries strengthened Syracuse internally and, at the same time, allowed time to organize a defence against Akragas.

Phintias, who carefully prepared his march on Syracuse during the winter 288/287 B.C., and was ready to set out in the spring of 287 B.C., encountered a large company of Oscan and Campanian mercenaries, which had left Syracuse at the same time and was marching westwards, ravaging and plundering. So the expansionist project of Phintias came to an abrupt halt, and the tyrant's army was forced to withdraw to Akragas, while the mercenaries destroyed Camarina and Gela, then turned towards the Strait of Messana. I think that this is the moment when Phintias started the work on the foundation of a new town, which he called *Phintias* ('Town of Phintias'), following the custom and precendent of every Hellenistic *basileus* (see Diodorus 22.2.2).[8]

---

[8] Concerning the foundation of the *polis* of Phintias, critics choose different chronological positions, with which I do not agree; Schubring, 'Historisch-geographische Studien', 70, suggested the years 281–280 B.C., because he thought that Gela had been destroyed by the Mamertines in 282 B.C.; Pareti, *Sicilia Antica*, 246, suggested the date of 283 B.C.; La Bua, 'Finzia', 153, thought that the date of 285 B.C. was correct; E. Manni, 'Gela-Licata o Gela-Terranova?', *Kokalos* (18–19) 1971, 124–130, esp. 129, advised that the foundation of the town had to be dated 'dopo la primavera-estate del 286', because he thought that in that year Gela was probably destroyed by the mercenaries; C. Carità, *La topografia di Gela antica ovvero le origini della città di Licata* (Bologna, 1972), 43, dated back Phintias' foundation to 284 B.C. More recently, G. Manganaro, 'Metoikismos-metaphora di poleis in Sicilia: il caso dei Geloi di Phintias e la relativa documentazione epigrafica', *ASNP* 20 (1990)

Phintias was founded in an area which probably was not new to settlement; the mouth of the river Salso was an important and strategic point. Clearly, the new *polis* was useful to protect Akragas not only from unlikely raids by the Syracusans, but from the dangerous and all too likely attacks of the Mamertines. The tyrant of Akragas, then, transferred to *Phintias* all the survivors of Gela, who were without a homeland after the destruction of their city by the mercenaries.

After these events, which are concentrated into brief references by Diodorus—but seem to be clearly part of a wider chronology—, Phintias could again start his war against Hicetas, marching eastwards again and certain this time of the absence of any mercenary troops in the territories of Gela and Camarina.

When the army of Phintias began to advance, its first action, probably in the spring of 286 B.C., was the complete destruction of the surviving ruins of Gela (see Diodorus 22.2.2). This act must be considered from two points of view; on the one hand, it could be targeted against the surviving supporters of the Geloan aristocratic faction, who were clearly against Phintias' tyranny and, for this reason, potentially rebellious in an area which had always been difficult for the tyrant of Akragas to control. On the other hand, no doubt, this action was troublesome to Syracuse; Gela had always been in close relation to the Syracusans and was perhaps still under their influence, so that they could use the surviving habitation of the Geloans as an outpost for the war against Akragas.[9] Anyway, the troops of Phintias pushed as far as the valley of the river Ibleo, where Diodorus (22.2.1) places the final battle between the tyrant's army and the Syracusan troops:

> Φιντίας δὲ καὶ Ἱκέτας πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμον ἐνστησάμενοι παρετάξαντο περὶ τὸν Ὕβλαιον, καὶ τὴν νίκην Ἱκέτας ἀπηνέγκατο.

391–408, esp. 392, suggested that the transfer of the citizens of Gela to the new town has been carried out 'intorno al 285', when Phintias had already been founded. In any case, see my new arguments in E. Zambon, 'Finzia, i Mamertini e la seconda distruzione di Gela', *Hespería* 12 (2000) 303–308.

[9] That a Greek χωρίον existed not far from cape Ecnomo even before the foundation of Phintias, is an hypothesis expressed by E. De Miro, 'Agrigento arcaica e la politica di Falaride', *PP* 11 (1956) 263–273, esp. 269–270, and supported by Manganaro, Metoikismos-metaphora *di* poleis *in Sicilia*, 392–393. For the strategic value of the new foundation and for its role against Syracuse, see La Bua, *Finzia*, 153 and Manni, 'Gela-Licata' 129–130. For the political significance of the complete destruction of Gela, see S. Cataldi, 'La boetheia dei Geloi e degli Herbitatoi ai Campani di Entella', *ASNP* 12 (1982) 887–904, esp. 891.

> A war rose between Phintias and Hicetas, and when they met in battle near the River Hyblaeus, Hicetas was the victor.

The victory of Hicetas, which marks the beginning of Phintias' political downfall, certainly followed a long period of fighting and skirmishes which were suspended during the winter of 286/285 B.C., then started again at the beginning of the new year, as we can see from another passage of Diodorus (22.2.1):

> Καταδρομὰς δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιούμενοι τὰς κτήσεις διήρπασαν, τὴν δὲ χώραν ἀγεώργητον ἐποίησαν.

> In their raids against one another, they pillaged the estates and made the area a wasteland.

Therefore, we can reasonably date the battle of the river Ibleo to the spring of 285 B.C.[10] However, apart from the setback inflicted by the ancient rival Syracuse, and the necessity of a retreat towards the river Salso—which now becomes the boundary line between the Syracusan and Agrigentine spheres of action—, Phintias also had to face many problems in domestic politics. Many of the towns subject to his tyranny, which endured it by force and suffered the tyrant's overbearing actions and banishments, revolted against him: and the revolt must necessarily be dated after the defeat at the battle of the river Ibleo, which is the first moment of political and military weakness for the tyranny of Phintias. Again Diodorus (22.2.3 and 4) testifies that the first rebel *polis* was Agirium, and that many others expelled the Agrigentine garrisons.[11] It seems that Phintias put down the rebellion without using troops, but by changing his cruel, tyran-

[10] K. Ziegler, 'Hyblaios', *RE* 9, 1, col. 29, made a synthesis of the opinions concerning the site of the battle; Schubring, 'Historisch-geographische Studien', 110, thought that the Ibleo was a mountain; Holm, *Storia della Sicilia*, 2, 514, suggested a river's name, which Ziegler, *loc. cit.*, thought to be the Irminio. For the chronology of the battle, see Pareti, *Sicilia Antica*, 246 (he dates the fight in 283 B.C.); La Bua, 'Finzia', 152 (spring of 285 B.C.); De Sensi Sestito, 'La Sicilia dal 289 al 210 a.C.', 346 (summer of 285 B.C.).

[11] For the rebellion of many towns against the bloodthirsty Phintias, see Diod. 22.2.3–4: Ὅθεν μιαιφόνου γεγονότος, ὑπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων ἐμισήθη τῶν οὐσῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς πρὸς φρουρὰν ὄντας ἐδίωξαν, ἐν οἷς πρῶτον ἀπέστησαν Ἀγυριναῖοι. (Exc. Hoesch. p. 495 W.): Ὅτι Φιντίας τῶν πόλεων βιαίως ἄρχων καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν εὐπόρων ἀναιρῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων διὰ τὴν παρανομίαν ἐμισεῖτο. Διόπερ ἁπάντων ὄντων πρὸς ἀπόστασιν, ταχὺ ταπεινωθεὶς μετεβάλετο τὸν τρόπον καὶ φιλανθρωπότερον ἄρχων διακατέσχεν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα.

nical rule; I might almost say that he tyrannized 'with moderation'. It is probable that the most important supporters of the rebellion against Phintias were the aristocratic party, who always had been hostile and opposed to the tyrant's policies, and who had suffered a dreadful and bloody repression by him; as Diodorus says (22.2.4), Phintias [. . .] πολλοὺς τῶν εὐπόρων ἀναιρῶν [. . .] ('put to death many wealthy men'). He is speaking of the rebellions which followed the battle of river Ibleo, but is certainly referring to a more general situation.

If we believe the tradition referring to a partial change in the style of government of Phintias—as it seems necessary to do—, I think that this change was the basic mistake which led to the downfall of Phintias: it is impossible, indeed, to think that a tyranny which was from the beginning bloody and repressive could suddenly become 'moderate'. The immediate advantage for Phintias was clear: the 'new' tyranny put down the general rebellion. However, Phintias had to grant more liberty of action to his political opponents, the aristocrats, who, seeing the growing political weakness of the tyrant, tried to depose him.

They were aware that this action had to be supported by external forces which were also opponents of Phintias' tyranny; so they looked around and, naturally, they called on the Carthaginians for help; and the Carthaginians obviously accepted. On the one hand, they had been offered the opportunity to extend their *epikráteia* eastwards, annexing Akragas and all her subject lands, and at the same time to set its boundaries close to Syracusan territory; on the other hand, they could even gain political control of Akragas, expelling Phintias—who, remember, came from the democratic faction—and grant full power to the pro-Carthaginian aristocracy, which gave them a greater guarantee of political stability.

By degrees Phintias lost his power and disappeared from the political scene; it is impossible to give a precise chronology, but we can legitimately think of the years 284/283 B.C. or, the years preceeding the arrival of Pyrrhus in Sicily. We can ignore the rest of his days; but we have another passage from Diodorus that we must examine (22.7.1);

> Ὅτι Φιντίας ὁ Φιντιάδος κτίστωρ, Ἀκράγαντος τύραννος, εἶδεν ὄναρ δηλοῦν τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφήν, ὗν ἄγριον κυνηγοῦντος, ὁρμῆσαι κατ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ὗν καὶ τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὀδοῦσι πατάξαι καὶ διελάσαντα τὴν πληγὴν κτεῖναι.

> Phintias, founder of the city of Phintias, had a dream which revealed the manner of his death: he was hunting a wild boar, when it charged at him, struck him in the side with its tusks, pierced him through, and killed him.

The dream which foretells the manner of his death to the tyrant, as narrated by the source of Diodorus—in this case, I think, absolutely hostile to Phintias—, clearly becomes part of the cliché concerning the violent death of the tyrant; what is interesting is that Phintias' last bronze issues call this passage to mind very clearly.[12] I give the typology of the coins:

- O/Head of Persephone; R/wild boar riding to the left. Legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΝΤΙΑ.
- O/Head of the river god Akragas; R/wild boar riding to the left. Legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΝΤΙΑ.
- O/Head of Artemis; R/wild boar riding to the left. Legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΝΤΙΑ.
- O/Head of Artemis; in front of her ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ; R/wild boar riding to the left. Legend: ΦΙΝΤΙΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

The wild boar is represented on many issues of the tyrant, but we can connect the passage of Diodorus particularly to the two coins which bear on the obverse the head of Artemis, sometimes with the legend ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ. If the interdependence between the two documentary sources is clear, we have to try to answer to another question; which is first? The coin or the legend?

I believe that the succession of dies show clearly that the legend of Phintias' dream was invented because of the wild boar which was represented on the reverse of the bronze issues; perhaps the two issues bearing on the obverse the heads of Artemis and Artemis ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ could be issued after the invention of the legend about

---

[12] For Phintias' coinage, see R.S. Poole, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Sicily* (London, 1876), 20, nn. 131–139; A. Holm, *Storia della moneta siciliana fino all'età di Augusto* (Torino, 1906 [Freiburg, 1897]), 201–202; B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum*^{2} (Oxford, 1911), 123; Giesecke, *Sicilia Numismatica*, 98; S.W. Grose, *Fitzwilliam Museum. A Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins*, 1 (Cambridge, 1923), 245; E. Gabrici, *La monetazione del bronzo nella Sicilia antica* (Palermo, 1927), 119; S. Consolo Langher, *Contributo allo studio dell'antica moneta bronzea in Sicilia* (Milano, 1964), 213–214; K. Jenkins, *The Coinage of Gela. Antike Münzen und geschnittene Steine Band 2* (Berlin, 1970), 115; De Waele, *Akragas Graeca*, 25; N.K. Rutter, *Greek Coinages of Southern Italy and Sicily* (London, 1997), 175; *SNG* Copenhagen, nn. 97–104.

Phintias' death, created by unfavourable propaganda, because they seem to propitiate a saving intervention for the tyrant by the goddess, who is represented as a hunter.[13]

Finally, as regards Syracuse, we will examine the peculiarities of the government of Hicetas. After the end of the bloody strife against the mercenaries, Hicetas succeeded in strengthening the social relations between the citizens, so he was able to attend (in the second half of 287 B.C.) to reorganizing domestic politics and organizing a counter-offensive against the two dangerous enemies of those years; the Carthaginians and, above all, Phintias.[14] The importance and influence of Hicetas in all the political decisions of the Syracusans must have been great in that period: the source of Diodorus, who

[13] The iconography of the bronze issues preceeding the coins with Artemis *Soteira* are:

- D/Head of Zeus, laureate; legend ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤ[ΙΝΩΝ] R/Eagle clutching a hare: legend ΦΙ.
- D/Head of Apollo, laureate; legend ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΟΣ; R/Two eagles clutching a hare.
- D/Head of Apollo, laureate; traces of an inscription; R/Eagle standing, looking to the right: legend ΦΙ.

See Poole, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins (Sicily)*, 20, nn. 31–34; *SNG* Copenhagen, 97–99. The second coin was dated to the period 279–241 B.C. by Gabrici, *La monetazione del bronzo*, 119, n. 127. Consolo Langher, 'Contributo', 213, n. 27, pointed out that even the following coin had been issued in the age of Phintias:

- D/Head of a young man, maybe Apollo, with long hair, laureate; R/Eagle with wings opened, eating a coiled snake. In the middle, legend ΣΙ: around, legend [Φ]ΙΝΤΙΑΣ.

The interpretation of the issues with Artemis *Soteira* given by La Bua ('Finzia', 142–143, nota 76) is absolutely misleading. They had been connected with the passage of Diod. 22, 7, 1, already by Holm, *Storia della moneta siciliana*, 202; more recently, see De Waele, *Akragas Graeca*, 25, who, in the interdependence between the two sources, thinks that Diodorus' narrative (and of course Diodorus' source) is dependent on the iconography on the coin. Artemis' cult, with the attribute of Σώτειρα, is spread all over the Greek world, and s often identified with the cult of other goddesses, bearing the same attribute; see E. Wernicke, 'Artemis', *RE* 2, 1, coll. 1336–1440, esp. col. 1399; L. Kahil, 'Artemis', *LIMC* 2, 1, Zürich-München 1984, 618–753, esp. 680 (nn. 764–766); 682 (n. 805); 684 (n. 833). For the social role of the cult, see, for example, the case of Megalopolis, well attested and widely illustrated by M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie* (Paris, 1985), 414–415.

[14] For Hicetas, see O. Meltzer, *Geschichte der Kartagher* (Berlin, 1896), 2, 224–228; T. Lenschau, 'Hiketas' (3), *RE* 8, 2, coll. 1596–1597; W. Huttl, *Verfassungsgeschichte von Syrakus* (Prague, 1929), 134–135; Pareti, *Sicilia Antica*, 243–247; La Bua, 'Agrigento dalla morte di Agatocle', 102; *Id.*, 'Finzia', passim; Berve, *Die Tyrannis*, 458–460; H. Meier-Welcker, *Karthago, Syrakus und Rom. Zu Grundfragen von Frieden und Krieg* (Göttingen, 1979), 23–24; De Sensi Sestito, 'La Sicilia dal 289 al 210 a.C.', 345–347; L.M. Hans, *Karthago und Sizilien. Die Entstehung und Gestaltung der Epikratie auf dem Hintergrund der Beziehungen der Karthager zu den Griechen und nichtgriechischen Völkern Siziliens (VI–III Jahrhundert v. Chr.)* (Hildesheim-Zürich-New York, 1983), 84–85.

is Philinus (22.2.1), as we have already seen, names Hicetas as τύραννος; and in another passage (22.7.2), where we have the exact chronology of Hicetas' strategy (i.e. 288–279 B.C.), Philinus again defines the power of Hicetas as τυραννίς:

> Ὅτι Ἱκέτας ἐννέα ἔτη δυναστεύσας Συρακόσας ὑπὸ Θοίνωνος τοῦ Μαμέως ἐκβάλλεται τῆς τυραννίδος.
>
> Hicetas had ruled Syracuse for nine years when he was ejected from power by Thoenon, son of Mameus.

However, Philinus' views are in deep contrast to the numismatic sources.[15] On the gold coins issued by Syracuse during the strategy of Hicetas, only the legend ΕΠΙ ΙΚΕΤΑ appears, which describes the *strategos* as a magistrate of the Syracusan democracy. Therefore, it seems that Hicetas neither arrogated to himself the title of *basileus*—responding to pretensions to democracy and to the wishes of Agathocles—nor established a tyranny; an unimaginable event in the Syracuse of that era! On the other hand it must be considered that the office of *strategos*, conferred officially on Hicetas by the Syracusan *boule* for nine years in succession, gave him exclusive control of the army and, therefore, put in his hands the destiny of the *polis*. So, without violating the democratic constitution of Syracuse—rather, he collaborated actively with the political institutions, as in the case of the expulsion of the mercenaries—and preserving all the magistracies, Hicetas succeeded in concentrating all the activities of Syracusan domestic politics on himself.

Therefore, how can we explain the numismatic data? Many critics explain the legend ΕΠΙ ΙΚΕΤΑ as a shrewd manoeuvre by the *strategos* to conceal the tyrannical character of his nine years' domination in Syracuse; clearly, this type of conjecture must combine Philinus' evidence with the numismatic source; but it seems to me that it is open to criticism.[16]

---

[15] For the numismatics of the age of Hicetas, see Poole, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins (Sicily)*, 200–206; Holm, *Storia della moneta siciliana*, 195–198; Head, *Historia Numorum*², 183; Giesecke, *Sicilia Numismatica*, 100–102; R.R. Holloway, 'Eagle and Fulmen on the Coins of Syracuse', *RBN* 108 (1962) 5–28, esp. 12–17; Consolo Langher, 'Contributo', 320–335; La Bua, 'Finzia', 151; T.V. Buttrey, 'The Morgantina Gold Hoard and the Coinage of Hicetas', *NC* 13 (1973) 1–17; N.K. Rutter, *Greek Coinages*, 45–46.

[16] No doubt on the meaning of the legend ΕΠΙ ΙΚΕΤΑ already from Holm, *Storia della moneta siciliana*, 195, in whose opinion, thanks to the ἐπίᾳ Hicetas called him-

First of all, we must not forget Philinus' general opinion concerning tyranny; he describes all the rulers of Sicilian *poleis* in the decade preceding the arrival of Pyrrhus in an unfavourable manner, starting with Phintias, *tyrannos* of Akragas. Therefore, we must carefully filter the passage of Philinus-Diodorus! Secondly, we must reconsider the numismatic evidence, but without limiting ourselves to the legend ΕΠΙ ΙΚΕΤΑ. Indeed, it is present only in gold coins; what is the iconography of these coins? Apart from the different symbols on the obverse and the reverse of the coins, we have an unique iconography:

- O/Head of Persephone to left; ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ; R/biga driven by Nike to the right. In the exergue, legend ΕΠΙ ΙΚΕΤΑ.

If we examine the coin carefully, it is very clear that its 'democratic' character must not be ascribed only to the legend; what excludes all doubt is the presence of the ethnic ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, which occurs even in the Agathoclean issues preceeding the accession to the *basileia* and in the coins issued by the post-Agathoclean Syracusan democracy. On the other hand, the thing that best describes Hicetas' role seems to be the presence on the reverse of the Nike, which relates to his activity as commanding officer. It is exactly the presence of the Nike as a charioteer on the reverse of these silver tetradrachms

- O/Head of Persephone, to the left; R/quadriga driven by Nike. In the exergue, legend ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ[17]

self as a 'republican magistrate'. Furthermore, see Huttl, *Verfassungsgeschichte*, 134, who thought that 'seine Münzen [. . .] bezeichnen ihn nur als Lenker des Syrakusanischen Staates'; Holloway, 'Eagle and Fulmen', 12, suggested that the inscription shows that the new master of Syracuse ruled '[. . .] as a republican magistrate', and that it is better to think of Hicetas' coinage as a second phase of the post-Agathoclean one; La Bua, 'Finzia', 151, thought that l'ἐπί denota Iceta come magistrato, non come re, né come tiranno', and this is proof, according to him, that Hicetas did not establish a tyranny in Syracuse; De Sensi Sestito, 'La Sicilia dal 289 al 210 a.C.', 346, in whose opinion the legend ΕΠΙ ΙΚΕΤΑ is an expedient to be seen as a magistrate, instead of a tyrant, but it can be enough to deny the literary sources; however, she thinks, incorrectly, that the legend is present on all Hicetas' coinage, whereas it appears only on gold coins. Finally, see Rutter, *Greek Coinages*, 175–176, in whose opinion the use of ΕΠΙ ΙΚΕΤΑ '[. . .] seems to indicate that Hicetas wanted to mantain the fiction that his position was simply that of a republican magistrate'.

[17] For the coin with 'Head of Persephone/biga', see Poole, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins (Sicily)*, nn. 430–435; Holm, *Storia della moneta siciliana*, n. 437; Head, *Historia Numorum*², 183; Giesecke, *Sicilia Numismatica*, 100; M. Caccamo Caltabiano, *La monetazione di Messana* (Berlin-New York, 1993), 150; *SNG* Copenhagen, 798; *SNG* München, 1292–1293; *SNG* Oxford, 2097; *SNG* Klagenfurt, 523–524. On gold coins

which assures the comparison with the golden drachms issued by Hicetas, and allows the attribution of the silver issue to the same chronology.[18] The same is true for the bronze coins, which are so numerous:

- O/Head of Persephone, to the left; R/biga driven by a male charioteer. In the exergue, legend ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ.

Even in this case, the similarity of the symbols with those of the golden and silver coinage permits us to ascribe this plentiful bronze issue to the era of Hicetas *strategia*. A useful comparison with the contemporary coinage of Messana has recently made it possible to raise the chronology of syracusan issues in the three metals almost to the first years of the *strategia*.[19]

---

we find many symbols, both on the obverses and the reverses, which need to be studied carefully; on the obverse we find an ear of wheat (*SNG* Oxford, 2097; *SNG* Aberdeen, 85); the poppy (*SNG* Cambridge, 1362); the torch (*SNG* Lockett, 1007; *SNG* Cambridge, 1361; *SNG* Lloyd, 1523); the horn of plenty (*SNG* Copenhagen, 798); the bee (*SNG* Klagenfurt, 523–524; *SNG* München, 1292–1293). On the reverse, we frequently find the star with a flash (*SNG* Oxford, 2097; *SNG* Klagenfurt, 524; *SNG* Aberdeen, 85); together, the moon with the symbol Θ (*SNG* Cambridge, 1361–1362; *SNG* Lloyd, 1523; *SNG* Copenhagen, 798); again together, the star and the ear of wheat (*SNG* Lockett, 1007). Particularly, as it concerns the round symbol which is present together with the moon on the reverse, I want to point out the hypothesis of T.V. Buttrey, 'The earliest Representation of an Eclipse?', *ZPE* 22 (1976) 248–252, in whose opinion it was the imagine of the eclipse of 15th August 310 B.C., the day after the departure of Agathocles for Africa. However, we must note that this symbol appears only on gold coins. One of the most important discoveries on the gold coinage of Hicetas was made during the excavations in Morgantina, in 1966, by Paul Deussen; see R. Stillwell, 'Excavations at Morgantina (Serra Orlando) 1966. Preliminary Report', *AJA* 71 (1967) 245–250, esp. 248 e 250, tab. 73–74. In a group of 44 gold coins which have been discoveried, no less than 20 belonged to the issue with the legend ΕΠΙ ΙΚΕΤΑ; see Buttrey, *The Morgantina Gold Hoard*, 1–17; Id. (K.T. Erim, T.D. Groves, R.R. Holloway), *Morgantina Studies, II. The Coins* (Princeton, 1989), 102–103 and 145–146.

[18] For the silver coins with 'Head of Persephone/quadriga', see Poole, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins (Sicily)*, nn. 436–440; Head, *Historia Numorum*², 183; Giesecke, *Sicilia Numismatica*, 100; Grose, *Fitzwilliam Museum. Catalogue of the McClean Collection*, 1, 2865, tavola 103, 10 (with these symbols; D/bee; R/star); *SNG* Copenhagen, 799 (D/bee; R/star); *SNG* München, 1294 (D/bee; R/star); *SNG* Lockett, 1008–1009 (D/bee; R/star). Holm, *Storia della moneta siciliana*, 195–196, does not agree in dating back these silver tetradrachms to Hicetas; according to him, these coins must be dated to the age of Agathocles.

[19] Therefore, numismatic evidence does not seem to corroborate Philinus' opinion on the tyrannical character of Hicetas' στρατηγία; on the contrary, it ratifies the length and the progressive adjustment of the democratic institutions of Syracuse, together with the reinforcement of Hicetas' military task. This division of charges and employments is quite certain; on the one hand, the magistrates devoted them-

Therefore, numismatic evidence does not seem to corroborate Philinus' opinion on the tyrannic character of Hicetas' *strategia*; on the contrary, it ratifies the length and the progressive adjustment of the democratic institutions of Syracuse, together with the reinforcement of Hicetas' military task. This division of charges and employments is quite certain; on the one hand, the magistrates devoted themselves to the readjustment of the economy and domestic politics; on the other hand, Hicetas attended above all to preparations for defence and a counter-offensive against Akragas and the Carthaginians.

Bibliography

Berger, S. 'Great and Small Poleis in Sicily: Syracuse and Leontinoi', *Historia* 40 (1991) 129–141

——. 'P.Oxy. XXIV, 2399 and the Opposition to Agathocles', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 71 (1988) 93–96

Berve, H. 'Das Königtum des Pyrrhos in Sizilien', in *Neue Beiträge zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Bernhard Schweitzer*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1954, 272–277

——. *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen*. 2 vols. Munich: Beck, 1967

Braccesi, L. *I tiranni di Sicilia*. Bari: Laterza, 1998

Buttrey, T.V. 'The Morgantina Gold Hoard and the Coinage of Hicetas', *Numismatic Chronicle* 13 (1973) 1–17

——. 'The earliest Representation of an Eclipse?', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 22 (1976) 248–252

——. *Morgantina Studies, II. The Coins*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989

Caccamo Caltabiano, M. *La monetazione di Messana*. Berlin-New York: de Gruyter, 1993

Carità, C. *La topografia di Gela antica ovvero le origini della città di Licata*. Bologna, 1972

Cataldi, S. 'La boetheia dei Geloi e degli Herbitatoi ai Campani di Entella', *Atti di Scuola Normale di Pisa* 12 (1982) 887–904

Consolo Langher, S. *Contributo allo studio dell'antica moneta bronzea in Sicilia*. Milan: Giuffré, 1964

——. 'La Sicilia dalla scomparsa di Timoleonte', in E. Gabba and G. Vallet, ed., *La Sicilia antica, 2, 1: La Sicilia greca dal VI secolo alle guerre puniche*, Napoli: Società editrice storia di Napoli e della Sicilia, 1980, 289–342

De Miro, E. 'Agrigento arcaica e la politica di Falaride', *La Parola di Passato* 11 (1956) 263–273

De Sensi Sestito, G. 'La Sicilia dal 289 al 210 a.C.', in Gabba and Vallet, *La Sicilia antica* 2.1, 343–66

De Waele, J.A. *Akragas Graeca. Die historische Topographie des griechischen Akragas auf Sizilien*. The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1971

Gabrici, E. *La monetazione del bronzo nella Sicilia antica*. Palermo, 1927

---

selves to the readjustment of the economy and domestic politics; on the other hand, Hicetas attended above all to preparations for defence and a counter-offensive against Akragas and the Carthaginians.

Giesecke, W. *Sicilia Numismatica*. Leipzig: K.W. Hiersemann, 1923
Grose, S.W. *Fitzwilliam Museum. A Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins*, 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923
Gula, C. *Storia di Leontinoi dalle origini alla conquista romana*. Messina, 1995
Hans, L.M. *Karthago und Sizilien. Die Entstehung und Gestaltung der Epikratie auf dem Hintergrund der Beziehungen der Karthager zu den Griechen und nichtgriechischen Völkern Siziliens (VI–III Jahrhundert v. Chr.)*. Hildesheim-Zürich-New York: G. Olms Verlag, 1983
Head, B.V. *Historia Numorum*^{2}. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911
Holloway, R.R. 'Eagle and Fulmen on the Coins of Syracuse', *Revue Belge de Numismatique et de Sigillographie* 108 (1962) 5–28
Holm, A. *Storia della Sicilia nell'antichità*. Turin: Clausen, 1901
——. *Storia della moneta siciliana fino all'età di Augusto*. Torino: Clausen, 1906
Huttl, W. *Verfassungsgeschichte von Syrakus*. Prague: Verlag der Deutschen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und Künste für die Tschechoslowakische Republik, 1929
Jenkins, K. *The Coinage of Gela. Antike Münzen und geschnittene Steine Band 2*. Berlin, 1970
Jost, M. *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*. Paris: J. Vrin, 1985
La Bua, V. 'Agrigento dalla morte di Agatocle alla conquista romana', *Kokalos* 6 (1960) 98–109
——. 'Finzia, la fondazione di Finziade e la Sicilia dal 289 al 279 a.C.', *Atti della Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo* 27 (1968) 117–160
Leveque, P. *Pyrrhos*. Paris: De Boccard, 1957
Manganaro, G. 'Tauromenitana', *Archeologia Classica* 15 (1963) 13–31
——. '*Metoikismos-metaphora* di poleis in Sicilia: il caso dei Geloi di Phintias e la relativa documentazione epigrafica', *Atti di Scuola Normale di Pisa* 20 (1990) 391–408
Manni, E. 'Gela-Licata o Gela-Terranova?', *Kokalos* 18–19 (1971) 124–130
Meier-Welcker, H. *Karthago, Syrakus und Rom. Zu Grundfragen von Frieden und Krieg*. Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1979
Meltzer, O. *Geschichte der Kartagher*. Berlin: Wiedmann, 1896
Pareti, L. *Sicilia Antica*. Palermo: Palumbo, 1959
Poole, R.S. *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Sicily*. London: British Museum, 1876
Roussel, D. *Les Siciliens entre les Romains et les Carthaginois a l'epoque de la première guerre punique*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1970
Rutter, N.K. *Greek Coinages of Southern Italy and Sicily*. London: Spink, 1997
Sandberger, F. *Prosopographie zur Geschichte des Pyrrhos*. Stuttgart: Universität Stuttgart, 1970
Sartori, F. 'Appunti di storia siceliota: la costituzione di Tauromenio', *Athenaeum* 32 (1954) 356–383
Schubring, J. 'Historisch-geographische Studien über AltSicilien', *Rheinishes Museum* 28 (1873) 65–140
Stillwell, R. 'Excavations at Morgantina (Serra Orlando) 1966. Preliminary Report', *American Journal of Archaeology* 71 (1967) 245–250
Zambon, E. 'Finzia, i Mamertini e la seconda distruzione di Gela', *Hespería* 12 (1999) 303–8

HELLENISM, ROMANIZATION AND CULTURAL IDENTITY IN MASSALIA

Kathryn Lomas
University College London

The identity of the Greeks in the Roman world is a large and highly complex subject—not least because it embraces the difficult and frequently ambivalent and contradictory relationship between the Romans and Greek culture.[1] It also touches on some key methodological questions of how cultural and ethnic identity were defined, who set the agenda, and how differing constructions of identity interacted. Greek definitions of their own identity in the Hellenistic and Roman periods show a general tendency to shift from the oppositional identity of the 5th and 4th centuries, based on the notions of 'us' and 'them'—Greeks *versus* non-Greeks—to the notion of a potentially transferable cultural identity.[2] When looked at from a western Mediterranean perspective, the issue of identity acquires a whole extra layer of complexity. For the colonies on the margins of the Greek world, issues of ethnicity and cultural identity were immediate concerns throughout their history, and they were forced to confront otherness and non-Greek cultures at very close range, simply by virtue of their location and colonial origins. After the expansion of Rome as the dominant power in the Mediterranean, the identity of the Western Mediterranean Greeks poses a whole additional set of methodological and intellectual questions. The political and cultural impact of their contact with Rome, and the nature and extent of the ethnic, cultural and demographic changes which took place during the later

[1] A topic with a very extensive bibliography, but see in particular G. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford, 1965), id., *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1990), E.L. Bowie, 'The Greeks and their Past in the Second Sophistic' in M.I. Finley (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Society*, 166–209, E. Gruen, *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy* (Leiden, 1991), S. Swain, *Hellenism and Empire* (Oxford, 1996), to give only a small selection. See also D. Konstan, '*To Hellenikon ethnos*. Ethnicity and the construction of ancient Greek identity' in Malkin, *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (Washington DC, 2001), 29–50, for a discussion of the role of Greek culture in the Roman empire.

[2] Konstan, '*To Hellenikon ethnos*', 37–43.

history of these communities make them a fascinating case study of cultural change in action. Specifically, it provides an opportunity to examine the interaction between the two dominant cultures of Classical Antiquity, Hellenism and *Romanitas*, and to study what happens when Romanization and Hellenization meet and potentially conflict. The aim of this paper is to examine one particular city—Massalia—as a case-study of the evolution of Greek colonial identity in the Roman world.

Until relatively recently, there was a strong tendency in scholarship on the Western colonies to regard the Roman period of their history as a time of decline and deculturation—an inexorable progress towards Romanization and a loss of Greek culture.[3] This was sometimes interpreted as the result of economic decline, depopulation, or demographic changes which physically replaced the Greek population with Romans.[4] Where cultural or demographic elements which were neither Roman nor Greek were present, it was also occasionally interpreted as a process of barbarisation—a concept which owes much to the world-view and prejudices of some of ancient authors.[5]

More recent approaches to Romanization, Hellenization and other forms of cultural change in the ancient world have stressed the reciprocal and interactive nature of the processes at work, and the fact that cultural and ethnic identities are not one and the same thing. There are clear areas of overlap, to the point where it can be difficult to disentangle and categorise them, but ethnic change and cultural change cannot be seen as synonymous, nor as automatic consequences of each other. In addition, both Hellenism and Roman identity were diverse and constantly evolving concepts, particularly outside the areas in which they were the dominant indigenous culture, and should not be viewed as monolithic cultural entities. The result is that different aspects of civic identity can sometimes be established, which could co-exist and which could be prioritised according to context and to their intended audience. It was, for instance, per-

---

[3] U. Kahrstedt, *Der Wirtschaftsliche Lage Grossgriechenlands unter der Kaiserzeit* (Historia einzelschriften 4, 1960), A.J. Toynbee, *Hannibal's legacy* (Oxford, 1965), P.A. Brunt, *Italian manpower, 225 B.C.–A.D. 14* (Oxford, 1971).

[4] F. Costabile, *Municipium Locrensium* (Naples, 1978), L. Gallo, 'Popolosità è scarcità: contributo allo studio di un topos' *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* ser. III, 10 (1980) 1233–70.

[5] E.M. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian* (Oxford, 1989).

fectly possible for a substantially Romanised material culture to co-exist with an emphasis on Hellenism or other cultures in other aspects of civic life. It was also possible for different socio-economic groups to adopt different aspects of a new cultural influence or to internalise it in different ways. The emphasis in this paper will be on the identity of the elite, as the group which played the biggest part in determining the public identity of a community, but it is worth noting that the cultural responses of the elite may not be the same as those of other social groups. It is also notable that internally generated identities co-existed with an identity reflected in Greek and Roman literary sources which was constructed primarily by people from outside a particular community, and which may reflect a different set of cultural reference points. In the case of Greek colonies, these were frequently moulded by the wider ambiguities of Roman interaction with Greek culture and may say as much about this as about the identity of the Greek colonies themselves. Methodologically, this paper will examine the activities of the elite of Massalia, as represented in a key field of activity—the construction of public buildings and other substantial structures. It will also examine the evidence of inscriptions dating to the Roman history of the city. Both of these forms of evidence reflect the cultural preoccupations of the Massaliotes themselves, and the identity which was created by both the community and leading individuals. It will also examine the Greek and Roman literary evidence for Massalia and with a view to testing the evidence generated internally by the Massaliotes themselves against the externally-generated constructs of ancient literature.

Any conclusions must of necessity be only partial for the simple reason that the depth of evidence available in many other regions of the Hellenistic world does not exist. Quantities of surviving epigraphic evidence are much smaller, and although many of the Greek colonies in the West have been extensively excavated, there are others—and Massalia is a case in point—where continuity of occupation until the present day means that excavation is subject to severe constraints. As a result, there is a considerable shortage of detailed epigraphic and archaeological evidence. Nevertheless, there is enough material to provide some fascinating insights into the ways in which the cultural identity of a city could be constructed and reconstructed in the Roman world in order to take into account the competing demands of *Romanitas* and local identity, as well as the interplay between the two high-status cultures of the Roman world.

The literary sources about Massalia are primarily derived from writers external to the city rather than of Massaliote origin, and thus represent a external perception and construction of the identity of the city more than a reflection of Massaliote self-identity. A number of Massaliote writers are known, such as Pytheas, the geographer and natural historian, and the Gallo-Roman Pompeius Trogus, but their works do not survive in any great quantity. The work of Pytheas is extensively quoted by Strabo and Pliny the Elder, but rejected as inaccurate by Polybios.[6] Pompeius Trogus composed a universal history in the reign of Augustus. His work survives only in an abridgement by Justin, but it nevertheless casts distinctive side-light on the history of Massalia and may—as conjectured by a number of modern scholars—have had access to Massaliote histories now lost to us.[7] The fact remains, however, that most of the comments about Massalia in ancient literature are generated from an external viewpoint.[8]

There are a well-defined number of major *topoi* which occur throughout the source material which on the surface constitute an identity so well-defined that it is clear that it must owe much to later construction,[9] although some of these are more complex, on closer inspection, than they first appear. The fact that most of the ancient sources are of Roman date adds to the strong probability that they reflect those aspects of the city's which history or culture which were of interest to the Romans, and thus represent a very clear case of a constructed identity. The extent to which this body of evidence also contains usable historical information is a matter of debate.[10] It is clear that some of the threads do date to the earlier history of the city and can be used to reconstruct some aspects of

[6] Strabo, *Geog.* 3.2.11, 3.4.4; Pliny *NH* 2.217, 187; Polyb. 34.5.1–10.

[7] J.M. Alonso-Nuñez, 'Trogue-Pompée et Massalia (Justin, *Epitoma* XLIII, 3, 4–XLIII, 5, 10)' *Latomus* 53 (1994) 112–3, G. Rougemont and C. Guyot-Rougemont, 'Marseille Grecque: Les textes antiques' in M. Bats (ed.) *Marseille Grecque: Marseille et la Gaule*, 45–50 (Aix-en-Provence, 1992).

[8] G. Nenci, 'Le relazioni con Marsiglia nella politica esterna romana' *Rivista di Studi Liguri* 24 (1958) 24–97, provides an extensive discussion of the source tradition, identifying a strand of anti-Roman Greek historiography in the sources for Massalia as well as a pro-Massaliote bias by some Romans who opposed Caesar's punishment of the city in 49 B.C.

[9] Rougemont and Rougemont, 'Les textes litteraires', 46.

[10] Alonso-Nuñez, 'Trogue-Pompée et Massalia', *contra* Rougemont and Rougemont, 'Les textes litteraires', 46, *cf.* also Nenci, 'Le relazioni con Marsiglia', 24–97, N.J. De Witt, 'Massalia and Rome', *TAPA* 71 (1940) 605–615.

it, but it is also undeniable that the source tradition represents only a partial picture of Massalia, either as an independent city or under Roman rule.

The three most prominent themes picked up by sources for Massalia are is Phoceaean origins, its close relations with Rome and its conservative moral character.[11] Sources as disparate as Herodotos, Plutarch, Athenaeus, Aulus Gellius, Pompeius Trogus, Justin and Pliny emphasise this, either in relation to other events or as a detailed account of the foundation legend.[12] There are a number of variations on this, but the thread running through them all is that Massalia was founded c. 600 B.C. by a group of Phocaeans who obtained the land for the city from the ruler of the Gallic tribe of the Segobriges, forming an alliance with him and—according to the fullest versions—formalising this by the marriage of one of the leaders, Protis, with Gyptis, the king's daughter. The theme of good relations between Phocaeans and the indigenous populations of the western Mediterranean—including early Rome[13]—is one which runs through most of the accounts of Phocaean colonisation, as do references to their interest in trade. This consistency of source tradition, together with strong similarities in coinage, architecture, material culture, and language suggest that there was a Phocaean *koine* in Southern France, Spain and parts of Italy, and that Phocaean colonies developed and retained their own distinctively Phocaean cultural identity.[14]

Perhaps the theme with the most obvious historical value is that of Massalia's close relationship with—and loyalty to—Rome throughout the wars of conquest in the Mediterranean, and in particular

---

[11] Rougemont and Guyot-Rougement ('Les textes litteraires', 46–7) identify the theme of loyalty and *fides* as the unifying concept underlying these, but cf Nenci, 'Le relazioni con Marsiglia', 24 (1958) 33–41 for a possible anti-Roman bias in some Greek sources.

[12] Hdt. 1.163–5, Thuc. 1.13.6, Plut. *Solon* 2.7. Athen. *Deipn.* 13.36.2–17, Justin, 43.3.4–5.10, Strabo *Geog.* 4.1.4, Aul. Gell. *NA* 10.16.4.2, Hygin. *Gram.* 7.11, Livy 5.34.8, Pomp. Mela *Chor* 2.77.3–4, Pliny, *NH* 3.34.6–35.1.

[13] Justin 43.3.4; M. Bats, 'Marseille et Rome des Tarquins à César' *Dossiers d'Archeologie* 154 (1990) 80–83, C. Ampolo, 'L'Artemide di Marsiglia e la Diana dell'Aventino', *PP* 25 (1970) 200–210.

[14] Strabo Geog. 3.4.6–8, 14.2.10. Dominguez, this volume; H. Tréziny, 'Les fortifications Phocéennes d'Occident (Emporion, Velia, Marseille)' *REA* 96.1–2 (1994) 115–135; T. Hodge, *Ancient Greek France* (London, 1998), 64–66; J.-P. Morel, 'Marseille dans le mouvement colonial Grec' *Dossiers d'Archeologie* 154 (1990) 4–13; A. Hermary, A. Hesnard, H. Tréziny, H. (eds), *Marseille grecque: 600–49 av. J.-C.: la cité phocéenne* (Paris, 1999), 25–39.

during the Hannibalic war.[15] This tends to become intertwined with a general respect—particularly in the Roman sources—for the military strength of Massalia, and for the supposed conservatism of its constitution, law code and social customs. The sources for Massaliote history up to the sack of the city by Caesar in 49 B.C. principally stress the friendly relations between Rome and Massalia, and in particular its role in the Hannibalic war, and in protecting Rome from the Gauls and Ligurians on various occasions.[16] The emphasis on Massalia's military strength runs throughout Greek as well as Roman literature[17] and in some instances it is difficult to disentangle literary *topos* from historical reality, particularly since the Greek cities to which the Romans ascribe positive perceptions of identity are frequently those which show military strength. Nonetheless, Massalia seems to have played a significant role in giving military support to Rome in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., and also to have put up fierce and effective resistance to Caesar in 49 B.C.

The very conservative constitution of Massalia was also an object of fascination amongst both Greek and Latin authors. It consisted of an assembly of 600 men (*timouchoi*) who hold office for life, an executive of fifteen *timouchoi*, and three supreme office-holders, chosen from people of at least three generations of citizenship.[18] It was widely admired, although not accepted uncritically. Aristotle, who wrote a monograph about it (now lost), acknowledges that the power base was too narrow and had to be modified, under pressure from excluded citizens, creating what he describes as a *politeia* rather than oligarchy.[19] Cicero also had reservations, saying that it was difficult to emulate, and criticising it as close to servitude because it had no role for a senate or *boule*, and could easily become oppressive and tyrannical.[20] It is also unclear how long it lasted in the form described by Strabo; Cicero speaks of it as if it were a contemporary reality,

---

[15] Livy 21.20.5, 25.1, 26.4, 22.19.5, 26.19.13, 27.36.1; Polyb. 3.41 and 95; Val. Max. 2.6.7a.

[16] This also worked both ways. *Cf.* De Witt, 'Massalia and Rome', 610–12 for occasions when Rome went to war in support of Massalia.

[17] Thuc. 1.13.6, Strabo *Geog.* 3.1.3–4, J. De Wever, 'Thucydide et la puissance maritime de Massalia' *ArchClass* 37 (1968) 37–58, Hodge, *Ancient Greek France*, 99–106.

[18] Strabo *Geog.* 4.1.5.

[19] Arist. *Pol* 1305b.4, 1321a.30, implying also that candidates for inclusion were still vetted for moral character.

[20] Cic. *Flacc.* 63.8, *Rep.* 1.43–4.

but Aristotle's comments indicate that it was not as static and unchanging as Strabo implies. The terms of Caesar's settlement removed a large part of Massalia's territory, confiscated much of the city's wealth, and undercut its importance by establishing Narbo as the provincial capital, but it also seems to have left the city's laws and government intact.[21] There is some evidence for the eventual adoption of Romanised government—although not the date—in an inscription from Nice, dating to the 2nd century A.D., which honours Gn. Memmius Macrinus, *quaestor* and *duumvir* of Massalia.[22]

Massalia also attracted a multitude of moral *topoi*—as a seat of learning, a bastion of Hellenism, and a moral and cultural defence against the Gauls, but none of these is entirely unequivocal or straightforward.[23] Massalia enjoyed a reputation as a peaceful and cultured seat of learning to which the sons of the Gallo-Roman nobility could be sent to acquire a Greek education, and its reputation for strict morality seems to contributed to this.[24] Studying at Massalia could have its downside however. The city had long possessed the *ius exilium* and been a haven for exiled Romans during the Republic. Sending politically inconvenient youths such as the son of Iullus Antonius to be educated at Massalia remained a tactful and materially comfortable way of sending them into exile.[25] There seems to be an interesting cultural agenda in this emphasis on austere, morally-upright, and intellectually-challenging Hellenism. The majority of Roman—and later Greek—sources emphasise the cultural austerity of the city. Women were strictly controlled, conservatively dressed, and forbidden to drink wine, and there were strict sumptuary laws governing dowries, marriages and funerals.[26] There are, however, indications of a very different *topos* of luxury and immorality. Massaliotes are described as decadent, with a flamboyant and feminised style of dress, a *topos* of *luxuria* which is prevalent in the source tradition for

---

[21] Cic. *Phil.* 8.6.18, Strabo *Geog.* 4.1.5, Dio 41.25.

[22] *CIL* 5.7914.

[23] Strabo, *Geog.* 4.1.5 Livy 37.54.21–22 Tac. *Agr.* 4.3.4. On the negative Roman perceptions of the Gauls, see G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman. The origins of provincial civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge, 1998), 60–3.

[24] Strabo, *Geog.* 4.1.5, Tac. *Agr.* 4.3.4.

[25] In A.D. 26. Tac. *Ann* 4.44.14. *Cf.* Sen. *Con* 2.5.13.6 (Moschus), Cic. *Cat.* 2.14.5–16.4 (Catilinarians), Dio 40.54.3 (Milo) for earlier exiles under the *ius exilium.*

[26] Val. Max. 2.6.7b–8, Athen. *Deipn* 10.33.26, Tac. *Agr.* 4.3.4, Strabo *Geog.* 4.1.5. Tacitus describes the general tenor of life at Massalia as one of *parsimonia*.

other Greek communities.[27] A similar tension can be seen in the references to the ethnicity of Massalia. It is most often described, as in Livy 37.54 as ethnically and culturally unpolluted—pure Greek, in contrast to the perceived barbarism and savagery of the Gauls[28]—but elsewhere (38.17) he cites it as an example of deculturation and contamination with native customs.[29] In both of these instances, however, Livy has a specific motive for stressing these contrary viewpoints. In the first case, he is constructing a speech in which Rhodian envoys present a case to the Senate in 190 B.C. for liberating the Greeks of Asia, and thus wishes to present Greek identity as an unchanging and incorruptible force; in the second, he presents the speech of the consul G. Manlius to his troops, in which he asserts that ethnic minorities—including the Greek of Massalia—must inevitably become acculturated to their surroundings as a way of denigrating the military prowess of the Asiatic Gallic troops facing Rome in 189 B.C. The issue of how ancient sources perceived cultural and ethnic change is, however, a complex one, and Livy's comments, while undeniably partial, cannot be dismissed as wholly lacking in substance.

To sum up, the identity constructed for the Massaliotes by later sources—both Greek and Roman—is one of generally positive stereotypes, with a strong emphasis on civilisation, Hellenism, intellectual achievement and (until 49 B.C.) military accomplishment. Nevertheless, there are traces of greater complexity—acknowledgement that the famed constitution could have its problems, imputations that the sober life-style was not the whole story, indications that the cultural and ethnic heritage of the city was not as pure Greek as the Romans wished to think. There is undeniably a tendency, particularly in later authors such as Athenaeus, to elide into the more generally unflattering set of *topoi*, centred on decadence and *luxuria*, which are frequently applied to the Greeks by Roman sources. It is clear that the identity of Massalia as represented in ancient literature is almost entirely

[27] Athen. *Deip.* 12.25.3–7, Ps. Plutarch *Proverb. Alex.* 60; cf. Hodge, *Ancient Greek France*, 1998, 3–5. On the topos of colonial *luxuria* in ancient literature, see also K. Lomas, 'Constructing "The Greek": Defining Ethnicity in Roman Italy' in T.J. Cornell and K. Lomas (eds), *Gender and Ethnicity in Ancient Italy* (London, 1997), 29–42.

[28] Livy 37.54.21–22.

[29] Livy 37.57.1, 38.17.12.

an externally-derived, etic, identity and one which may have been moulded to a large extent by Roman preoccupations. The emphasis on Massalia as a city set apart from the problematic aspects of the contemporary Greek world by virtue of its conservative constitution and moral climate, and its supposed role as a centre of Hellenic civilization in otherwise barbarian Gaul, is clearly made to serve a Roman agenda in a variety of ways. There are, however, some strands of the historical tradition about Massalia which may give an insight into cultural identity as perceived by the Massaliotes themselves. Perhaps the most prominent are the foundation stories which stress the strong connections between Massalia and the Gauls, and the strongly Phocaean identity adopted by the city.

Examining the literary source material can give some insight into the identity of Roman Massalia in the eyes of outsiders—both Roman and Greek—but to fully understand the cultural history of the city in this period it is also necessary to try to reconstruct the civic identity internally constructed by the civic elite of Massalia itself. This is problematic because of the relative scarcity of evidence for the period between 49 B.C. and Late Antiquity. This does not necessarily imply a cessation of elite activity in this period, rather than reflecting the patterns of excavation and survival but it does impose some limitations. Inscriptions are few and far between compared with other parts of the Greek world, and the vast bulk of archaeological evidence relates either to the period before Caesar's siege of the city in 49 B.C. and its subsequent penalisation, or to the Late Empire. Nevertheless, there is enough archaeological information, and a sufficient quantity of inscriptions, to provide some insights, even though detailed reconstruction is not always possible.

Compared to many other cities in the Roman empire, Massalia has produced a relatively small number of inscriptions, although this may reflect patterns of survival rather than the epigraphic culture of the city. Those which have been found are primarily to private funerary in nature and mostly relate to private individuals. Very few public inscriptions relating to the activities of the city's government have survived.

Despite the assertions of ancient authors that Massalia had retained a pure Greek identity, Latin inscriptions outnumber Greek ones by a ratio of approximately three to one. This may reflect patterns of survival and excavation, but the proportion is similar to that of some of the other Greek colonies where Hellenism persisted into the Roman

period.[30] Given that many of the inscriptions are not precisely dated, it is also difficult to make an accurate assessment of what this represents in terms of survival of Greek as a language. Greek inscriptions added to imported Italian pottery of the 1st century B.C., however, indicate that Greek was still widely spoken and it seems likely that Greek co-existed with Latin and was used by the inhabitants of the city until at least the middle of the Empire.[31]

There is no epigraphic evidence for the key civic cults of Artemis, Apollo Delphinios and Athena dating to the Roman period, although it seems reasonable to assume that they continued to be prominent, particularly given the close links between the cult of Artemis at Massalia and that of Diana Aventinus at Rome.[32] However, two other distinctive Greek cults are known only from later inscriptions. The cult of Zeus Patroôs is attested only from a Greek inscription on an altar, or possibly the base of a dedication, set up by Lyketos Pythokritou and dating to the 1st or 2nd century A.D.[33] The cult of Leukothea, a goddess particularly associated with Phocaean colonies, was also still active in the 3rd century A.D. One of the few substantial elite inscriptions to survive is the statue-base of T. Porcius Cornelianus, who had a distinguished equestrian career.[34] The inscription is in Greek and lists, amongst Cornelianus's other honours, that he was priest of Leukothea at Massalia. Latin epigraphy includes dedications to the Matres, a cult popular throughout Narbonenis, Apollo, Isis and Jupiter Dolichenus, and several *collegia* connected with worship of the Magna Mater.[35] The imperial cult is also well-represented, with dedications in honour of Germanicus by the Magistri Lares Augusti dating to 19/18 B.C., and inscriptions by L. Aelius

---

[30] E.g. M. Leiwo, *Neapolitana* (Helsinki, 1994), G. Manganaro, 'Iscrizioni, epitafi ed epigrammi in greco della Sicilia centro-orientale di epoca romana' *MEFRA* 106 (1994) 79–118, R.J.A. Wilson, *Sicily under the Roman Empire* (London, 1990), 313–20.

[31] J.P. Morel, 'Marseille dans le mouvement colonial Grec', *Dossiers d'Archeologie* 154 (1990) 12–13.

[32] C. Ampolo, 'L'Artemide di Marsiglia e la Diana dell'Aventino', *La Parola del Passato* 25 (1970) 200–210.

[33] P. Ghiron-Bistagne, 'Un autel Massaliote de Zeus Patroôs' in Bats, *Marseille Grecque et la Gaule*, 152–4.

[34] *IG* 14.2433, H.G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (Paris, 1960), No. 310; F. Salviat, 'Sur la religion de Marseille Grecques' in Bats, *Marseille Grecque et la Gaule*, 142–50.

[35] *CIL* 12.400 (Apollo), 420 (Isis), 403 (Jupiter Dolichenus), 405 (Matres), 401, 411 (dendrophori and cannophori), *AE* 1977, 530 (Matres).

Nymphicus and Q. Gallius Euphemus, both *Seviri Augustales*.[36] With the exceptions of Apollo and the Magna Mater, which are attested in the Greek city, the Latin dedications exclusively concern cults which originated outside Massalia.

There is relatively little epigraphic evidence of civic offices, but that which does survive suggests that some Greek features of civic life persisted well into the Empire. A Latin *cursus* inscription of Gn. Valerius Pompeius, a patron of Massalia in the Antonine era, records that he held the post of *agonothetes*, which usually implies the continuation of games or festivals, although the nature of these is not attested.[37] There is also an epigraphic attestation of the offices of *choregos* and *gymnasiarchos*, important institutions of Greek civic life but unfortunately the inscription is lost and it is therefore not clear whether it is evidence for later survivals of these institutions of whether it refers to the Greek period of the city's history.[38] The administrative posts of the city seem to have Romanized, although probably not until the middle of the 2nd century A.D.[39]

The use of language and personal names to signal identity is also complex. A considerable proportion of the population continued to use Greek names, and onomastic studies have indicated that the pool of names availably was very conservative, with a strongly Ionian flavour and a relatively small number of personal names in widespread use.[40] However, there is also a significant number of inscriptions written in Greek which commemorate individuals with either entirely Roman names—often based on a Campanian *nomen*—or names constructed from a Roman *praenomen* and *nomen* and a Greek *cognomen*. For instance, the epitaph of Aurelius Diokleidou, son of Aurelius Diokles and Aurelia Tertia, is an example of a Greek cognomen which persists over more that one generation.[41] Romanised epigraphic formulae are also found in Greek inscriptions. Some epitaphs,

[36] *CIL* 12.400, 406, 409.
[37] *CIL* 12.410.
[38] *IG* 14.2444–5.
[39] *Supra*, n. 21.
[40] L. Robert, 'Noms de personnes et civilisation grecque, I. Noms de personnes dans Marseille grecque', *Journal des Savants* (1968) 197–213.
[41] *IG* 14.2436. The Greek cognomen is often interpreted as indicating libertine status, but in Massalia the issue is less clear cut, as many of the Greek cognomina are not typical slave names. *Cf.* I. Kajanto, 'The Significance of Non-Latin Cognomina' *Latomus* 27 (1968) 517–34.

for instance, are headed by the abbreviation Θ(εοῖς) Κ(αταχθονίοις) and give the name and age of the deceased and sometimes the dedicator and his or her relationship to the deceased—in other words they are a direct translation of a Latin *D(is) M(anibus)* epitaph.[42] It is very tempting to regard some of these instances as Romans assimilating to local custom by adopting Greek as their language of public record, but in point of fact, many of these appear to be non-elite epitaphs—probably of slaves and freedmen of Roman residents rather than members of the sort of elite families which may have placed a premium on Greek culture. Exceptions include the epitaph of Atheniades Dioskouridou[43] who describes himself as γραμματικός Ῥωμαϊκός and two statue bases[44] which are clearly commemorative cursus inscriptions of members of the elite. Both were Roman citizens, probably originating from Massalia, who had either adopted Roman nomenclature or were descended from a family of Roman or Italian origin. T. Porcius Cornelianus was a equestrian who had a significant military career and who held the post of priest of Leukothea at Massalia,[45] The statue-base with a Greek inscription honouring Titius Gemellus gives no indication of his status, but he was clearly prominent.[46]

The epigraphic evidence, therefore, sends out mixed signals. By the middle of the empire there seems to have been a considerable Roman or assimilated presence amongst the city's elite, and what little evidence we have suggests at first glance that at least part of the elite may have been Romanised, but this has to offset against the use of Greek for high-status inscriptions such as that of Titius Gemellus and that of T. Porcius Aelianus and T. Porcius Cornelianus, and the continuity of Greek language, names and epigraphic forms into the middle years of the empire.[47] Thus there is no clear-cut evidence for language choice—both Latin and Greek are represented, but the sample is too small and too inconclusive to draw any firm conclusions about Latinization, other than to say that the issue was

---

[42] E.g. *IG* 14.2436.

[43] *IG* 14.2434.

[44] *IG* 14.2433, 2456.

[45] *IG* 14.2433; H. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes*, No. 310.

[46] *IG* 14.2456.

[47] E.g. the Greek epitaph of Syriske, wife of Krates, dating to the 2nd century A.D. A. Hermary, A. Hesnard, and H. Tréziny (eds.) *Marseille grecque: 600–49 av. J.-C.: la cité phocéenne* (Paris, 1999), 85.

not as polarised in favour of Greek as the literary sources would have us believe. Also lacking is any evidence for the presence of a Gallic population in the city, although it would be surprising if it were not there. Strabo[48] implies that the Gallic nobility were drawn to Massalia by the city's cultural reputation and, it also had an important role as a trading centre in the late Republic and early empire, but there is no overt trace of Gallic residents in the epigraphy or onomastic history of the city.

Archaeological evidence is no less problematic. Much of the material excavated relates to either the Greek period of the city's history, or to Late Antiquity. This state of affairs has led some scholars to conclude that the city underwent a major decline as a result of losing a large part of its territory to Arelate in 49 B.C., which was only reversed in Late Antiquity.[49] While Roman material is more sparse that Greek and Hellenistic evidence, it is difficult to sustain the assumptions that this indicates a low level of urban activity; in the context of urban archaeology, it may be a reflection of patterns of survival and excavation rather than of levels of building activity. It is becoming clear from recent excavations that Massalia in the early empire was by no means a backwater and that the city did not cease to develop in terms of its urban fabric. There are signs that the layout and street-plan of the city changed somewhat in the early empire, and that there were changes and modifications to existing public buildings, new housing, and construction of an ambitious new harbour which argues for substantial trade throughout the early empire.

Both Greek and Roman Massalia occupied the promontory on what is now the north side of the Vieux Port, defended by a wall across the landward side (Fig. 1). By the Hellenistic period, the enclosed area was of c. 50 Ha., although it is unclear whether all of it was inhabited. The earliest settlement seems to have been concentrated on the area around the Fort St-Jean, on the tip of the promontory, and on the Butte St-Laurent.[50] By the end of the archaic period, the city seems to have expanded further inland, with major

[48] *Geog.* 4.1.5.

[49] S.T. Loseby, 'Marseille: A Late Antique Success Story?' JRS 82 (1992) 165–85.

[50] L.-F. Gantès, 'La topographie de Marseille Greque. Bilan des recherches (1829–1991)' in M. Bats (ed.) *Marseille Grecque et la Gaule* (Aix-en-Provence, 1992), 72–7.

A: Ancient harbour
B: Bourse excavations: Wall of Crinas
C: Sainte-Barbe cemetery
D: Probable line of city wall
E: Place des Pistoles
F: Cathedral

Fig. 1: Marseille: Key archaeological sites.

concentrations of habitation and public buildings on the Butte St. Laurent and the Butte des Moulins, which may have been the acropolis of the Greek city.[51] The agora probably located on a saddle of lower ground between the two hills on the side of the modern Place de Lenche. A stadium is known only from a Greek inscription, and may have been located close to the cathedral, but many of the key monuments of Greek Massalia—in particular its temples—are known only from literary sources.[52] The area just outside the walls was an area of cemeteries, of which a number have been excavated.

The Roman structures which have been excavated include the harbour, the theatre and fortifications, baths, and some sections of private housing, mostly too partial to be able to reconstruct a plan.[53] Some of the houses were of substantial size and were clearly elite residences, judging by fragments of painting and Roman mosaics. Early excavations near the cathedral revealed part of a Roman *domus* dating to the 1st century B.C. and decorated with Roman-style mosaics. Another substantial example has been found close to the Rue Leca.[54] Most seem to have been built on a plan similar to those of Hellenistic houses, but to have adopted Roman modes of decoration.[55] Elsewhere, on the Rue des Pistoles, most modest houses dating to the early empire have been found.[56]

Few public buildings have been found, so little can be deduced about the cultural priorities of the elite from this angle, but two major structures which have been excavated which may give some insight. The theatre and the so-called 'wall of Crinas', which were found during the excavations at the Bourse, are both Greek in character and both date to the 1st century A.D. The wall is one level of the city wall, which has been identified as the rebuilding paid for

---

[51] Gantès, 'La topographie de Marseille', 72–5.

[52] Strabo *Geog.* 4.1.4–5.

[53] L.-F. Gantès and M. Moliner. 'Marseille Romaine' in *Marseille, Itinéraire d'un Mémoire. Cinq années d'archeologie municipale* (Marseille, 1990), 87–92; M. Moliner, 'La Ville: Sous les Place des Pistoles' in *Parcours de Villes. Marseille: 10 ans d'archéologie, 2600 and d'histoire* (Marseille, 1999), 86–8; F. Conche, 'La fouille de la Rue jean-François Leca', *ibid.*, 99–102.

[54] Gantès and Moliner, 'Marseille Romaine' 87–8, Conche, 'La fouille de la Rue jean-François Leca', 98–100.

[55] Gantès and Moliner, 'Marseille Romaine' 87–8, Conche, 'La fouille de la Rue jean-François Leca', 90–100.

[56] Gantès and Moliner, 'Marseille Romaine' 26–8; 'La Ville: Sous les Place des Pistoles', 88–9.

by the doctor Crinas in the Neronian period.[57] It is an imposing stone construction of a standard Greek type. The theatre is badly preserved, but has been dated to the 1st century A.D., and was probably a rebuilding of an earlier structure on the same site. It was a stone structure, built on the circular Greek pattern, and similar in type to theatres in Greece and Asia Minor.[58] This is in direct contrast to the situation in the surrounding area. Most theatres of similar date in Narbonenis—as in Italy—were semi-circular structures, in the manner of Roman rather than Greek theatres, and were built in brick and concrete.[59] There also appears to have been some rebuilding and modification of the Hellenistic baths, originally dating to the 4th/3rd centuries B.C. and very similar in plan and style to examples from Sicily.[60]

In contrast to this Hellenism, the excavations of the harbour of Massalia has revealed a strongly Romanized element. A major building programme to construct new docks seems to have taken place in the first half of the 1st century B.C., and excavations have revealed harbour installations in *opus caementicum*, a *horrea* and large quantities of both imported *dolia* and locally produced *pithoi*. Pottery finds also include large quantities of both locally-produced pottery and imported Campana A and Arretine ware from Italy.[61]

In the past ten years, substantial areas of burials have been discovered outside the gates of the city. An area of elite burials near the Bourse was contained within a terraced area, the retaining wall of which was decorated with triglyphs, and organised into what appear to be family groups. The graves, dating from the 4th to the 2nd century B.C., all contain cremations, housed within lead, bronze or ceramic urns and accompanied by grave goods, although these are not lavish. The Sainte-Barbe cemetery is considerably bigger and

---

[57] Pliny *NH* 29.9.8–10.2. cf. Sen. *Ep.* 6.1.3 and 12.5.1; F. Benoit, 'Topographie antique de Marseille: le théâtre et le mur de Crinias', *Gallia* 24 (1972) 1–22; H. Tréziny, 'Marseille Grecque. Topographie et urbanisme a la lumière des fouilles récente' *Révue Archeologique* n.s. 1 (1997) 185–200.

[58] Benoit, 'Topographie antique', 1–12, A.F.L. Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis. Southern Gaul in Roman Times* (London, 1988), 220–1, Hodge, *Ancient Greek France*, 78–80.

[59] F. Benoit, 'L'evolution topographique de Marseille', *Latomus* 31 (1966) 54–71, Benoit, 'Topographie antique', 1–12, Rivet, 220–1, Hodge, *Ancient Greek France*, 78–80.

[60] Conche, 'La fouille de la Rue jean-François Leca', 93–6.

[61] A. Hesnard, 'Les ports antiques de Marseille, Place Jules-Verne', *JRA* 8 (1995) 65–77.

contains over 500 graves, also mostly cremation, dating from the 5th century B.C. to the mid-2nd century A.D. There is a mixture of cremations and inhumations in simple *fossa* graves. Most burials containing only modest grave-goods, usually pottery, glass, lamps and sometimes coins, and were marked—if at all—by a simple stone stele, mostly undecorated and carrying only a simple inscription.[62] This plain style of burial seems to bear out ancient sources for the emphasis on simplicity of lifestyle at Massalia, and in particular for Valerius Maximus' assertion that mourning and funerary ritual was strictly limited.[63] The grave goods from the burials of Roman date also indicate that the day-to-day material culture of Massalia was largely Romanized.[64]

We therefore have a set of mixed signals for the cultural identity of Roman Massalia. The literary sources—overwhelmingly drawn from sources external to Massalia and mostly of Roman date—construct a strongly Greek identity for the city, sometimes explicitly distinguishing between the Hellenism of Massalia and that of other parts of the Greek world. The signals sent by the culture of the city's own inhabitants is less clear-cut. Greek civic offices, and probably also Greek games and festivals, persisted, reinforcing a Greek identity for the city. Key public buildings such as the theatre and the city walls were reconstructed in Greek rather than Roman style and techniques, but the functional structures such as the new harbour, and the more general material culture, are more Romanized. Epigraphic evidence is more difficult to assess, as there are relatively few inscriptions set up by the elite. Where these occur, they are often written in Greek, but not always by Greeks and the substantial number of epitaphs written in Latin suggest that Massalia was much more linguistically and ethnically diverse than the externally-generated image of the city would suggest. Onomastic studies of personal names suggest that in common with much of the Greek world, there was a high degree of conservatism in the pool of Greek personal names, many of which have a strongly Ionian flavour.[65] Nevertheless, some

[62] M. Moliner, 'Les Faubourgs: les nécropoles', in *Parcours de Villes. Marseille: 10 ans d'archéologie, 2600 and d'histoire* (Marseille, 1999), 107–24; Hermary, Hesnard and Tréziny, *Marseille Grecque: La cite Phocéenne*, 81–5; G. Bertucchi, 'Nécropoles et terrasses funéraires à l'époque grecque' in M. Bats (ed.), *Marseille grecque et la Gaule*, 124–37.
[63] Val. Max. 2.6.7.
[64] M. Moliner, 'Les Faubourgs: les nécropoles', 113–7.
[65] Robert, *Journal des Savants* (1968) 197–213.

members of the elite—although not all—who had gained Roman citizenship adopted the Roman *tria nomina*, and no longer signalled their Greek origin in their personal names. Roman Massalia therefore had a very definite Greek identity, as defined by both by external sources which reflect the preconceptions of the Roman elite, and (in as far as it is possible to tell) as defined by the Massaliotes themselves, but there are indications that this was not a simple correlation of ethnic and cultural identity. Massalia also seems to have had a substantial proportion of population which was not ethnically Greek and which in many instances chose to commemorate itself in Latin.

By the early empire, there were a range of cultural choices available to communities in western Mediterranean, and many chose to adopt—or adapt for local use—Roman cultural forms, particularly in areas such as public building which reflected communal civic identity.[66] By retaining a significant Greek element in public life and in the important cultural artefacts such as public buildings, the Massaliotes where making an active choice about the cultural identity of their city and the way in which it should be represented. Hellenism cannot be assumed to be either a straightforward default position or a simple reflection of ethnicity in what was clearly by this date an ethnically-mixed community.

The continuing Greek identity of Massalia is clearly something which carries a considerable freight of Roman expectations and ties into Roman views of civilisation versus barbarism[67] and ambivalent views of Hellenism to a very powerful degree. The very location of the city in the West, and its separation from the rest of the Greek world was enough to give greater credibility in the eyes of Cicero, reflecting the Roman tendency to denigrate the Asiatic Greeks and characterise the eastern Mediterranean as a hotbed of decadence.[68] Its geographical separation and localised version of Hellenism, as continually emphasised in the sources, served to distance it from the

---

[66] For a contrasting study of the acculturation in action in a similar Greek community, Naples, see K. Lomas, 'Graeca urbs? Ethnicity and culture in early imperial Naples' *Accordia Research Papers* 7 (1997–8) 113–30.

[67] Defined by Cicero (*Rep.* 1.58) as a question of language (*lingua*) to the Greeks and customs (*mores*) to the Romans. Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 58.

[68] Cic. *Flacc.* 63.8; On the manipulation of image and sense of place by Cicero to validate or discredit the Greek witnesses for the defence and prosecution, see A. Vasaly, *Representations. Images of the world in Ciceronian oratory* (Berkeley, 1993), 198–205.

qualities which Roman authors deplored in the Greeks. The underlying paradox is that it is the separation from mainstream Hellenism, the influence of western Mediterranean societies, and the physical and political closeness to Rome, which makes its Greekness fully acceptable to the Roman elite. Tacitus, in his famous passage on the education of Julius Agricola,[69] stresses that the moral virtue of Massalia lay in its mixture of Greek customs and Gallo-Roman provincial thrift. Likewise, both Livy and Cicero stress the continuity of Hellenism in a peculiarly virtuous form, although this must be used with caution as it is clear that both authors are manipulating this to suit their own literary and forensic ends. It is also clear, however, that there was more to the cultural identity of Massalia than Hellenism. The inscriptions, material culture and public architecture of the city all indicate that although there was still a very strong element of Hellenism in the public identity of the city during the early empire, there were also other, Romanizing, elements to the culture of the city and its elite.

The range of potential explanations for the persistence of Massalia's Greek identity, and the acceptance of this by Romans—in contrast to their attitude to some other parts of the Greek world—is considerable, and it is possible that it was the result of the interplay of a number of different factors. The emphasis by Roman sources on the Greekness of Massalia, despite the fact that epigraphy reveals a significant proportion of non-Greek residents, may be due in part to the Massalia's military support for Rome and for the tradition of long-standing friendship between the two cities. Despite the siege of the city in 49 B.C., Massalia never fought against Rome *per se*, but only against one party in a civil war. It also had the bonus of being militarily strong—something which the Romans admired—or at least having that reputation. Its geographical location, blocking the route between Italy and the Gallic tribes of France was also a positive factor in the eyes of Rome. The sack of Rome during the Gallic invasions of early 4th century had left a major imprint on the collective psyche of the Romans, and it seems significant that so many sources stress the role of Massalia both as a strategic buffer between Italy and the Gauls, and its symbolic role as a disseminator of Greek culture and civilizer of the Gallic barbarians.

---

[69] Tac. *Agr.* 4.3.4.

One aspect which should not be overlooked is the familiarity factor. Massalia's long-standing connections with Italy were not purely diplomatic. It was part of a trade network with the Etruscans from the earliest years of the colony's existence, and the large quantities of imported pottery and amphorae in the Hellenistic and Roman periods indicate a flourishing trading relationship with Italy, and in particular with Campania. It also possessed the *ius exilium*, which allowed Roman citizens to go into exile there. This meant that it became a place of residence for high-status Romans who were *persona non grata* at Rome, and consequently that members of the Roman elite were familiar with the city and its culture. In addition, there was a large number of Italian *negotiatores* with business interests in southern France, and a significant number of Romans and Italians who owned property in Gallia Narbonensis,[70] and a number of Romans—such as Valerius Moschus—even became Massaliote citizens. To the Romans, the defining identity of Massalia seems to have been as somewhere which was sufficiently closely-linked with Rome and sufficiently familiar to be the acceptable face of Greek culture.[71]

From an internal, Massaliote, point of view, there are a number of possible factors which shaped the civic identity of the community. On one level, the emphasis on Hellenism long after the city had ceased to be purely Greek in population, could be seen as an attempt to play up to a Roman preoccupation with Massalia's Greek culture, but there were even more powerful internal imperatives. The *polis* identity of Massalia had, from a very early date, an unusual degree of cohesiveness and a strong connection with the culture of its founder, Phocaea. The Phocaean colonies of the western Mediterranean—Elea, Massalia and Emporion—shared a considerable number of cultural features which persisted throughout their history. These include, amongst other things, some demonstrable similarities of coinage, architecture and urban layout, between all three colonies and Phocaea itself.[72] The same group of colonies also share common features in ancient literature, such as the importance of trade

[70] Cic. *Quinct.*, *passim*, *Font.* 13, *Fam.* 13.7, 13.11.

[71] Cf. Nenci, 'Le relazioni con Marsiglia', 24 (1958) 24–47 for the argument that the favourable view of Massalia is in part due to an anti-Caesarian bias in our surviving sources for the late Republic.

[72] Dominguez, this volume.

to their economy, relative lack of natural resources and simple lifestyle, and their willingness to integrate with indigenous populations. Clearly this perception of Phocaean identity remained a strong part of the cultural identity of ancient Massalia until well into the Roman era, and it is possible that the cohesiveness of this Greek cultural tradition helped to maintain the Greek cultural identity of the city.

A further factor may have been peer-polity interaction and the civic competitiveness which was an inherent and powerful part of urban life in the ancient world. After the siege of 49 B.C., Massalia lost part of its territory and was superseded in status by the provincial capital of Narbo and a number of other Roman colonies such as Arelate and Forum Julii, some of which enjoyed imperial patronage.[73] In the light of this, it is perhaps not surprising that the elite of Massalia, including those who had personally adopted aspects of Roman culture, were keen to emphasise their Greek cultural identity, along with possession of historic marks of status such as the *ius exilium*, as a mark of civic status within the region, and as a way to attract the attention of philhellenic Roman notables.

Perhaps the most telling aspect of Massaliote cultural identity is the fact that it is a cultural dialogue between Greek and Roman. The other important aspect of identity in a colonial context—the indigenous population—is largely invisible. The written sources—including Pompeius Trogus, who may have had access to Massaliote sources—consistently emphasise the good relations between the Greeks and their Gallic neighbours. Massaliote trading contacts with the rest of southern Gaul are well-documented and seem if anything to have increased during the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., and Greek influence on communities in the hinterland of Massalia is also well-documented. In addition, later writers such as Tacitus and Strabo make it clear that the Greek identity and educational traditions of Massalia were an attraction for the Gallic elite and implies that visitors from other parts of Gaul were plentiful. Nevertheless, there is no trace of an indigenous element in the culture of the city. The cultural identity of Late Hellenistic and Roman Massalia is a dialogue between the high-status cultures of the empire—Greek and Roman—with no visible Gaulish presence. What is clear is that communities such as

---

[73] Cic. *Phil.* 8.6.18, Strabo *Geog.* 4.1.5, Dio 41.25; Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis*, 74–80.

Massalia were not simply passive recipients of Roman culture—something which was, in itself, constantly changing and multi-faceted—nor were their own cultural identities static. They were in the process of constantly reinventing themselves. Hellenism was not a dying remnant of a culture which was disappearing in favour of Romanization but a conscious choice on the part of the community and its elite, and its cultural traditions were a dynamic and evolving response to the changing context of the Roman empire.

Bibliography

Alonso-Nuñez, J.M. 'Trogue-Pompee et Massalia (Justin, Epitoma XLIII, 3, 4–XLIII, 5, 10)' *Latomus* 53.1 (1994) 110–117

Ampolo, C. 'L'Artemide di Marsiglia e la Diana dell'Aventino', *La Parola del Passato* 25 (1970) 200–210

Bats, M. 'Marseille et Rome des Tarquins à César' *Dossiers d'Archeologie* 154 (1990) 80–83

——. 'Marseille archaïque: Étrusques et Phocéens en Méditerranée nord-occidentale'. *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome* 110 (1998) 609–633

Benoit, F. 'L'evolution topographique de Marseille' *Latomus* 31 (1966) 54–71

——. 'Topographie antique de Marseille: le théâtre et le mur de Crinias' *Gallia* 24 (1972) 1–22

Bertucchi, G. 'Nécropoles et terrasses funéraires à l'époque grecque' in M. Bats (ed.), *Marseille grecque et la Gaule*, 124–37

Bowersock, G.W. *Augustus and the Greek World*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965

——. *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990

Bowie, E.L. 'The Greeks and their Past in the Second Sophistic' in M.I. Finley (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Society*, 166–209

Brunt, P.A. *Italian manpower, 225 B.C.–A.D. 14.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971

Conche, F. 'La fouille de la Rue jean-François Leca', in *Parcours de villes. Marseille: 10 ans d'archéologie, 2600 ans d'histoire*, 99–102

Costabile, F., 1976. *Municipium Locrensium.* Naples: Fratelli Conte

De Wever J. 'Thucydide et la puissance maritime de Massalia' *Archeologia Classica* 37 (1968) 37–58

De Witt, N.J. 'Massalia and Rome', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 71 (1940) 605–615

France, J. and Hesnard, A., 'Une statio du quarantieme des Gaules et les operations commerciales dans le port romain de Marseille (place Jules-Verne)' *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 8 (1995) 78–93

Gallo, L. 'Popolosità è scarcità: contributo allo studio di un topos' *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* ser. 3.10 (1980) 1233–70

Gantès, L.-F. 'La topographie de Marseille Greque. Bilan des recherches (1829–1991)' in M. Bats (ed.), *Marseille Grecque et la Gaule*, 72–88

—— and Moliner, M. 'Marseille Romaine' in *Marseille, Itinéraire d'un Mémoire. Cinq années d'archeologie municipale.* Marseille: Musée d'Histoire de Marseille, 1990, 87–92

Ghiron-Bistagne, P. 'Un autel Massaliote de Zeus Patroôs' in Bats, *Marseille Grecque et la Gaule*, 152–4

Gras, M. 'Marseille, la bataille d'Alalia et Delphes' *Dialogues d'histoire ancien* 13 (1987) 161–181

Gruen, E. *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy*. Leiden: Brill, 1991

Hall, E.M. *Inventing the Barbarian* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989

Hermary, A., Hesnard, A. and Tréziny, H. (eds), *Marseille grecque: 600–49 av. J.-C.: la cité phocéenne*. Paris: Errance, 1999

Hesnard, A. 'Les ports antiques de Marseille, Place Jules-Verne' *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 8 (1995) 65–77

——, Moliner, M., Conche, F., Bouiron, M. *Parcours de villes. Marseille: 10 ans d'archéologie, 2600 ans d'histoire*. Marseille and Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 1999

Hodge, M.T. *Ancient Greek France*. London: Duckworth, 1998

Johannowsky, W. 'La situazione in Campania' in P. Zanker (ed.), *Hellenismus in MittelItalien*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1976, 341–55

Kahrstedt, U. *Der Wirtschaftsliche Lage Grossgriechenlands unter der Kaiserzeit*. (*Historia einzelschriften* 4). Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1960

Kajanto, I. 'The Significance of Non-Latin Cognomina' *Latomus* 27 (1968) 517–34

Konstan, D. '*To Hellenikon ethnos*. Ethnicity and the construction of ancient Greek identity' in Malkin, *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, Washington DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2001, 29–50

Leiwo, M. *Neapolitana*. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1994

Lomas, K. 'Constructing 'The Greek': Defining Ethnicity in Roman Italy' in T.J. Cornell and K. Lomas (eds), *Gender and Ethnicity in Ancient Italy* London: Accordia Research Institute, 1997, 29–42

——. 'Graeca urbs? Ethnicity and culture in early imperial Naples' *Accordia Research Papers* 7 (1997–8) 113–30

Loseby, S.T. 'Marseille: A Late Antique Success Story?' *Journal of Roman Studies* 82 (1992) 165–85

Manganaro, G. 'Massalioti per il Mediterraneo: tra Spagna, Sardegna e Sicilia' in *Sardinia Antiqua. Studi in onore di P. Meloni in occasione del suo settantesimo compleanno*. Cagliari: Edizioni della Torre, 1992, 195–206

Moliner, M. 'Les faubourgs: les nécropoles' in *Parcours de villes. Marseille: 10 ans d'archéologie, 2600 ans d'histoire*, 107–124

——. 'La Ville: Sous les Place des Pistoles' in *Parcours de Villes. Marseille: 10 ans d'archéologie, 2600 and d'histoire*, 86–8

Morel, J.P. 'L'expansion phocéenne en Occident: Dix années de recherches (1966–1975)', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 99 (1975) 853–896

——. 'Marseille dans le mouvement colonial Grec' *Dossiers d'Archeologie* 154 (1990) 4–13

Nenci, G. 'Le relazioni con Marsiglia nella politica estera romana (dalle origini a alla prima guerra punica)', *Rivista di Studi Liguri* 24 (1958) 24–97

Pflaum, H.G. *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain*. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1960

Rivet, A.F.L. *Gallia Narbonensis: with a chapter on Alpes Maritimae: southern France in Roman times*. London: Batsford, 1988

Robert, L. 'Noms de personnes et civilisation grecque, I. Noms de personnes dans Marseille grecque', *Journal des Savants* (1968) 197–213

Rougemont, C. and Guyot-Rougemont, R., 'Marseille Grecque: Les textes antiques' in M. Bats (ed.), *Marseille Grecque et la Gaule*, 45–50.

Salviat, F. 'Sur la religion de Marseille Grecques' in M. Bats (ed.), *Marseille Grecque et la Gaule*, 142–50

Sanmartí-Griego, E. 'Massalia et Emporion: une origine commune, deux destins différents' in M. Bats (ed.), *Marseille grecque et la Gaule*, 27–41

Swain, S. *Hellenism and Empire*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996

Toynbee, A.J. *Hannibal's legacy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965

Treziny, H. 'Les fortifications phoceennes d'Occident (Emporion, Velia, Marseille)' *Revue des Études Anciennes* 96.1–2 (1994) 115–135

——. 'Marseille Grecque. Topographie et urbanisme a la lumière des fouilles récente' *Révue Archeologique* n.s. 1 (1997) 185–200
Vasaly, A., 1993. *Representations. Images of the world in Ciceronian oratory*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993
Wilson, R.J.A. *Sicily under the Roman Empire*. Warminster: Aris and Philips, 1994
Woolf, G. *Becoming Roman. The origins of provincial civilization in Gaul*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998

INDEX

Achaeans, 36, 50, 448
Adria, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 357, 358, 359, 360
Adriatic, 6, 298–99, 325, 350–51, 353–55, 358–60
Aegean, 6, 12, 16–17, 24, 28
Aeolians, 38
Africa, 18, 30
Agathocles, 457–59, 461–64, 470–72
agriculture, 384, 386
Agropoli, 231, 232, 236, 237, 251
Akragas, 457, 460–465, 467–69, 471, 472, 473
Al Mina, 16, 22, 152, 153, 155
Alalia, 316, 333, 334, 340, 433, 434, 437
Almuñécar, 116
Altino, 349, 351, 354, 358, 359
Amendolara, 39, 324
amphorae, 126, 135, 140, 302, 315, 317, 319, 320, 370, 373, 375
  SOS type, 17, 25
Antenor, 350, 358
Aphrodite, 215
Apollo, 214, 223, 232, 242, 246, 252, 261, 274, 288, 334, 484–85
  Archegetes, 46
Apulia, 173, 267, 268, 269, 278
Arelate, 487, 495
Arganthonios, 129, 130, 131, 132, 430, 431, 432, 433, 436
Artemis, 433, 447, 448, 484
Athena, 218, 220, 221, 223, 484
Athens, Athenians, 58, 66–68, 84, 91, 94, 99, 100, 107, 108, 123, 137, 163, 165–66, 168, 174, 185, 188, 215–25, 259–60, 269, 271, 278–82, 298, 302, 320, 321, 435

barbarians, barbarisation, 1, 8, 43, 46, 49, 60, 173, 198, 199, 200, 202, 203, 267, 282, 476, 483
Barca, 394
Basilicata, 364, 368, 371, 372
Battos, 403
bilingualism, 41, 42
Black Sea, 170, 173, 295
boundaries, 233, 234, 235, 237, 251
bronze, bronze-working, 20, 24, 28, 263, 264, 288, 302, 307, 324, 340, 341
Bruttium, 318, 321
Buxentum, 321

Caere, 10, 191, 192, 204, 243, 245, 246, 320, 333, 359
Calabria, 106, 108
Campania, Campanians, 16, 18, 20, 23, 30, 83, 89, 231, 242, 243, 244, 459, 262, 464, 264, 494
  bronzes, 318
  pottery, 106, 108
Capua, 243, 245, 247, 252, 318
Carthage, Carthaginians, 17, 18, 300, 302–3, 309, 315, 329, 330–31, 333–35, 338, 459–61, 463–64, 467, 469, 472–73
Catane, 248, 262, 325, 457, 459, 460
Celts, 291, 311, 315, 317. *See also* Gauls
cemeteries, 233, 234, 237, 239, 267, 268, 269, 281, 364, 368, 372, 373, 388, 389, 437, 438, 440, 442, 445, 446, 490, 491
cereals, 382
Cerro del Villar, 116
Cerveteri, *see* Caere
Chios, 232
chora, 364, 368, 381, 384, 389
Cleomenes, 288
Cleonymus, 349, 350, 351, 358
coinage, 293, 316, 324, 329, 321, 461, 468, 470, 471, 472, 479, 494
colonies, colonisation, 2, 4–7, 12, 16–18, 58–60, 64, 66, 72, 75, 78, 83, 363, 394, 402, 403, 405, 406, 429, 436
  Achaean, 364, 368, 381, 384
Corcyra, 349
Corinth, Corinthians, 16, 23, 67–68, 86, 89, 91, 94, 123, 140, 149, 154, 156, 157, 160, 171–72, 264, 302, 310, 319, 338, 349, 370, 375, 381
Corsica, 293, 315, 317, 320, 333, 338, 340

Crete, 398, 402, 403
Croton, 238, 242, 277, 278, 321, 324, 325
Cumae, 48, 89, 91, 264, 289, 318, 334, 435, 436
Cyclops, 191, 192, 193, 195, 199, 202, 205, 206
Cyprus, 24, 150, 151, 152, 153, 155, 352, 391
Cyrenaica, 298, 326, 333, 391, 393, 394, 397, 398, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406
Cyrene, 391, 394, 395, 398, 399, 403, 405, 406

Daedalus, 355, 357
Damaratos, 27, 264
Darius, 288, 295, 329
Delos, 220
Delphi, 5, 216, 220, 274, 277–78, 391, 394, 403
Demeter, 215
Diana, 433, 479, 484
Diomedes, 350
Dorians, 36, 38, 46, 49, 50
Dorieus, 300, 326, 333, 334
Douketios, 47, 55
drinking-cups, 17, 151, 153, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160

Egesta, 41, 42, 47, 300, 333
Egypt, 288, 289, 294, 298, 332, 336, 337, 339, 341
Eivissa, 89, 106, 110
Elba, 317, 319
Elea, 8, 119, 125, 129, 430, 434, 435, 437, 447
Elymians, 41, 42, 47, 48, 60, 62
emporia, 351, 352, 353, 354, 359, 360, 430, 433, 450
Emporion, 7, 8, 89, 106, 289, 312, 315, 316, 317, 339, 369, 371, 433, 437, 440, 442, 443–47, 449–52
Enna, 59
Ephesos, 118, 124, 126, 127, 138
Eretrians, 325
Este, 350, 351, 352
ethnicity, 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 35, 59, 61–66, 70, 74, 78, 429, 446, 449
Etruria, Etruscans, 11, 16, 18, 20, 23, 25, 27, 30, 41, 73, 83, 163–4, 173, 180, 184–85, 187–88, 191, 193–99, 202–205, 207, 229, 231–36, 242, 249–52, 262–64, 279, 315–16, 318–20, 324, 333–34, 353–54, 357, 359, 385, 389, 494
Euboea, Euboeans, 15–19, 22–27, 30, 35, 40, 89, 91, 93–94, 149–53, 155, 156, 159, 161, 289, 294, 297, 319, 330, 332
Euesperides, 6, 391, 393, 394, 395, 397, 398, 400, 402, 404, 405, 406

fortifications, 40, 393, 395, 400, 431, 442–45, 489, 491
Francavilla Marittima, 39, 324
Fratte de Salerno, 247, 249, 250, 251, 252, 420, 421
Frattesina, 351, 352, 353, 354
funerary ritual, 268

games, 485, 491
  Pythian, 38
Gaul, Gauls, 3, 68, 451, 479–83, 487, 493, 495
Gela, 464, 465, 468
genealogies, 38
geranomachy, 164, 166
gift exchange, 71, 267
gigantomachy, 212, 218, 221, 222
Gioia del Colle, 267, 268, 269, 282, 283
grave goods, 268, 282
Gravina, 270, 271, 283
Gravisca, 10, 119, 211, 212, 220, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 232, 246, 264, 334, 415, 434
Greece, Greeks, 16, 21, 23, 29, 35–36, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 83, 86, 88–89, 94, 99, 100, 108, 229–30, 232–38, 240, 242, 243, 246, 249, 250, 251, 267, 275, 277, 278, 282, 475, 482, 491, 492, 493, 495
Guadalhorce, 412, 415
guest-friendship, 199, 200

Hamilcar, 315
Hecataeus, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 298, 299, 300, 301, 303, 307, 309, 311, 312, 315, 316, 317, 318, 320, 321, 324, 325, 326, 329, 330, 331, 332, 335, 336
Hellas, Hellenes, 35, 37–38, 46, 50
Hellenism, 2, 3, 7, 475, 476, 477, 481, 482, 483, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 496

Hellenization, 4, 8, 9, 23, 44, 173, 188, 411, 415, 417, 422
Hephaestus, 214, 223, 224, 225
Hera, 211, 215, 232–35, 237, 238, 239, 240–42, 251, 252, 264, 265
Heraclea, 281
Heracles, 170, 214, 216, 218, 221, 223, 230, 242, 252, 287, 289, 291–92, 296–303, 306, 309, 333–36, 338–39
Hermocrates, 49
Herodotus, 40, 48, 65, 288–90, 298, 300–301, 303, 307, 309, 313, 317, 326, 329, 333–34, 337–38, 420, 430–33, 435
Hesiod, 37, 48, 287, 296, 297
hetairoi, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278
Hicetas, 457, 459, 463, 465, 466, 469–73
Himera, 48, 263, 325, 334
Homer, 36, 37, 42, 60, 290, 293, 300, 326
Homeric epics, 19, 191–93, 198–200, 204, 206
houses, 369
Huelva, 116–19, 123–29, 133, 135, 306, 412, 415

Iapygians, 44
Iberia, Iberians, 60, 68, 116–17, 123, 130, 143, 291–92, 298, 303, 307, 311–13, 317, 411–12, 414–17, 419, 422–24
  language, 311
  script, 311, 313
imports, 58, 67–70, 72–73, 77–78, 117, 129, 140, 155, 160, 298, 302, 309, 315, 330, 339
Incoronata '*greca*', 39, 364, 368, 373, 374, 379, 381, 382, 383
Incoronata '*indigena*', 39, 364, 372, 373, 384
indigenous populations, 2, 4, 6, 8–10, 35, 38–40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 229, 233, 249, 252, 262, 267–70, 277–80, 282–83, 363–64, 368, 369, 370–75, 379, 383, 385–88, 411, 414, 421, 430, 433–34, 437, 442–47, 450–52
inscriptions, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 200, 269, 271, 274, 276, 412, 415, 416, 418, 419, 423, 424, 445
  Greek, 308, 414, 420, 484, 485
  Iberian, 311, 313
  Latin, 484
intermarriage, 18, 40, 41, 62, 77
Ionian League, 436
Ionians, 36, 38, 46, 49, 50, 70, 168, 288, 289, 316, 330, 431, 433, 435, 436, 446
Iron Age, 17, 19–21, 23, 27, 28, 63, 267, 269, 280, 364, 383
Ischia, 35, 89, 110, 154, 155, 156, 158, 160, 161, 332, 333
Italy, Italians, 3, 5–9, 11, 41, 42, 44, 48–50, 83–84, 86, 89, 91, 93, 94, 99, 100, 106–111, 289, 299, 318, 325, 329, 332, 479, 482, 490, 493–94

Julius Caesar, 478, 480, 481, 483

Klazomenai, 167
Kyme, 363

Lampsacus, 313, 430, 432, 435, 436, 448
language, 64–55, 74, 411, 418, 419, 421, 423, 424
  Greek, 42, 43, 44
  Iberian, 311
Latium, 18, 20, 30
Laus, 321, 324, 325
Lefkandi, 182
Leontini, 457, 458, 459, 460
Libya, 289–90, 294, 301, 303, 326, 330, 334–37, 391, 393, 395, 399, 402, 405
Liguria, Ligurians, 299, 307, 311, 313, 315, 317, 321
Lilybaion, 325, 326
Locri, 39, 40, 106, 109, 325
Lucania, Lucanians, 277, 280, 321
luxury, 203, 411, 481

Magna Graecia, 88, 109, 110, 268, 277, 282, 294, 321, 341, 448
Mamertines, 459, 460, 464, 465
Massalia, 7, 8, 12, 119, 125, 128–29, 134–35, 294–99, 316–18, 320, 333, 339, 432–33, 437, 446, 447–52, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496
material culture, 4, 60–63, 65–66, 71–72, 77, 134–35, 137
Medma, 325

Megara Hyblaea, 263, 370
Megara, 36, 39
mercenaries, 459, 463–65, 469, 470
Messana, 357, 459–60, 464, 471–72
Messapians, 277
metal ores, 17, 28
metalworking, 17, 18, 319
Metapontum, 7, 39, 70, 100, 109, 268, 277, 280–81, 363–64, 369–75, 379, 381, 383–89
metics, 411, 424
Miletus, 118, 119, 124, 126, 127, 138, 287, 288, 324, 325
mines, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310
Morgantina, 55, 58–59, 62–63, 66–71, 73, 75–79
Motya, 99, 159, 160, 325
Mycenaeans, 350, 351, 352, 353
myths, 2, 194, 296–97, 387
  foundation, 235, 251, 432, 452

Na Guardis, 412, 414, 422
Narbo, 481, 495
Naukratis, 132, 142, 264, 430, 434
Naxos, 46, 324, 332
Near East, 21, 24
Nola, 318

Odysseus, 37, 46, 48, 192, 193, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 296, 297, 330
Oenotria, Oenotrians, 280, 321, 363
oikists, 5
oil, 154, 155, 319, 335
Olympia, 46, 259, 260, 264, 297, 324, 431
oracles, 5, 277, 278, 394

Padua, 349, 351, 352, 354, 356, 358, 359
Pantanello, 368, 382, 384, 388, 389
pastoralism, 384, 385
Pech Maho, 315, 316, 412, 416, 419, 423, 443
Pelasgians, 352, 359
perfume, 154
Perseus, 169, 170
Persians, 66, 394, 411, 420
personal names, 36, 41
  Greek, 260, 261, 262, 263
  Latin, 262, 485
Peucetians, 268, 269, 270, 277, 278, 282, 283
Phintias, 457, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 471
Phocaea, Phocaeans, 7, 8, 70, 123, 125–29, 130–31, 133–43, 232, 294, 298–99, 312–13, 316–17, 333–34, 337–38, 340, 341, 429–31, 433, 435–37, 443, 446, 447, 448–52, 479, 494
Phoenicians, 17, 23, 25, 106, 116, 132, 150, 154–56, 158–61, 298–99, 303, 306, 308–10, 315, 319, 325, 329–30, 333, 336–38, 340, 412, 414, 415
Phoinikoussai, 330
physicians, 411, 420
Piazza Armerina, 41
piracy, 318, 334, 340
Pisticci, 280–82
Pithekoussai, 16–18, 22–30, 35, 89, 91, 93, 289, 294, 310, 318–19, 333, 363, 370, 373
Pompeii, 177, 188, 242–45, 247, 251, 252
Pontecagnano, 93, 229, 233, 234, 236, 246, 247, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253
Poseidon, 199, 202
Poseidonia, 10, 229–31, 232–34, 236, 237–50, 252–53, 321, 324, 421
pottery, 4, 8–11, 17, 24–26, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 161, 264
  Attic, 166–67, 169–70, 173, 177–78, 184, 353, 354, 393, 397, 404
  Black Figure, 99, 107, 212, 216, 219, 224, 312, 315, 318, 340
  Black Glaze, 94
  bucchero, 262, 264, 315, 318, 320
  Corinthian, 44, 319, 397, 400, 404–406
  East Greek, 117, 119, 123, 125
  Geometric, 58, 66, 88, 91, 99, 151–52, 156, 268, 280, 370, 372, 374–75, 379
  Greek, 58–61, 64–69, 71–75, 77, 78
  Italian, 391, 484
  Laconian, 123, 319
  Mycenaean, 352
  Red Figure, 55, 58, 99, 100, 107, 108, 173, 211, 216
  Siculo-Geometric, 9, 58–60, 65, 69, 73, 78
precolonization, 5, 17, 61, 363
Puntal dels Llops, 412, 416, 417
Pygmies, 10, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167,

168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 178, 180, 182, 184, 185, 187, 188
Pyrgi, 235, 246, 333
Pyrrhus, 457, 458, 459, 467, 471
Pythagoras, Pythagoreans, 49 277, 278

Quattro Fontanili, 25, 26

religion, 39, 45
Rhegion, 297, 325
Rhode, 89, 106, 107, 412, 419
Rhodes, 30, 154
Romanization, 12, 476, 477
Rome, Romans, 3, 8, 11, 12, 164, 170, 177, 271, 277, 279, 282, 283, 292, 301, 309, 335, 337, 383, 432, 433, 446, 447, 448, 451, 475–80, 482–84, 486–93, 494

Saguntum, 311, 312, 313, 339
Sala Consilina, 248
Samos, 124, 125, 126, 127, 129, 131, 132, 133, 134, 138, 168, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264
sanctuaries, 5, 8, 10, 83, 109, 211–12, 215, 218, 220, 224, 231–39, 241, 243, 246, 248, 381, 384, 484–85
Sardinia, Sardinians, 17, 18, 24, 30, 158, 161, 288, 293, 313, 315, 335, 338, 339
Sardis, 27
sea power, 193, 201, 202, 203, 340
Segesta, 60, 62
Segobriges, 479
Sele, 229, 231, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 239, 240, 241, 242, 246, 247, 248, 251, 252
Selinus, 41, 42
settlements, 69, 83, 109
Sicans, 60, 263, 307, 311
Sicels, 41, 43, 47, 55, 58–62, 64, 68, 73, 78, 79
Sicily, 9–12, 35, 40–41, 44–46, 48, 49, 55, 58–61, 63–64, 66, 68, 70–74, 76–77, 120, 277–78, 289, 294, 299, 300, 307, 311, 315, 321, 325–26, 332–35, 457–61, 467–72, 484, 490
silver, silver-working, 298, 302, 306–310, 337
Siris, 50, 364, 368, 370, 373, 374, 375, 387
Sostratos, 263, 264
Spain, 3, 68, 84, 89, 94, 99, 106–107, 110, 123, 143, 156, 158, 263, 291, 294–95, 298–99, 302, 306–310, 317, 339, 479
Sparta, 288, 334, 349
Spina, 352–54, 356, 357, 359
stasis, 276, 277, 278, 279, 462, 464
Sybaris, 39, 86, 110, 230, 236, 321, 324, 325, 363, 387
symposion, 45, 68, 72–73, 78, 204, 268, 274, 276, 279, 281–82, 421
Syracuse, 10, 11, 36, 39, 43, 307, 318, 321, 325, 334, 341, 357, 391, 457–70, 472, 473
Syria, Syrians, 17, 23, 151–53, 155

Tarentum, 50, 100, 109, 271, 277, 363, 384, 387
Tarquinia, 173–74, 177, 178, 184, 187, 211, 212, 215, 232, 246, 264, 334
Tarquinius Priscus, 27, 41, 262, 264, 432
Tartessos, 116–17, 123, 126, 128–33, 262–63, 265, 294, 295, 298–99, 301–303, 306–308, 317, 337, 340, 430–33
Tauromenion, 458, 459, 460, 461
Termitito, 364, 384, 385, 386, 372
Thucydides, 38, 41, 46, 47, 48, 49, 60
tombs, 66, 68, 69, 70
Torcello, 351, 352, 353, 354
Toscanos, 116, 156, 158, 159, 160, 310, 412, 414
trade, traders, 6, 8, 10–11, 22–23, 26, 62, 68, 77, 265, 302, 307, 310–12, 316–317, 319, 335, 341, 351–55, 359–60, 412, 414–15, 417, 419, 421, 423, 433, 443
treaties, 8, 309, 324, 333, 335, 431
Trojans, 47, 48, 60
tyranny, tyrants, 11, 274, 275, 278, 281, 457, 458, 460, 461

urbanisation, 411

Vallo di Diano, 238, 240, 248, 251, 252
Veii, 25, 26, 89, 91, 93, 187
Velia, *see* Elea
Venetian lagoon, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 358, 359
Verona, 352
Volterra, 163, 173, 180, 184, 185, 187

wall-painting, 173, 180, 187
wine, 68, 73, 78, 192, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207
women, 40, 62, 65, 73, 77, 481

xenoi, 60, 61, 391

Zancle, 156, 325. *See also* Messana
Zeus, 223